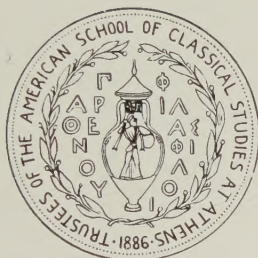


HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME V

5
1936



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1936

Printed by Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, Vienna
Manufactured in Austria

TABLE OF CONTENTS


	Page
The Cave on the East Slope of the Acropolis	
I. The Site. By OSCAR BRONEER	247
II. The Pottery. By M. Z. PEASE	254
LOWE, C. G.: Fauvel's First Trip through Greece	206
MERITT, BENJAMIN D.: The Seventh Metonic Cycle	201
OLIVER, JAMES H.: The Monument with the Marathon Epigrams	225
SCRANTON, ROBERT L.: Inscriptions from Phlius	235
STEVENS, GORHAM PHILLIPS: The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens	443
THOMPSON, HOMER A.: Pnyx and Thesmophorion	151
WALLACE, WILLIAM: An Eretrian Proxeny Decree of the Early Fifth Century	273

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

DOW, STERLING: Panathenaic Amphorae from the Hellenistic Period	50
ELDERKIN, G. W.: An Athenian Maledictory Inscription on Lead	43
MERITT, BENJAMIN D.: Greek Inscriptions	355
OLIVER, JAMES H.: The Sarapion Monument and the Paeon of Sophocles	91
PARSONS, ARTHUR W.: A Roman Water-Mill in the Athenian Agora	70
SHEAR, JOSEPHINE P.: Analytical Table of Coins	123
SHEAR, JOSEPHINE P.: Athenian Imperial Coinage	285
SHEAR, T. LESLIE: The Campaign of 1935	1
TALCOTT, LUCY: A Stand Signed by Euthymides	59
TALCOTT, LUCY: Vases and Kalos-names from an Agora Well	333

PLATES

I Pnyx and Thesmophorion	
II Æ Units and Half Units—Athenian Imperial Coinage, Augustan Era— struck AΘH	
III Æ Units. Early First Century A.D. Showing developmental Stages of Reverse Legend	
IV Æ Units. Second Half of First Century A.D. Large Module, early Fabric—Change to Uncial Omega	
V Series of Coins with Boukranion filleted	
VI Series of Coins depicting the Acropolis	
VII Series of Coins from the Second Century A.D.	
VIII Series of Second and Third Century Coins representing Athena Parthenos and Athena Promachos	
IX Series of Coins from the Third Century A.D.	



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/hesperia_1936_5

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1935

The annual progress of the excavation of the American Zone of the Athenian Agora will be described in the customary form of a general summary report. The fifth campaign of excavation extended for a period of twenty-two weeks, from January 28, 1935 until June 29.¹ Weather conditions were unusually favorable and it was necessary to suspend operations because of rain or mud for only five days throughout the season. As a result of the length of the season as well as of improved methods of transportation more earth was removed than in any previous campaign, the total being 30,850 tons. The area that was cleared amounts to about three acres so that by the close of the year a total of nine of the sixteen acres of the American Zone had been excavated and more than 90,000 tons of earth had been carted away. The result is the disclosure of a great expanse of ancient remains, such as appears in a view of the area from the southeast shown in Figure 1, in which the historical buildings are being recognized one by one, so that at length the Agora is assuming a very definite and logical shape.

The administration of the excavations has remained the same as in previous years with control vested in the Agora Commission under the chairmanship of Professor Edward Capps of Princeton University. The business management in Athens has been conducted as efficiently as usual by Mr. A. Adossides who, with the able support of the legal counsellor, Mr. Kyriakides, has been tireless in pressing for action on Agora business and has accomplished remarkable results in the face of innumerable difficulties. But it must be emphasized that little could have been achieved had it not been for the active sympathetic support of the governmental authorities. The Prime Minister and Madame Tsaldaris frequently gave evidence of their interest in the work, the Ministers of Education and of Public Welfare responded favorably to our every call, and Professor Oikonomos, Director of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education, promptly furnished active support on many occasions. For this generous coöperation the Director of the excavations expresses the heartiest gratitude on behalf of the Agora Commission and of the staff of excavators.

Few changes have been made in the personnel of the excavation staff. The assistant architect, Charles Spector, was called home by illness in his family before the beginning of the campaign and his place was filled by a young Greek architect, J. Travlos, who did such satisfactory work that his services have been engaged for another season. Mrs.

¹ Brief accounts of the season's work have been published by me in *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), pp. 173-181, 437-447; and in *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 19, 1935, pp. 645-648. Cp. also G. Karo in *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 162-170; and H. Payne, *J.H.S.*, LV (1935), pp. 147-152.

Dorothy Burr Thompson withdrew temporarily from the corps of excavators but she will resume her position in 1936. One new Agora Fellow was appointed, Miss Margaret Crosby, who measured up adequately to the high standard set by her fellow excavators. The photographic work was admirably done by Miss Alison Frantz in the absence of Mrs. Joan Bush (now Mrs. Vanderpool) who was unable to come to Athens for the current season, and Miss Constance Curry was borrowed from the School to assist Miss Talcott in the Catalogue Department. In the Coin Department Miss Doris Raymond was appointed an assistant in place of Miss Baker and Miss Bunnell, whose terms of service had expired. Great credit is due to the members of the staff for their unfaltering devotion to a very strenuous type of work during a long and intensive campaign.

The group of foremen remained the same as in the preceding season with the same head foreman, Sophokles Lekkas, experienced solver of difficult excavation problems. The number of laborers averaged 200, most of whom had worked previously in the Agora. The major physical problem of the excavations is the disposal of the vast quantity of earth that must be removed, and as the depressions in the neighborhood have become filled it must be carried to longer and longer distances. While the use of motor trucks has assured the fairly rapid handling of the earth it has also increased the cost of operations, but in view of the distances to be covered no other method of transport is practicable.

The work of the current season was conducted in four blocks that are marked with the Greek letters Nu (N), Xi (Ξ), Omicron (O), and Pi (Π) on the city plan of the American Zone that is published in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 312, fig. 1. Besides these blocks some work remained from the preceding year to be completed in Sections Beta (B) and Gamma (Γ) in the southwestern part of the Zone. In the latter Section the area was greatly enlarged by the acquisition of an extensive terrain of public property on its west and south sides. This land was occupied by the unsightly huts of sixty-seven refugee families and it was only after herculean efforts that they were finally removed by the Government to more suitable and hygienic quarters. The additional amount of land thus made available for excavation was so great that work was conducted in it throughout the season and will be continued in the next campaign. In connection with the extension of this area to the west the governmental authorities have granted permission for the complete exploration of the plateau of the Theseion. This investigation, which will be made in 1936, should prove very profitable if one may judge from the results achieved in a small area at the north end, which will be described later in this Report.

A careful study of the excavated buildings on the west side of the area was made by Dr. Thompson in preparation of the publication of these buildings. The identifications announced at the close of last season were confirmed and additional chronological evidence was secured. An important piece of confirmatory evidence for the Metroön is a fragmentary statuette with an inscribed dedication to the Mother of the Gods that was found actually imbedded in the Hellenistic wall of the building. The chronological history of the Stoa of Zeus has been more accurately determined by the investigation of stratified deposits

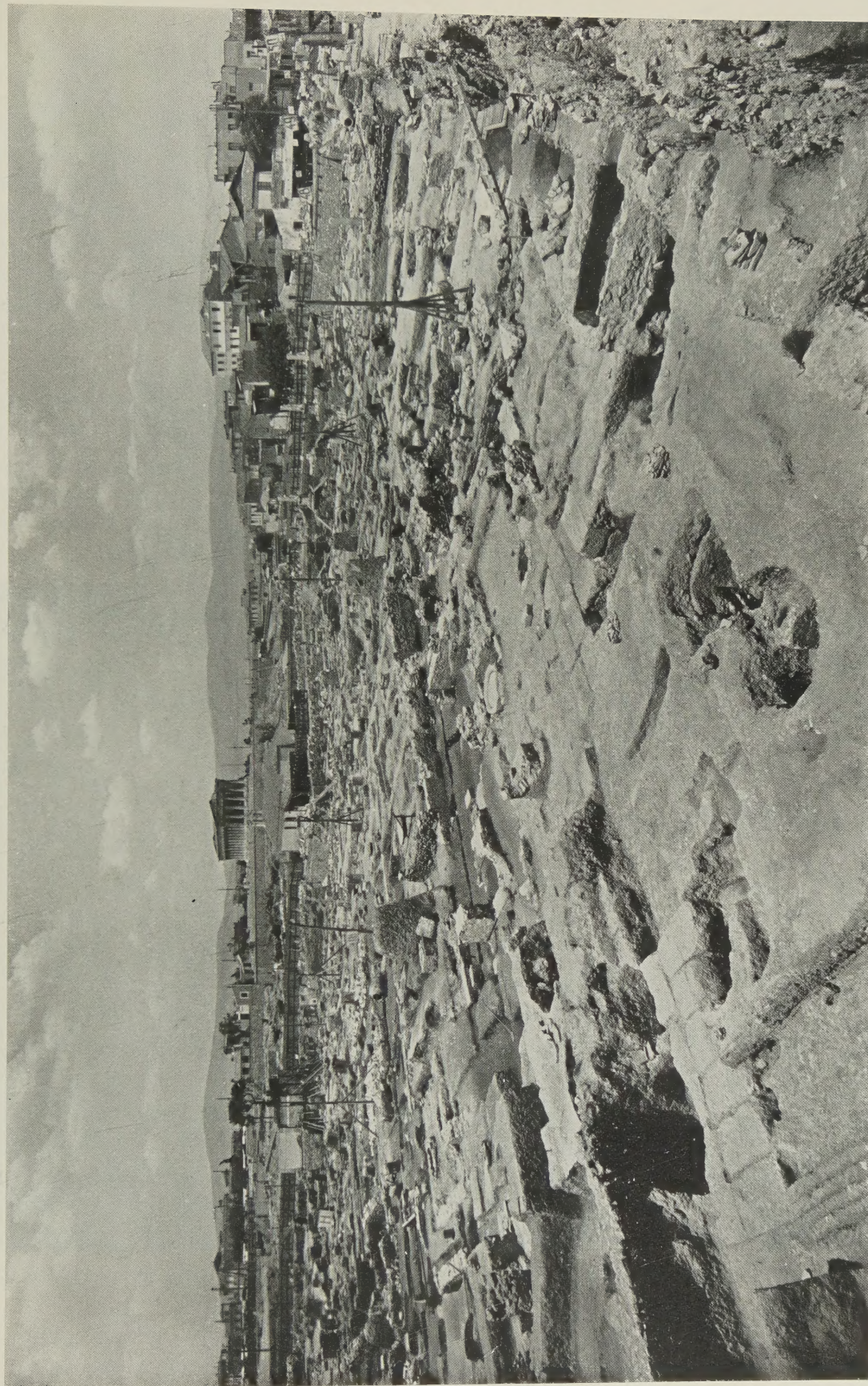


Fig. 1. The Excavated Area from the Southeast

below its floor level. It now appears that the present structure on the site was begun shortly before 430 B.C. Building operations were apparently suspended during the first decade of the Peloponnesian War, but were resumed in the interval of the Peace of Nikias, 421–415 B.C. The building was not entirely completed, however, until some time in the fourth century, because its interior walls were decorated with the paintings of Euphranor. More evidence was also secured for another building, the Bouleuterion, proving that an earlier structure was erected on the site in the latter part of the sixth century.

THE SOUTH STOA

The past season brought two important contributions to our knowledge of the topography of the Agora through the complete excavation of two large buildings, which may be provisionally called the South Stoa and the Odeion. Both buildings lie in several Sections of the excavations and the South Stoa has been under excavation during three campaigns. For two seasons Mr. Parsons has been in charge of this branch of the work and his report on the building is the basis for the account here given.



Fig. 2. The East End of the South Stoa seen from the Southwest

The South Stoa extends from east to west for a length of 150 metres along the south side of the Agora forming a convenient boundary for the area. Its width is 18.30 metres and it is divided longitudinally by a series of twenty-three columns or piers



Fig. 3. The Steps and Stylobate at the East End of the South Stoa

that are joined by walls. Most of the superstructure of the building is missing but at the east end there are preserved the lower drums of three unfluted Doric columns standing in place on the stylobate. These columns, which are shown in Figure 2, are spaced with an intercolumniation of two metres and by the use of the same intercolumniation on the

side it is possible to make a tentative reconstruction of a peripteral building with seventy-three columns on the sides and with nine on the ends. The necessity for this unusual shape was occasioned by the fact that when the stoa was built with its front facing the square on the north, some public buildings already existed south of it which could not reasonably be cut off from the Agora by a long blank wall.

The foundation of the building was constructed of blocks of red conglomerate but the superstructure, as far as it has been preserved, is built entirely of poros. Figure 3 shows the steps, stylobate and a column drum of the east end of the stoa as seen from the east. The columns, which were covered by a thick coat of stucco, were joined by a screen of stone slabs about 0.25 m. thick and at least as high as the lowest drums. The excavation of this area was not completed by the end of the season and will be continued in the next campaign.

The date of the construction of the stoa must be placed in the Hellenistic period for the mass of material thrown in to support its foundations contained objects, such as pottery, lamps, and coins, that belong chiefly in the third and second centuries. One coin, however, from the footing trench of the foundation walls, a coin of the Athenian Cleruchy of Delos, must be dated after 166 B.C., so that the date of erection of the building must have been close to the middle of the second century B.C., and thus it was about contemporaneous with the Hellenistic reconstruction of the Metroön on the west and with the Stoa of Attalos on the east. It is clear that at this period the shape of the Agora approximated a fairly compact square. The plan of the buildings published in *Hesperia* [IV (1935), pl. III, opp. p. 362], which is supplemented by Fig. 13 below, shows that an additional stoa would make a suitable closure of the area on the north side; and that location would admirably accord with the literary references to the site of the Stoa Poikile, which is associated with the Stoa Basileios in the mention made by Harpokraton (*s. v.* ἐρεῖαι) of the Herms, which certainly stood at the entrance to the Agora (Xen. *Hipparch.*, III, 2).

The South Stoa was destroyed in the latter part of the third century A.D., on the evidence provided by the objects in a stratum of débris lying north of its west end and by the fact that some of its architectural members were used in the construction of the Valerian wall. Some time after the middle of the fourth century the site was partly occupied by an elaborate system of baths which made use of a stream of water that still flows steadily into the area from the southeast. It has not been possible to identify this great stoa with any building mentioned by ancient writers.

THE ODEION

At the north end of the central part of the American Zone a series of statues of giants standing on pedestals has baffled the ingenuity of archaeologists for a satisfactory interpretation of their structural purpose for the many years since they were uncovered by the Greek Archaeological Society (1859, 1871). Without any particular reason the building to which they belong has been usually called the "Stoa of the Giants." A view



Fig. 4. The West End of the Row of Giants



Fig. 5. The Theatre Building behind the Giants

from the north of the west end of the row of Giants is given in a photograph reproduced in Figure 4 that was made at the beginning of the season before the demolition of the modern houses in the neighborhood, while Figure 5 shows the same area as it appeared at the conclusion of the excavations. A comparison of these two views conveys the clearest impression of what is occurring in the heart of Athens where the modest houses of a humble section of the modern city are giving way to the streets and houses, the temples and monuments of the ancient city of classical fame.



Fig. 6. The Orchestra from the North

Ten metres south of the façade of the Giants was uncovered the north wall of a rectangular building, measuring 52.50 by 42.50 m., that encloses a small theatre (Fig. 5). The building is oriented north and south with its front on the north side and with its rear wall built against the terrace wall of the South Stoa. It lies in areas of excavation that were supervised by Dr. Oliver, Mr. Vanderpool and Miss Crosby, but since Miss Crosby was in charge of the clearance of the main part of the building she prepared the report on which this account of the work is based.

The building consists of a rectangular auditorium that is surrounded by a corridor five metres wide that seems to have been a cryptoporticus except on the north where there was probably an entrance porch. A view of the theatre from the north (Fig. 6) shows the

orchestra and the cavea with its five passage stairways and with the cuttings in the bedrock for the marble seats of which only a few are preserved. The orchestra, which is less than a semicircle, has a floor paved with small pieces of marble of varied colors, white, green, gray, veined, and red, arranged in simple decorative designs (Fig. 7). A cutting in the floor presumably marks the original location of an altar or a statue-base. The orchestra was entered by lateral passages between the cavea and the stage, of which the foundations are 1.10 m. above the level of the orchestra floor.



Fig. 7. The Orchestra from the South

A deposit of burned material varying in depth from 15 to 75 cm. overlay the floor. It was almost wholly composed of charred bits of marble and of broken roof-tiles, many of which are stamped with the name Dionysiou. Seventeen coins from the undisturbed burned filling have been identified in spite of the injury to their surfaces from the fire. These are 7 of Athens of the Greek period, 3 from other Greek cities, 1 Athens Imperial, 1 Trajan, 1 Gordianus III, 2 Roman third century, and 2 Gallienus. The depth of the burned stratum and the serious injury to the surface of the marbles indicate a violent conflagration, and it is difficult to understand how so much fuel for flames could exist in a stone building of this sort.

The date of the construction of the building can be determined approximately from the methods of construction, from the stamped roof-tiles, from two marble heads found on the floor, and from the style of some of the architectural members. Parts of several large handsome Corinthian capitals have permitted the complete restoration of one of them which is reproduced in Figure 8 from a drawing by Mr. Travlos. The simple arrangement with a single row of acanthus leaves at the base and the water leaves extending above them characterizes a special type of Corinthian capital. This capital is identical in type with the capitals of the columns of the porches of the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrehestes,¹ which is dated on good grounds by Graindor about the middle of the first



Fig. 8. Restored Corinthian Capital from the Odeion

century B.C.² The close similarity in style of these capitals of neighboring buildings predicates an approximately uniform date for the time of their construction which would have occurred in the course of the rebuilding of the city after the damage wrought by Sulla. A Corinthian anta capital that is built into a late Roman wall of the building (Fig. 9) may perhaps be attributed to the same era of construction in spite of the presence of a flower stalk below the tangent middle volutes which A. D. Fraser has noted to be a characteristic of Hadrianic style [*Art Bulletin*, IV (1921), pp. 15 ff.].

To the same period may also be assigned three marble female heads in high relief that were lying in the burned stratum just above the floor of the orchestra. These heads, one of which is illustrated in Figure 10, will be discussed in a subsequent article dealing with the sculpture and for the present it will be sufficient to point out that they closely resemble the head of the Hera Farnese in the Naples Museum and must reflect the type

¹ See Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, pl. VII.

² *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 179.

of the original source of that work. The background of the heads is a marble slab in the top of which are cuttings for dowels so that they presumably served some decorative architectural purpose in connection with the theatre building. They were, therefore, made when the theatre was constructed and were buried when that building was burned in the latter part of the third century A.D. The destruction, of which the date is fixed by the latest coins in the burned stratum, those of Gallienus, was probably due to the invasion of the Heruli in 267 A.D. In the second half of the fourth century the foundations were used



Fig. 9. Corinthian Anta Capital in a late Wall of the Odeion

for the erection of another building, on the northern façade of which the statues of the Giants were placed. But the fate of this building was brief as it does not seem to have long survived the end of the century and may have been ruined when Alaric visited Athens in 396.

The evidence for the identification of this small theatre is fairly clear. Only two buildings, that may be considered in this connection because of their theatrical type, can possibly be located in this part of the Agora. They are the Orchestra, described by Arrian (*Anab.*, III, 16, 8) as situated opposite the Metroön and the Odeion, mentioned by Pausanias (I, 8, 6) next after the statues of the Tyrannicides. The shape of the new building does not seem suitable for the Orchestra which should normally be a full circle and no trace was found of the bases of the statues of the Tyrannicides which, according to Arrian and Pausanias, were still standing there in the middle of the second century A.D. But the shape

is quite appropriate for that of a small covered theatre such as the Odeion certainly was. Pausanias locates the Odeion near the Enneakrounos and although the new building is separated by the South Stoa from the fountain house in the southwest part of the Agora,



Fig. 10. Marble Head from Burned Stratum above the Orchestra

which has a good claim to be considered the Enneakrounos, it is not far from it and, therefore, because of its location and of its shape it may be provisionally identified as the Odeion.

The proposed identification is supported by the discovery of two objects in the excavation of the building, one a statue of Dionysos (Fig. 11) and the other a fragment

of a marble base inscribed with the name Philadelphos (Fig. 12). The importance of these discoveries is due to the fact that Pausanias states that the Odeion contained a statue of Dionysos "worth seeing," and that in front of it were erected statues of the



Fig. 11. Statue of Dionysos

Ptolemies. The workmanship of the figure of Dionysos is good and when complete the statue might justly have been considered to be "worth seeing." The name in the fragmentary inscription may reasonably be restored as Ptolemy Philadelphus and the piece is presumably from the base of one of the statues mentioned by Pausanias. Such

is the evidence at present available for the identification of the building. Further evidence on the subject may be secured in the next campaign when the area to the north will be excavated.

The ground plan of the ancient buildings of the Agora as they appeared at the close of the season, shown in Figure 13, should be compared with the plan published in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pl. III, opp. p. 362. On the west side below the Theseion are the famous public buildings: the Stoa of Zeus, the Temple of Apollo, the Metroön, the Bouleuterion, and the Tholos. The south and east sides are bounded by great stoa.



Fig. 12. Fragment of an Inscribed Base

In the centre is the Odeion; in the southwest corner the Fountain House, the Enneakrounos; and on the north edge the Altar of the Twelve Gods. A suitable completion of the plan requires another stoa along the north side and, as has been suggested, such a position for the Stoa Poikile would harmonize with ancient references to the site of that building. This possibility, however, cannot be explored in the immediate future because the suggested site is north of the electric railway that forms the northern boundary of the American Zone.

THE PLATEAU OF THE THESEION

On the plateau south of the Theseion the living rock is visible in many places and elsewhere it is covered by only a shallow deposit of earth. The ultimate plan for the inclusion of this area in the archaeological zone presumes its embellishment by the discreet planting of shrubbery. Before this can be done the rock must be covered with earth and

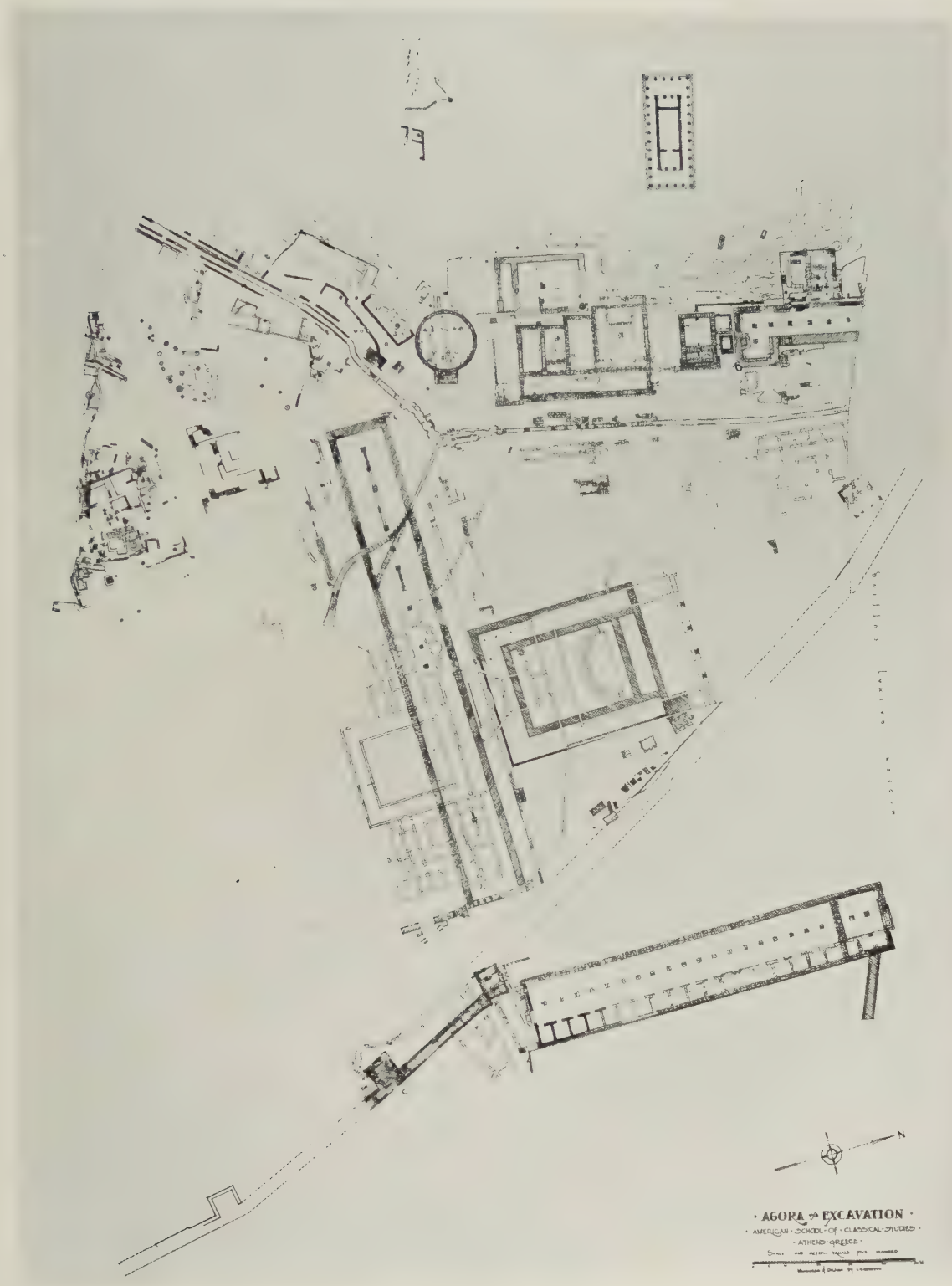


Fig. 13. The Plan of the Agora at the Close of the Season

the space is so large that many thousands of tons will be required for the purpose. It will obviously be a great convenience for the excavations if the earth, which is now carted for a long distance at considerable trouble and expense, can be dumped in the immediate neighborhood. Before covering the rock, however, it was essential to explore it thoroughly and this investigation, which was partially made this year and will be completed next season, produced unexpected results. Cuttings for early graves and an unrifled Protogeometric burial, which will be described later, were uncovered; many objects of various periods were found lying close to the bedrock; and a large cistern was opened that had not been entered since the fourth century A.D.

THE CISTERN

The cistern is located on the axis of the eleventh column of the Theseion and lies 58.20 m. south of the stylobate. It is cut in the solid rock and is lined on the interior with a thick coat of stucco. The diameter of the mouth is 1.05 m. and its depth is 4.70 m. It was packed with stones and earth through which the ancient objects were scattered, but it did not contain water, which was originally received through channels cut in the surface of the bedrock extending south and southwest of its mouth. The contents of the cistern are varied in character and represent a long range of time, as is indicated by the dates of the coins, which include the following: Megara, 307–243 B.C.; Athenian New Style, 229–30 B.C.; Delian Cleruchy, after 166 B.C.; Athenian Imperial, 1st century A.D.; and the Emperors: Philippus, 244–249; Gallienus, 253–268; Postumus, 259–268; Constantius Chlorus, 293–306; Constantine I, 306–337; Constantius II, 323–361 A.D. Nothing later than the time of Constantius was found in the deposit.

The objects from the cistern, of which forty have been catalogued, are of much interest and importance. They include a marble herm, two ivory statuettes, the lower part of a marble statuette of Herakles, a Roman lamp of the second century A.D., a lamp of the third century signed EV (Eutyches), two terracotta heads, twenty-two lead seals, and the following bronzes: a bull, statuettes of Herakles and of a shepherd, a coiled snake, a spout in the shape of a boar's head, and an arrow tip. The fragile ivories and the bronzes are well preserved because of the dry condition of the earth in the cistern.

THE MARBLE HERM

The herm is of the usual type consisting of a tall shaft of Pentelic marble, supported by a base, which is surmounted by the bust of a man with marble projections at the shoulders in place of arms. The piece, which has a total height of 1.52 m., is remarkable for its excellent state of preservation and is particularly interesting because it bears the name of the individual portrayed inscribed across the top of the face of the shaft [Fig. 14. *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 19, 1935, p. 645, fig. 7; *A. J. A.*, XXXIX (1935), p. 444,

fig. 7]. The head, which will be discussed in a subsequent article on Sculpture, is an admirable portrait of an elderly man. The style of the workmanship suggests a date in the second century A.D. and such a date would be fitting for the shapes of the letters of the inscription. But although the name is fully given: Moiragenes son of Dromokles, of the Deme Koile, Eponymos of the Tribe Hippothontis, this man is not otherwise known from ancient records unless, as Mr. Sterling Dow has suggested, he may be identified with a Moiragenes mentioned in an inscription of the second century A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1809).

THE IVORY STATUETTES

The two small ivory figures of seated women are similar in type, style and costume, and were evidently made by the same hand (Fig. 15). Both women are seated on an irregularly shaped block and both wear the same style of dress, a chiton girdled just below the breasts and a himation folded across the lap. The type of head is also similar with placid, reposeful features in the Praxitelean style. In each case the hair is parted in the middle, brushed back over a fillet and caught in a knot behind. The figure on the left of the picture (height: 0.057 m.), whose arms are missing, is facing forward with her head slightly inclined to her left side. The other woman (height: 0.05 m.) has twisted the upper part of her body to the left where she is holding a large lyre. The presence of the lyre and the type and pose of the figures suggest the interpretation of them as Muses, and the woman with the lyre resembles in style and costume the figure of the seated Muse on the Mantineian base. The style of the figures and the admirable technical execution of the work are characteristic of products of the Greek period and since several Greek coins were found in the cistern there is no obstacle raised by the circumstances of discovery against their attribution to the fourth or third century B.C. The figures evidently formed the decorations of some large object as a small hole is visible at the back of each seat. It may be conjectured that all nine Muses made in the same exquisite style were set up in an aediculum or used for some other decorative purpose.

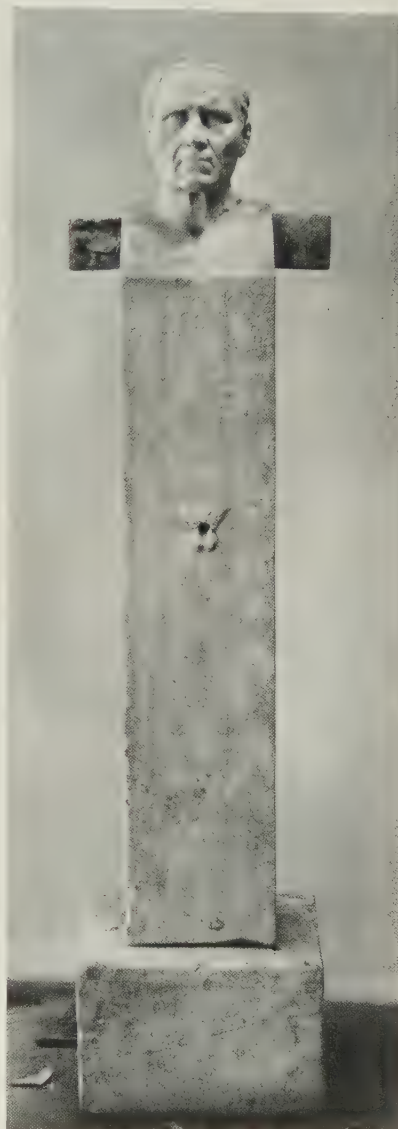


Fig. 14. The Herm of Moiragenes



Fig. 15. Two Ivory Statuettes



Fig. 16. Bronze Statuettes

THE SMALL BRONZES

By contrast with the delicately wrought ivories the bronze statuettes are crudely made. The two figures on the left of the picture shown in Figure 16 came from within the cistern, the one on the right was found on the surface outside lying above the bedrock, but as all are of similar careless type and of late date they have been grouped together. The figure of Herakles in the centre (height including base: 0.094 m.) is a copy in miniature of the famous statue of the hero resting that is well represented by the Farnese Herakles in the Museum at Naples. Here he is seen in similar pose with the massive head inclined towards the left shoulder, with the right arm bent behind his back, and with the left arm resting on a support over which the lion's skin has been thrown. Similar, too, are the shaggy hair and beard, the exaggerated calves of the legs, and the heavily muscled body. The chief divergence between the statuette and its presumptive model is in the type of the support. The Farnese Herakles leans on his club which is resting on a rock, but the bronze figure holds his arm over a large tree trunk, a much less pleasing composition.

The statuette on the left of the picture (height: 0.091 m.) appears to be from the same workshop as the Herakles. A youth is represented who is nude except for an animal's skin that is girded about the loins with its ends hanging down on his thighs. He should probably be identified as Pan or Paris or perhaps as a simple shepherd. His right arm is raised aloft but in his lowered left hand he is holding a lagobolon, a weapon with a curved end used for killing hares.

The figure of Hermes on the right of the picture is even cruder than the other two. He is standing on a circular base holding a purse in his right hand and the caduceus in the left (height with base: 0.086 m.). He wears a peaked cap and has a chlamys draped over the left shoulder. Large wings were attached to the ankles, part of one of which remains. A work of such careless character may have been intended for use merely as a cheap offering at some shrine.

The contents of the cistern included also twenty-two lead seals, and seventy-one of similar type were found elsewhere on the plateau in the vicinity. More than half have on the obverse the head of Hermes with a caduceus, all counterstruck with a dolphin; the reverse is plain. Ten others show a standing figure of Hermes holding money bag and caduceus on the obverse, and on the reverse a draped standing figure. Other types include a head of Athena, a bearded head that is probably Poseidon with a trident, a Pegasus, a rayed head of Helios, and a bust of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet. It is not certain for what purpose these seals were made but because of the predominance of the type of Hermes, the god of trade, it is possible that they were used in some way as a guarantee in connection with the production or sale of merchandise.

THE EARLY GRAVES

An astonishing feature of the current campaign has been the discovery of burials of sundry early periods. One of these that is particularly interesting for the history of Athens is a grave of the neolithic period that must be dated prior to 3000 B.C., and is the earliest record of habitation on the site of the Agora that has been found. About two

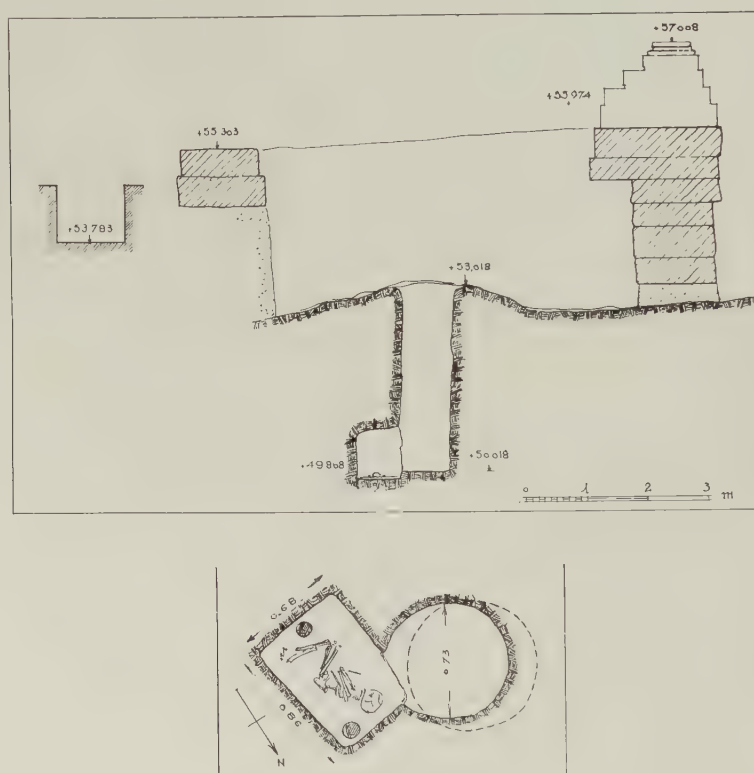


Fig. 17. Section and Plan of Neolithic Shaft Grave

metres east of the façade of the Metroön a circular cutting, ninety centimetres in diameter, appeared in the bedrock. This proved to be the top of a shaft that extended down to a depth of three metres; at its bottom a rectangular cutting in the rock on the east side contained the skeleton of an adult in crouching position and two vases. Figure 17 shows above, in section, the shaft in relation to the foundation of the Metroön on the right, and to the water-channel of the sixth century B.C. on the left, and below, in plan, the grave and its contents.

The two vases (Fig. 18) are primitive hand-made bowls. The one on the right of the picture, that was lying near the head of the skeleton, has lugs on each side for

handles. It has been fired to an ash gray color and is slipped and polished both inside and out. Three pairs of drilled holes along the edges of a fracture show that this crude bowl had been mended in antiquity. The second vase, which had two loop handles, is made of equally coarse clay but it has been fired to a reddish orange color on the outside. The colors with which these vases were reproduced in the *Illustrated London News* (Oct. 19, 1935, p. 647) are approximately correct. These vases do not fall into any of the categories of Helladic pottery and they are dated by Mrs. Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos, a specialist who has devoted years of study to the Greek prehistoric period, at the close of the neolithic age. The shaft itself contained sherds of the Middle Helladic period, including pieces of gray Minyan and of matt painted ware, but nothing later than that

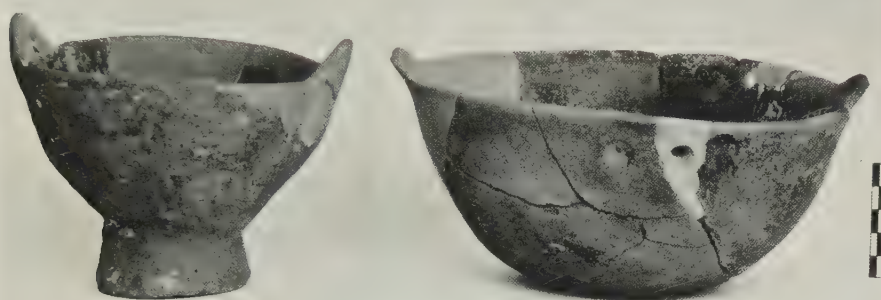


Fig. 18. Neolithic Vases

period. This discovery of a neolithic burial supplements in an important way the revelation by Della Seta in 1922 of a settlement of the period on the south slope of the Acropolis [*Bollettino d'Arte*, N. S., II (1922), pp. 278 f.], and the excavation of a neolithic tomb in the same neighborhood by A. N. Skias in 1899 (*Arch. Ephem.*, 1902, pp. 123 ff.). By the courtesy of the Greek Government the bones from the grave have been deposited in the American Museum of Natural History in New York where they are being studied by Dr. H. L. Shapiro who will present an anthropological study of the material in a subsequent number of *Hesperia*.

THE MYCENAEAN BURIAL

Since a grave of the late Mycenaean period containing pottery and a gold signet ring was discovered in 1933 in Section Eta of the excavations [*Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 318-320] it was not surprising to find another grave of the period this year. A cutting was carefully made in the bedrock in Section Lambda (length: 1.90 m.) with vertical sides and a flat bottom. Its orientation is from east to west and the body was laid in it with



Fig. 19. Plan of the Mycenaean Grave



Fig. 20 Late Mycenaean Vase

the head at the west end. The upper part of the skeleton is well preserved but the middle of the body is missing and the bones of the legs were disarranged. This disturbance of the bones undoubtedly occurred when a Roman wall was built across the grave as is shown on the plan in Figure 19. The skeleton lay in a curious position with the head lowered to the left so that it rested on the left shoulder. The right arm was bent across the chest and the fingers were tightly clasped about the left upper arm. The left forearm was raised so that when uncovered it pointed nearly straight up toward the surface. The date of the grave is fixed in the late Mycenaean period (Late Helladic III), about 1200 B.C., by the pottery from it which includes one vase that is practically complete (Fig. 20). This is a jug of familiar Mycenaean shape and decoration, with three loop handles on the shoulder, and with bands and stripes painted red on a buff ground.

Another grave nearby, containing a complete skeleton, which was similarly cut in the bedrock, is presumably also to be classified as Mycenaean although no pottery was found in it. The physiological characteristics of a man of this period will presently be reported since the Greek Government has also presented the skeleton from the grave with the pottery to the American School for the Museum of Natural History in New York.

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC GRAVE

On the plateau south of the Theseion the bedrock is covered by a shallow deposit of earth, varying in depth from thirty to forty centimetres, beneath which numerous rectangular cuttings in the rock were uncovered. As one of the cuttings contained an unripled burial of the Protogeometric period, about 1000 B.C., and as Protogeometric sherds were scattered over the area these shafts are evidently the remains of a cemetery of that period which was located on the crest of the hill. The preserved grave was cut in the rock in a direction from northwest to southeast and contained the skeletons of two young children, one placed above the other, both with their heads at the southeast end. Twelve vases were deposited with the upper skeleton, and the presence of carbonized



Fig. 21. Plan of Protogeometric Grave

matter and of bones of animals in the earth above the body indicates a burnt sacrifice at the funeral. The plan of the grave shown in Figure 21 gives the position of the upper skeleton and the offerings. The vases, which are preserved intact except for a few missing chips, are decorated in characteristic Protogeometric style (Fig. 22). Four of the jugs in the top row of the photograph bear on the shoulder the usual design of concentric semi-circles and the vases in the lower row have equally characteristic decorative motives



Fig. 22. Vases from Protogeometric Grave

consisting of squares or rectangles or triangles of cross-hatching or of checker-board pattern. When the remainder of the plateau is excavated in the next season it may be expected that a farther extension of this early cemetery will be revealed.

THE GEOMETRIC BURIALS

Valuable historical and topographical evidence is furnished by the discovery of a cemetery of the Geometric period. Archaeological research always produces unexpected results but nothing could be more surprising than to find a cemetery in the Agora of Athens. Obviously the burials must have been made prior to the time when the area

was selected as an agora, and the site of the cemetery, therefore, suggests the important topographical inference that the early town of Athens did not extend far to the north, but was clustered closely around the slopes of the Acropolis and the Areopagus. Twenty-one burials, of which most were intact, were uncovered in a limited area lying at the base of the south end of the Kolonos Agoraios. They are situated south of the Tholos and at a depth of from two to three metres below the floor of that building. It is reasonable to suppose that many similar graves have been destroyed by the later buildings and intrusions; and such violated graves may have been the source for the countless fragments of Geometric pottery scattered everywhere about the area at a level slightly above bedrock. The abundance of this deposit points to the interesting historical conclusion that the town of the Geometric age was a large and important one.

The period covered by the burials extends from the beginning of the eighth well down into the seventh century B.C., and thus the material provided permits a study of the development of the Geometric style and of its transition to the early Attic. Two types of interment were practised, the shaft grave which was used for adults and urn burials used for children. The earlier graves, dating from the beginning of the eighth century, had been disturbed by the later, and in one instance the second shaft had been cut across the earlier one and its filling earth contained dedicatory objects from its predecessor.

From one of the disturbed early burials came a vase of unique character and of interesting decoration, the handsome oenochoe (height: 0.228 m.) which is illustrated in Figure 23. The vase has a tall vertical handle and a trefoil mouth, and its surface is covered with decorative designs. In addition to the linear decorations there are also two bands on which are represented chariots and warriors of primitive type and crude appearance, painted in black on the buff ground. Three warriors appear on the band encircling the high neck of the vase. They wear helmets with long waving crests, have long swords suspended at the waist, and each carries two spears and a shield of hour-glass shape. The shoulder decoration of the oenochoe consists of a large meander pattern set between narrow bands of zigzags, and then below, about the body of the vase, comes the main zone of decoration.

The frieze of warriors engaged in a combat of Homeric type is shown in developed form in Figure 24. The central part of the scene is a hand-to-hand fight between two men of opposing sides. The single combatant who is facing two foes is protecting himself and his charioteer with a square shield;¹ the driver of the four-wheeled cart on the right, who is equipped with an hour-glass shield, is undoubtedly to be associated with the attacking foot soldiers on the left and thus the opposing forces are distinguished by shields of different shapes.² The human figures are crudely made, with eyes formed by dots in

¹ Dr. Hampe of the German Institute has made the interesting suggestion that the "Siamese" twins, the Aktorions, are here represented, cp. C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, pp. 165 ff.

² For the use of shields of different shape by a single group see G. Lippold, *Griechische Schilde* in *Münchener Archäologische Studien*, p. 424.

reserved areas, with broad shoulders, wasp waists, and large hips, but in spite of the naive crudity of the execution the artist has succeeded in presenting variety of composition and in instilling a sense of action into the scene.



Fig. 23. Early Geometric Oenochoe

This vase, as far as the decoration is concerned, is an unusually interesting example of a familiar type of pottery, but it has also an additional and unique characteristic. Four round holes are cut in the body, pairs opposite one another, front and back and on the

sides, and through these holes are passed two hollow terracotta tubes, which thus cross on the interior of the vase. No parallel exists for this curious arrangement and the significance of the tubes is far from clear. They were made with much care and with con-



Fig. 24. Combat Scene on the Frieze of the Oenochoe



Fig. 25. Geometric Terracotta Figurines

siderable difficulty, and must have been essential to the purpose for which they were intended, but that purpose, which may have been concerned with magic or ritual, remains for the present an enigma.

A group of contemporaneous terracotta figurines was found in the vicinity of the oenochoe and in the filling of a neighboring grave (Fig. 25). On the left of the picture

a charioteer is seen standing in his car, on the right are two seated figures, and in the centre are a bird and two crude animals, horses or dogs. The technique is similar to that used on the oenochoe and the figures are covered with decorations painted in black on a buff ground. The most interesting of these terracottas is the seated figure on the extreme right. The person, presumably a woman, has its arms raised aloft in the position of



Fig. 26. Geometric Amphora

tearing the hair, so that a mourning attitude is portrayed. The body is entirely covered with decoration but besides the usual geometric designs a small figure is painted on the centre of both front and back in the same attitude as that of the terracotta itself, with arms raised and with the hands tearing the hair. The figure on the front of the body is set between two swastikas; on the back there are also two swastikas but their arrangement is different, one being at the left of the figure and the other below it. These terracottas were funeral dedications, and representations of mourning scenes are commonly portrayed on sepulchral vases of the Dipylon style.

Such a scene is, in fact, represented on an amphora found near the figurines that is adorned with plastic snakes of sepulchral significance on rim, handles and shoulder (Fig. 26). Besides the linear designs three bands of figured ornamentation present scenes associated with sepulture. On the front the narrow band just below the rim is occupied by a series of men bringing offerings, the panel on the neck portrays a prothesis scene, and on the main band around the body is a series of five three-horse chariots, symbolical of the funeral games held in honor of the dead.

These scenes illustrate some of the burial customs of the early Greeks, and the elaborateness of the designs bespeaks developed skill on the part of both the potter and painter.

THE SHAFT GRAVES

Six shaft graves were uncovered which yielded pottery dating in the latter part of the eighth century. One of these was a double burial that differed in type from its neighbors. The skeleton of a man was lying in undisturbed state in a direction from northwest to southeast with the head at the northwest end. The bones were covered with hard packed

earth but there was no stone cover preserved above them. Figure 27 shows the outstretched skeleton, with the stone slabs covering another grave south of it still in place, and on the left the urn burial of an infant. No vases were found with the bones of the man but an iron dagger was lying under his left arm. When the skeleton had been removed and a thin stratum of earth beneath it had been cleared seven vases appeared directly below lying on a skeleton of a woman that was placed in the opposite direction



Fig. 27. Geometric Shaft Graves and Urn Burial

to that of the man, that is with the head toward the southeast. The vases from the grave are a pyxis, four bowls, a tall pitcher and a kantharos.

The neighboring grave to the south also contained the skeleton of a woman and seven vases, of which five are pyxides.¹ This grave is a typical example of the group. The bedrock had been cut away to form the shaft which was covered with seven slabs of gray limestone. After the removal of the slabs earth was encountered for a depth of forty centimetres, below which was a layer of ashes ten centimetres deep. Under the ashes was a thin stratum of earth that had been strewn over the body and the offerings. Apparently when the body had been placed in the grave and the vases deposited sufficient earth was thrown in to cover them; then sacrifices were held and the ashes scattered over the earth before the cover slabs were set in place.

¹ These vases are illustrated in *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), p. 176, fig. 4.

Three graves of men contained few offerings forming a noticeable contrast to the richness of the contents of the graves of women. This contrast is intensified when we come to the last and richest grave of the group, that of a young woman. The appearance of the grave after the removal of the cover slabs and the clearance of the filling earth is



Fig. 28. Geometric Grave of a Young Woman, as Excavated

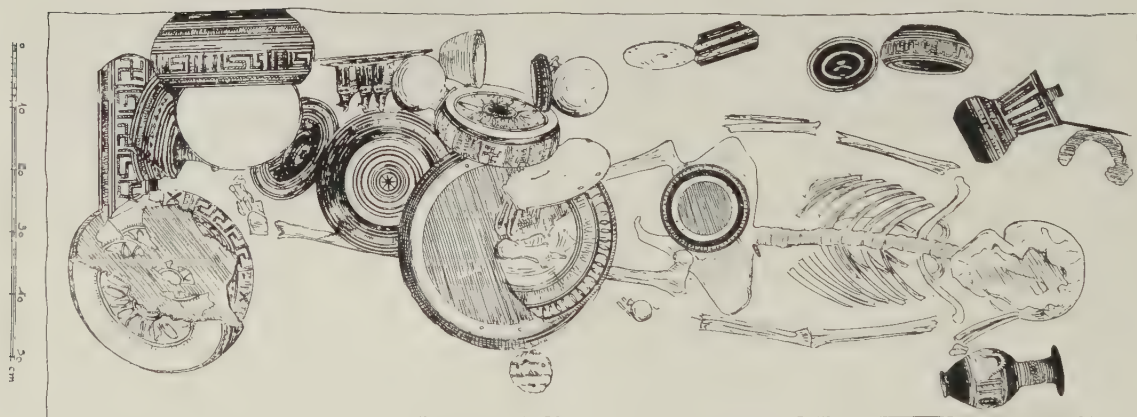


Fig. 29. Plan of Geometric Grave showing Offerings in Place

shown in Figure 28. The grave was oriented approximately east and west and the body lay with the head at the west end. The offerings, of which the position is clearly marked on the plan (Fig. 29), comprise a large iron brooch, a small bronze brooch, a bronze stick pin, two bronze rings, a terracotta disc, and twenty-two vases. The vases (Fig. 30), eleven of which are pyxides, illustrate the beauty and the variety of the best geometric technique.

Besides the shaft graves eleven urn burials were uncovered in the cemetery. These were large amphorae or small pithoi that contained, when found in undisturbed condition, the partially burned bones of infants and offerings of small vases such as would be appropriate for the use of children.



Fig. 30. Vases from Geometric Grave

Some of these urn burials extend in date into the seventh century and thus approach the time when this area was preempted for the location of the Agora.

THE POTTERY

In addition to many complete vases secured from the unrifled graves pottery in more or less well preserved condition was found elsewhere in the excavations, in wells and cisterns and in disturbed deposits, in such abundance that the season may be appropriately characterized as distinctively a pottery year. Many different periods are represented by ceramic masterpieces and even works from the hands of the famous Attic potters are not lacking. Several of the categories will be discussed in special articles by members of the staff so that only a brief account of the material need be presented here.



Fig. 31. Early Geometric Oenochoe from the Shaft



Fig. 32. Geometric Krater from the Shaft

Some clearing of late walls in the northeast corner of Section Eta, that was excavated in 1933, led to the discovery of a well cut in the bedrock. The mouth of the well lies 6 metres below modern level and the well itself extended to a depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ metres; its filling belonged uniformly to the early Geometric period. In addition to many baskets of sherds from the shaft two vases that are practically complete were found at the $3\frac{1}{2}$ metre level. One of these is a large oenochoe of the black Dipylon style (Fig. 31), and the other is a handsome krater that is decorated with dark brown bands painted on a light buff ground (Fig. 32). In the same stratum with these vases was discovered an imported object of extraordinary character. This is a pendant made of blue glass that is illustrated in Figure 33 from an enlarged water-color made by Piet de Jong. The head of a woman is portrayed whose face is framed by a wig or a heavy mass of hair. The shape of the face is long and tapering, the eyes are narrow, the cheek bones are high and prominent, the mouth is small, and the neck is encircled by two rows of beads. The appearance of this head and the material from which it is made suggest an eastern source, perhaps Phoenician or Syrian, but no parallel has yet been noted that might be helpful in determining its origin or its date.

Another interesting object of the Geometric period is a two-handled bowl that bears on its side in incised letters the name of its owner (Fig. 34). The shape is rather shallow with an outflaring rim, and the handles are horizontal. The buff clay had been covered with a black slip that has largely flaked away. The bowl was found in a late Geometric context and its shape is exactly similar to bowls found in the late Geometric cemetery at Corinth. It should be dated near the end of the eighth century B.C. The unusual feature about it is the presence of the inscription by which the owner records his proprietary rights. It reads: ΘΑΠΙΟ ΕΙΜΙ ΠΟΤΕΡΙΟΝ, I am the cup of Tharios. The name Tharios is not otherwise known, and the use of the diphthong instead of the simple Ε in the verb should be noted. The letters are carefully made and show no signs of chipping so that the inscription is evidently contemporaneous with the manufacture of the bowl. The shapes of the letters are similar to those inscribed on the Geometric pottery found by Blegen on Mt. Hymettus [*A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 10 ff.], and the bowl furnishes another illustration of the advanced development of Greek writing in the eighth century.

Succeeding the Geometric style a new type of pottery appeared in Athens in the early seventh century that is characterized by altered shapes and by a greater repertory of decorative motives. A magnificent specimen of this Proto-attic style is a stately krater that is decorated on each side by two large birds, resembling an ostrich in appearance, that face each other in a field of ornamental designs consisting of rosettes, circles, zigzags, and elaborate spirals. Figure 35 shows the vase as restored by de Jong. The only uncertain element in this restoration is the shape of the base of which no part was recovered, and which perhaps should have been made higher on the analogy of the vase in the Fitzwilliam Museum (*Corp. Vas. Ant.*, Cambridge, 1, III GH, pl. II, 7). Other pottery of this group



Fig. 33. Glass Pendant. Scale 4:1



Fig. 34. Late Geometric Bowl with Inscription

includes a panel from a large vase that is occupied by a realistic cock and a side of a vase decorated with two facing sphinxes.

Other early ceramic types include several imported Corinthian vases, a fine fragment from the neck of a large amphora of Attic orientalizing style that is decorated with a run-



Fig. 35. Proto-attic Krater

ning Gorgon, and an Attic Black-figured jug with an arming scene portrayed on its front panel. The many pieces of fifth century ware, of which the two most important are a white-ground disc with Helios standing in a chariot and a fragmentary vase signed by Euthymides, will be published in later articles by Miss Talcott. Attention, however, may

be called here to an interesting inscription incised on the bottom of the base of a large two-handled bowl that was found in connection with other vases with incised names in a pit beneath the floor of the Stoa of Zeus. The earliest datable object from the pit is an ostrakon of Aristides that cannot be placed after 483, the year when Aristides was ostracized. The inscription is in the form of a dactylic hexameter line divided between the outer rim of the bottom of the base and its inner disc. It reads as follows: *φῆσιν*

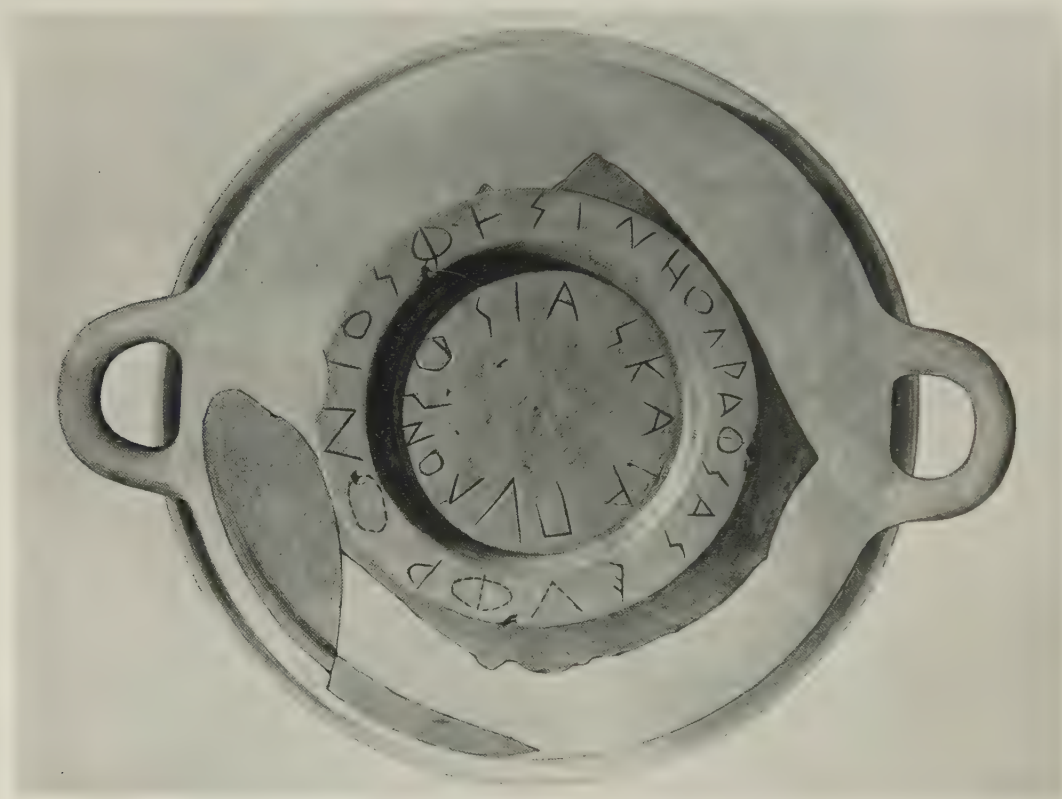


Fig. 36. Incised Inscription on Bottom of Vase

ὁ γράψας Ε[ὐφρόν]ιος Σωσίας κατάπνγον, which may be freely translated: "Euphronios who painted the vase (or scratched the inscription) says Sosias be damned!" All the letters are clear except those of the name Euphronios which have been deliberately deleted, but the remaining traces of letters seem to me to warrant the suggested restoration. In order to show the spacing of the restored letters the inscription is illustrated in Figure 36 from a drawing by de Jong. The rivalry between Euthymides and Euphronios is well known from the inscription on an amphora in Munich (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Griechen*, I, p. 433), and whether or not the Sosias here cursed is to be identified with the potter

Sosias, I am inclined to connect the new inscription with the rivalries existing among the ceramic masters in Athens.

A great quantity of pottery dating from the fourth and third centuries was secured from several cisterns on the west side of the area of excavations. One of the deposits that can be dated in the middle years of the fourth century contained a vase that had been



Fig. 37. Hydria of Hadra Type

imported from Cyprus. Another imported vase is a hydria (Fig. 37) that belongs stylistically to a group that has acquired its name from the cemetery of Hadra near Alexandria where many have been found. The evidence secured at Hadra dates this pottery in the second quarter of the third century B.C. It is interesting to secure these imported vases both for the confirmatory chronological evidence that they provide and for the enlargement of the variety of pottery in the Agora collection.

The local Hellenistic ware is abundantly represented in the year's harvest, and two vases are selected to illustrate this group (Fig. 38). They are of similar shape, the kantharos type, and both have the rich black glaze that is characteristic of the period with decorative motives added in opaque white. The vase on the left of the picture is decorated with pairs of dolphins, while that on the right has above its ornamental design the painted word, *φιλίας*, "Friendship's cup," thus identifying the authentic "loving cup" of the ancient Greeks. The thin walls and graceful shape of these cups recall the statement



Fig. 38. Hellenistic Vases

of Epigenes, a fourth century writer quoted by Athenaeus (XI, 474 a), that "potters do not make fat kantharoi now but they make them small and dainty as if people were going to drink the cups and not the wine."

The excavations always produce considerable pottery of the later periods, Roman, Byzantine, and Turkish but this does not require detailed description in this place. The fact should be emphasized, however, that well preserved specimens in the Agora collection now handsomely illustrate many diverse periods of ceramic development. Contrary to all previous expectations the Agora has become a new centre in Athens for the study of pottery, and especially valuable for that study is the fact that accurate records furnish all details of the circumstances of discovery so that precious chronological evidence is usually available.

TERRACOTTAS

Figurines of many types and periods are commonly found in the area, and evidence that they were locally made is provided by the frequent discovery of the moulds that were used in their manufacture. The number of Greek and Roman lamps is steadily increasing, and those secured during the present season, 369 in number representing practically all periods, bring the total catalogued in the Agora to 1921. One Hellenistic example is particularly interesting because a piece of the wick is preserved in place extending from the channel of the nozzle into the bowl. Since the dates of lamps are now fairly well fixed they supplement coins in providing chronological evidence for stratified deposits.

COINS

The problem of handling the coins from the excavations is an ever growing one because of the constantly increasing numbers. The harvest of the present year was 9,690 pieces, and the grand total for the five seasons is 41,290. This total includes modern coins and many that will disintegrate in the cleaning process, but the proportion of those lost is surprisingly small in view of the badly corroded condition in which they come from the ground. This is demonstrated by the complete returns from Section Eta. Of a total of 3,624 coins from this Section 395 (10.9%) disintegrated and 93 (2.5%) were illegible, leaving 3,136 (86.5%) that were legible and identified. An analytical study of the coins is presented by Mrs. Shear in a later article in this Number.

OSTRAKA

The collection of ostraka now numbers 145 pieces, including the names of all those listed by Aristotle as ostracized before the Persian invasion, names of Athenians known in history, and names not otherwise known from historical records. Ballots derived from the early ostracisms, of which specimens are shown in Figure 39, include seven against Hipparchos son of Charmos, seven against Megakles son of Hippokrates, six against Xanthippos son of Arriphron, twenty-eight against Aristides son of Lysimachos, fifty-four against Themistokles son of Neokles, and thirteen against Hippokrates son of Anaxilas (or Alkmeonides).

Many curious variations occur in the spelling of the names indicative of the low degree of literacy of the period. One ballot of Aristides is particularly interesting in view of the story related by Plutarch (*Aristides*, VII, 5-6) about the embarrassment of an illiterate man who could not write the name. On the sherd the name was poorly written and below it the father's name was started. Then the name of the Deme, Alopekethen, was incised and later crossed out, and below it the father's name, Lysimachos, was carefully incised in a different hand. Evidently a voter became quite confused with the name and sought help from a neighbor just as in the tale of Plutarch the illiterate man did of Aristides himself.

The name of Themistokles is also variously written. In one case patronymic and demotic are added, in fifteen cases only patronymic appears, and in twenty-one only the demotic. One sherd (lower right corner of the picture) is unique in showing the use of the four-barred sigma, and of omega instead of omikron in the termination of the father's name.

An interesting ostrakon bears the name of Kallias son of Didymias, who was a famous athlete and won the Pankration at Olympia in 472. A monument was erected to him at

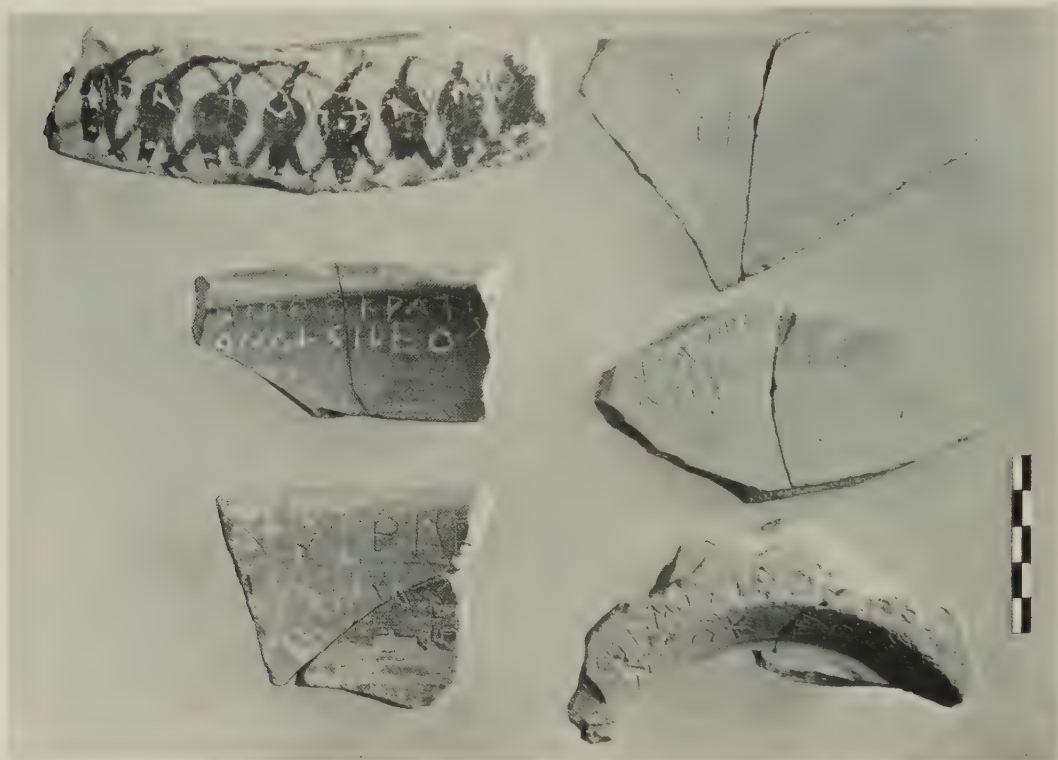


Fig. 39. Ostraka

Olympia and numerous victories at other games are recorded, but we hear nothing of any political activity in which he was engaged at Athens. Pseudo-Andocides (IV, 32) simply mentions the ostracism as a reproach to the city. Perhaps the votes of ostracism against him were assembled by jealous athletic groups.¹

INSCRIPTIONS

New inscriptions, complete and fragmentary, to the number of 1079 have raised the grand total from the excavations to 3058. As in previous years the new pieces represent many types of documents and date from many different periods. They require detailed

¹ The ostracism of Kallias was questioned by Carcopino, *L'Ostracisme Athénien*² (Paris, 1935), p. 120.

technical study which is being devoted to them by Professor Meritt and his assistants. The results are being published regularly in *Hesperia* and form the exclusive contents of two numbers of the latest volume (IV, 1 and 4). Only several pieces of more general interest will be mentioned here.

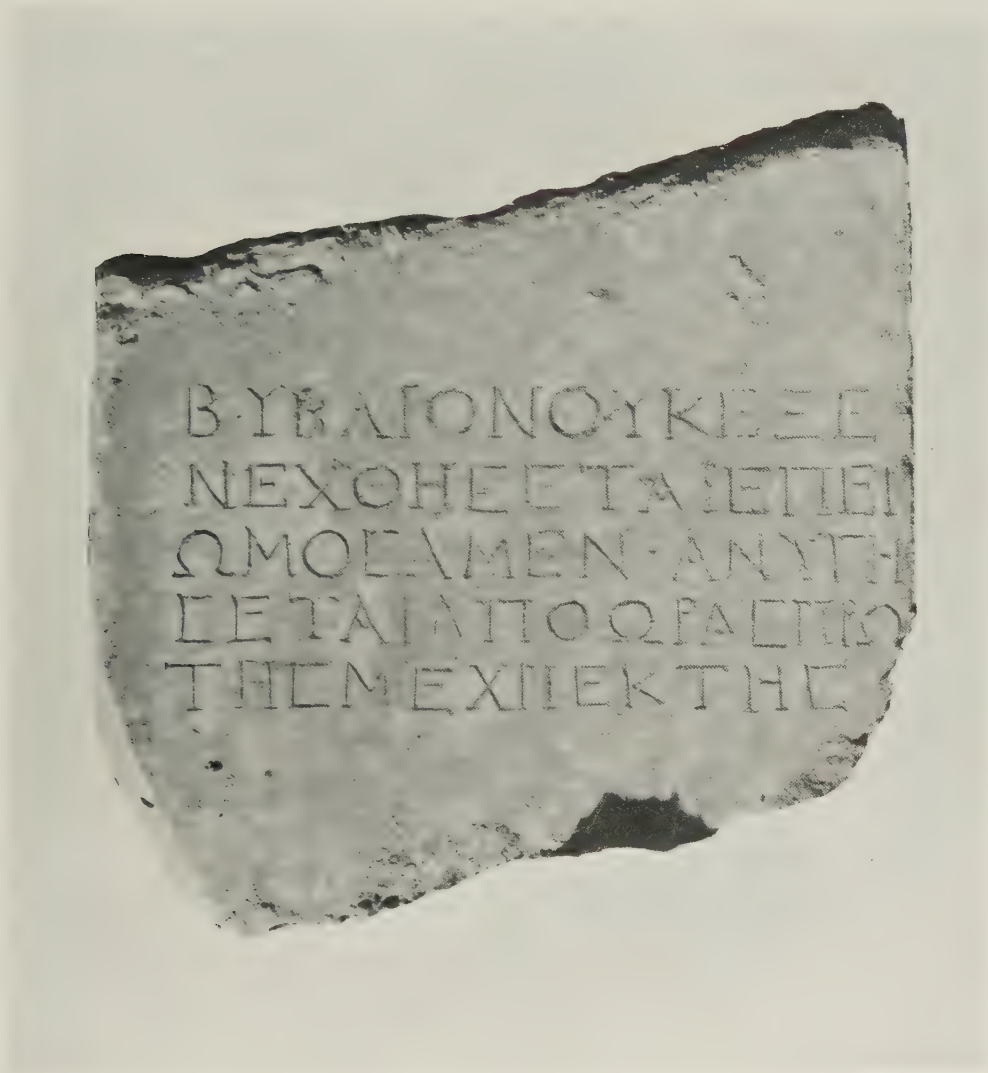


Fig. 40. Notice of Library Regulations

Some boundary stones of precincts have been secured of which the most interesting are those of the Metroön and of the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, but since they were not in place they have no topographical significance. Decrees with the names and dates of archons are always of value for establishing the chronology of the Attic calendar, but

especially important is a fragment preserving part of a list of treasurers, which carries a sequence of names of seven archons beginning with Philanthes 87/6. The following names are Hierophantes, Pythokritos, Niketes, Pammenes, Demetrios and one beginning with the letters AR. Of the names of the treasurers Pasinikos is not otherwise known in Attic prosopography. The significance of the new list is that it fixes exact dates for the archons Pythokritos, Niketes and Pammenes, who had been previously known but had not been exactly dated, and it gives the names of two archons, Demetrios and AR..., who had not been known before. It also necessitates the determination of new dates for the series of three archons who had been placed tentatively in the years 84 to 81 which are now definitely occupied. This is a good illustration of the type of historical information that is being supplied by the excavations in the Agora.

An inscription of quite modern tone referring to library regulations was found in the vicinity of the dedicatory inscription of the library of Trajan [*Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 332, fig. 19]. It is evidently an official notice that was posted in or before the building (Fig. 40), and reads: *βιβλίον* (sic) *οὐκ ἐξελεγχθήσεται ἐπεὶ ὠμόσαμεν· ἀνγίσκεται ἀπὸ ὥρας πρώτης μέχρι ἕκτης*: "No book shall be taken out, since we have sworn it. It will be open from the first hour until the sixth." The strong prohibition against removing books possibly indicates the irritation of the librarian at the abuse of this privilege by readers.

This account of the main achievements of the current campaign is clear evidence of the steady progress of the work and of the invaluable results that have been accomplished. Forty modern houses have been expropriated and demolished in the blocks designated for excavation in 1936. This great enterprise is beyond the half-way mark and is now on the home stretch. There is no reason to doubt that the discoveries of the future will equal in interest and importance the splendid achievements of the past.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

AN ATHENIAN MALEDICTORY INSCRIPTION ON LEAD

The discovery of forty-five lead tablets in a well in the Athenian Agora was announced by T. L. Shear in his general report on the excavations there in 1933.¹ The tablet here published is the first of the remarkable "hoard" to be unrolled and partly read. Since it is a curse inscription the others may be assumed to be of the same character. They promise to be a welcome addition to the *tabellae defixionum* which have been found in Attica and elsewhere.² Obviously the Athenians of the Roman period believed in the potency of the cryptic curse and used it extensively. The large number of the tablets may mean that the curse on lead originated in Attica, as Wünsch is inclined to believe.³ The place of discovery shows that the Athenians observed the prescription that such curses be thrown εἰς φρέαρ ἀχρημάτιστον.⁴

As a result of long burial in the earth the tablet has partly disintegrated (Fig. 1). The missing parts contained among other items the name of the deity invoked and of the person cursed. In several places the surface of the tablet is so badly preserved that the letters cannot be made out with certainty. It is possible that what is missing may be restored with the help of the other tablets which were inscribed and thrown into the well at approximately the same time, because in curse inscriptions there was a tendency to repeat certain phrases and formulae. Of the eighteen lines of our inscription the last seven are quite intelligible while the general meaning of the rest may be safely inferred from the portions preserved. The writing is from left to right and is not *stoichedon*. The lines averaged forty letters. There were apparently no abbreviations and few ligatures. The forms of the letters resemble closely those of literary papyri of the third century after Christ.⁵ Such date for the tablet is confirmed by the coarse Roman pottery with which it was found. The most useful objects for dating the deposit to the third century were two lamps of Broneer's type XXVII⁶ which were discovered at depths of 7.50 m. and 9.05 m. Another significant object in the deposit was a water-jar with basket-handle which has been found in other contexts of late Roman date. Thirty-seven of the tablets including the one here published lay in the well at a depth varying from 9 m. to 9.50 m. Its inventory number is 1440—IL 72. The tablet measures 0.16 m. by 0.116 m. It was rolled from side to side, and was not transfixes with a nail.

¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXVII (1933), p. 546, fig. 7; p. 548; *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 325, fig. 12.

² R. Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*; A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*; E. Ziebarth, *Neue Versuchungstafeln aus Attika, Boiotien und Euboia*.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. XXXIII.

⁴ C. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, p. 192.

⁵ Cf. E. M. Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 147.

⁶ O. Broneer, *Corinth, Lamps*, p. 96.

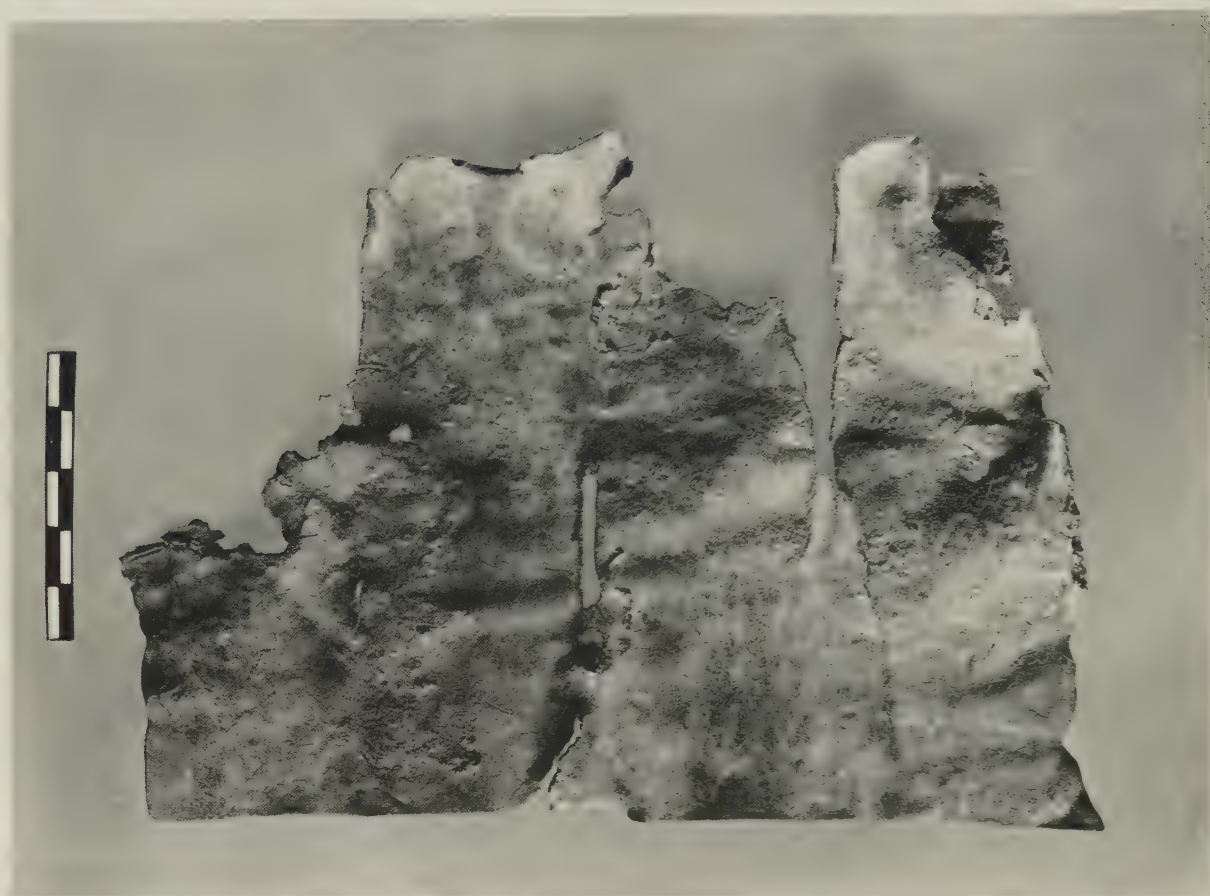


Fig. 1. Inscribed Lead Tablet

THE INSCRIPTION

..... βαβαρφορβοβαβορβ βορφαβαι .
 νπαραδιδωμι . . . ερ τεκενεισιγε
 τασπεψησαντ . . καιτηγγν . μηρατου
 ωδησουαερακα . τουσσυναντ . . . βοισειστον
 5 ιιοσφωραιωνακαικαγαψνξ . . . καιαπολε
 σασμελλειποιεινκατα . . . σκαιμη
 πραξαιεανδεκαιεπιβαλλη . . ιτιπρα . . . ιν
 ηλορζουν . αλνεινηπκρπτεαιω . . αιαι
 δω ερωτασιετε . . νεισιγενεακραταιειυφων
 10 τονι . . . σιησαβαφ . . εαααν . . απομψφριουριγζ
 επιαφ . νισμωεπιαφανι . . ωκαιψνξ . . οκ . οιχειλωψ-
 ψυγητωερωσκαιαισυναν . ωπραγματειαιναικραταιε

- τυφωναωιακουβιαιωερζιθβολχοσηθπαταθναξ
 απωμψω . . ερωωψυγητ . ερωσκαιαισιναντωπραγμα
 15 τειαιωσται . . ιαοροματαψυχεταιοντωσκαιερωτος
 ψυχεσθωιορνομαιψυχγηοργηονουσηπροθυμιαολο
 γισμοσεσ χσαλαλοσανουσακαρδισωσμη
 δενακουωνπεριεργον

TRANSCRIPTION

- βαβαρφορβοβαβορβ βορφαβαι .
 ν παραδίδομι[σοι] Ἔρωτα δν ἔ]τεκεν Εἰσιγέ-
 νεα] τὰς πέψης αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ τὴν γν[ώ]μην αὐτοῦ
 ὠδῇ σοῦ ἄερα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτ[ῷ] . .]βίοις εἰς τὸν
 5 τιρῶν αἰῶνα καὶ καταψύξ καὶ ἀπολε-
 τὰς πράξεις ὁπό]σας μέλλει ποιεῖν. καὶ ἀ[σχε]ς καὶ μὴ
 πράξαι. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐπιβάλλῃ [τα]ί τι πρά[τε]ιν
 ἡλθούσιν . ἀλγεινὴ πρῶτη
 παραδί]δωμι σοι] Ἐρώτα δν ἔτε[κε]ν Εἰσιγέnea, κραταιὲ Τυφῶν
 10 τοντ Σηθ Σαβαω[θ] . εααν αυ απομψ φριουριγζ
 ἐπὶ ἀφ[α]ρισμῶ ἐπὶ ἀφαν[ι]σμῶ καὶ ψύξ[ει] οχαοι Χειλωψ
 ψυγήτω Ἐρωσ καὶ αἱ σὺν αὐτ[ῷ] πραγματεῖται, καὶ κραταιὲ
 Τυφῶν Ἰαῶ Ἰακούβια Ἰω Ἐρβηθ Βολχοσηθ Παταθναξ
 Ἀπωμψω . . ερωω. Ψυγήτ[ω] Ἐρωσ καὶ αἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πραγμα-
 15 τεῖται. Ὡς ταῦ[τα] τὰ δνόματα ψύχεται οὕτως καὶ Ἐρωτος
 ψυχέσθω τὸ ὄνομα ἢ ψυχὴ ἢ ὁργὴ ὁ νοῦς ἢ προθυμία ὁ λο-
 γισμός. Ἐσ[τω] ἔψυχος ἄλαλος ἄνους ἀκάρδι(ο)ς ὥς μη-
 δὲν ἀκούων περιεργον.

TRANSLATION

- Babarphorbobaborb borphabai .
 I deliver over to you Eros whom Isigenia bare.
 [May you bind with magic] his digestion(?) and his judgment
 beneath(?) thy mist, and those with him may you [receive?] into
 5 forever, and may you chill and bring to nought
 whatsoever deeds he is about to accomplish. Restrain and do not
 [permit him] to do [anything]. But if he even desires to do something
 (unintelligible line)
 I deliver over to you Eros whom Isigenia bare, mighty Typhon
 10 Seth Sabaoth eaanau . . Apomps Phriourigz
 that he may disappear and become cold ochaoi cheilops.
 Let Eros become cold and his affairs with him, yes mighty

Typhon Iao Iakoubia io Erbeth Bolchoseth Patathnax

Apompsos . . erro. Let Eros become cold and his affairs with him.

15 As these names become cold, so also of Eros

let be chilled the name, the soul, the wrath, the mind, the zeal, the

reason. Let him be without soul, without speech, without mind, without heart, as one who hears nothing curious.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. In the initial line the author of the curse invoked a deity whose name is now lost but whose magical appellatives survive and suggest Hecate. Thus in the great magical papyrus at Paris which is dated to the fourth century this goddess is addressed as *κυρία Ἐκάτη φορβαφορβωβαρ κ. τ. λ.*¹ Farther on in our tablet Typhon is invoked twice (lines 9, 13) but this does not imply an initial invocation of him. *Κυρία Ἐκάτη* is then a possible restoration for the very beginning of the inscription where approximately ten letters are missing. The rest of the initial line, with the exception of the last two letters perhaps, was occupied with the magical title or titles of the deity invoked. These cryptic names were supposed to compel the compliance of the chthonic deity with the demands of the curse.

Line 2. The first extant letter may be the final one of *νεκνδαίμων* which precedes *παρὰδίδωμι*, although not immediately, in a magical papyrus in the British Museum.² This verb is followed by the dative of the deity to whom the accursed is consigned.³ The pronoun *σοι* is a certain restoration in the small space available in our tablet. The name of the victim followed, and of it the letters *εθ* can be made out. Its recurrence in line 9 makes the restoration here of *Ἐρωτα* unquestioned. The name of the mother of Eros is given in the formula *ὃν ἔτεκεν Εἰσιγ[έρα]* which recurs in line 9.⁴ There is no trace of an *ι* in the penult. The mother's name which means "daughter of Isis" shows that her family were devotees of the Egyptian goddess Isis whose cult had been established in Athens centuries before the date of our tablet. The name of Eros was apparently common in Egypt at this time, for it occurs in inscriptions and papyri. Three examples in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri are dated to the second or third century.⁵ Several others are listed by F. Preisigke.⁶ An inscription at Philae records the visit

¹ Preisendanz, I, p. 120, line 1433; cf. line 2959. Persephone is called in the same papyrus *βορβοροφορβα*.

² Preisendanz, I, p. 192, line 335: *νεκνδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' ὄν εἴ, παρὰδίδωμι σοι τὸν δεῖνα ὕπως μὴ ποιήσῃ τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα.*

³ Cf. Preisendanz, II, p. 20: *παρὰδίδωμι σοι, δέσποτα Ὅσιρι.*

⁴ Further examples in Audollent, pp. 87, 208, 374; Nock, *Jour. Egypt. Arch.*, 1929, p. 234 (in Cairo). The formula is common in papyri.

⁵ VI, nos. 927, 930; XII, no. 1516.

⁶ *Namenbuch*, s. v. Eros.

of one Eros who came to worship Isis.¹ The names Isigenia and Eros thus make very appropriate the string of Egyptian magical titles with which Typhon is invoked in lines 13 and 14.

Line 3. The gap in this line must have contained a verb of cursing, possibly *καταδεῖν*, which governed the following accusatives. This verb is of common occurrence in Athenian *defixiones*.² If the first object of the curse is correctly read as *τὰς πέψης* for *τὰς πέψεις* then the victim's digestion is linked with his intelligence for impairment at the hands of the infernal deity.

Line 4. The digestive function and the intellectual faculty of Eros appear to be consigned to the terrifying gloom of Tartarus, if the gap in this line may be filled in part with *ἐπὶ τὸν φοριζόμενόν*. Another Attic curse combines in one imprecation murky Tartarus and Hecate:

*Δήσω ἐγὼ κείνην ἐπὶ Τάρταρον ἀερόεντα
δεσμοῖς ἀργαλείοις σὺν θ' Ἑκάτῃ χθονίαι.*³

The expression *καὶ τοὺς σὺν αἰτῶ* is found also in magical papyri.⁴

Line 5. The missing accusative after *εἰς* may have been *Τάρταρον*. It is possible also that the preposition should be construed with *αἰῶνα*. The two concluding verbs of the line are probably to be restored as aorist optatives of wish correlative with [*λα*]βοις in the preceding line. The optative of wish is found in a curse inscription from Patissia: *Ἐμῇ [χθόνιε, λά]βοι ψυχὴν*.⁵

Line 6. For the restoration [*τὰς πράξεις ὁπό*]σας may be cited another Attic tablet which has *αἱ πράξεις ὁπό[σας καὶ] ἔργα μέλλει . . .*⁶ The word *πράξεις* is to be joined with the verb *καταιψύξ[αις]* since in another tablet certain *πράξεις* are condemned to become cold: [*ψ*]υχρά[ς] *τὰς πράξεις*.⁷ The imperative *κατάσχε*s which is here regarded as the first word of a sentence, is amplified with a prohibition. *Κατάσχε*s is found in magical papyri with *πρᾶγμα*.⁸

Line 8. This seems to be a jumble of letters conveniently described as "Ephesian."

Line 9. With the exception of the invocation of the "mighty Typhon" this line repeats the second. Such repetition is a feature of the curse inscription."

¹ *C.I.G.*, III, p. 430, no. 4918.

² Wunsch, p. 48, *Devovendi Verba*.

³ Wunsch, p. 29, no. 108.

⁴ Preisendanz, I, p. 140, line 2215.

⁵ Wunsch, p. 22, no. 93, 1.

⁶ Wunsch, p. 12, no. 63.

⁷ Audollent, p. 95, no. 67, line 7.

⁸ Preisendanz, I, p. 192, lines 364, 369. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 82, line 333.

⁹ Wunsch, p. 27, no. 105; Audollent, pp. 40–68. For *καταιε Τυφῶν* see Preisendanz, I, p. 76, line 180. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 36, line 87.

Line 10. Seth Sabaoth is here invoked and the invocation made more compelling by the addition of his cryptic titles. Seth was the Egyptian name of Typhon.¹ Hesychius tells us that Sabaoth was παντοκράτωρ. At the end of the line is the title απομψ φριουριζ the first part of which is repeated in line 14 in slightly variant form while the second part is found in other cryptic appeals.²

Line 11. The prepositional phrase which is repeated for emphasis is dependent upon the verb in line 9 which is safely conjectured to have been παραδίδωμι. The phrase expresses purpose. The ἀφανισμός, "removal from the earth" i.e. death which is here demanded for Eros, appears in verbal form in another tablet found in Attica.³ The καί which follows seems to compel the restoration of ψνξ- as a dative. The last letters of the line seem again to be cryptic. Χειλωψ may perhaps be compared with κομβάλιωψ which is found in a magical papyrus.⁴

Lines 12-18. This passage is practically complete and develops the ψῆξις of line 11. Eros and his affairs are to become cold, a fate twice demanded just as his "removal" is twice demanded (line 11). The name of Typhon is reinforced with a series of Egyptian and Jewish titles. These occur for the first time in Athenian curse-inscriptions but are at home in the magical papyri. A papyrus in London has ιω ερβιθ ιω βολχοσιθ, ιω παταθναξ.⁵ Another offers closer similarity: Ιακουβ ιαι ιω ερβιθ ιω βολχοσιθ παταθναξ, αποψο οσεσρω.⁶ The fact that these titles occur in the same sequence in the papyri and in our tablet attests the wide propagation of this cryptic formula. A magical papyrus in Berlin contains a προσευχή Ἰακώβ.⁷ The pair αποψο οσεσρω favors the conjecture that the form . . ερω of our tablet may be restored as οσεσρω, a title suggesting the name Osiris. In the great magical papyrus in Paris the titles Ιω ερβιθ and Ιω βολχοσιθ are described as ἀληθινὰ ὀνόματα of Typhon.⁸ They are referred to in our tablet as ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα. In line 15 the author of the curse uses a conventional comparison, a variant of which is found in the Athenian tablets. With ὡς . . . οὕτως καί compare ὡς οὕτως ὁ μόλυβδος ψυχρός . . . οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων ψυχρὰ ἔστω. This comparison occurs regularly at the end of the curse as in our instance. The verbs ψύχω (ψύγω), καταψύχω and the adjective ψυχρός are well attested for the vocabulary of the maledictory inscription.⁹ A magical papyrus in the British

¹ Plut. *de Is. et Os.*, 371b.

² For φριουριζ and φριουριγει see Audollent, p. 348, line 24; p. 509.

³ ἀφανίζω, Audollent, p. 84, line 17. ἀφανῆ also occurs in a tablet from the Peiraeus, Wünsch, p. 24, no. 97, line 31.

⁴ Audollent, p. 500; cf. λαίλαοψ, *ibid.*, p. 503.

⁵ Preisendanz, II, p. 133.

⁶ Preisendanz, II, p. 82. Cf. pp. 29, 85, 163, 165, 186. With Ιαο Ιακoubia cf. Ιαο Ιοσεφ in Audollent, p. 346 (from Carthage). Such titles are assembled by Audollent, pp. 509-510.

⁷ Preisendanz, II, p. 148.

⁸ Preisendanz, I, p. 80, lines 280-281.

⁹ Audollent, p. 209 B 11, p. 210, line 24; Wünsch, p. 49 D, e.

Museum prescribes that one inscribe a demand upon a lead tablet taken from a cold aqueduct.¹ Apparently it was desirable that the lead plaque be cold, as it would be if thrown into a well. In our instance the name of Eros was to become as cold as the names of the underworld gods. If his name was chilled, he would be too. In line 17 the restoration $\xi\sigma[\tau\omega]$ seems the only one possible. A Cypriote curse discovered at Curium has $\eta\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ (= $\xi\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$) $\xi\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota$, $\xi\varphi\omega\nu\omicron\iota$, $\xi\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota$.² Another of uncertain provenance in Attica contains the words $\psi\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\xi\sigma\tau\omega$.³

¹ Preisendanz, II, p. 20, line 432. Cf. Wünsch, p. III.

² Audollent, p. 46, no. 25, line 18.

³ Wünsch, p. 28, no. 107, line 5.

G. W. ELDERKIN

PANATHENAIC AMPHORAE FROM THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

It was believed not long since that the awarding of Panathenaic prize amphorae was ended by the sumptuary legislation or rearrangements of Demetrios of Phaleron. Consequently no such amphora was dated after 308/7 B.C. The seemingly later evidence could be, and was, explained away. In 1922 E. Schmidt first made out a case for a Hellenistic continuation, or revival.¹ His argument was embarrassed by a paucity of evidence; also, by the very mixed value of such evidence as existed. The result was that his case, though worthy of credence in the absence of any better material, fell short of being a demonstration.

The excavations in the Agora have produced certain sherds which make it possible to settle the question, and to illuminate the various other items of evidence. It will appear that some fragmentary vases can be securely dated in the latter half of the third, and others in the second century B.C.; and that the series probably continued into Roman times.

The conclusive demonstration that Panathenaic prize amphorae were made after 308/7 B.C. rests on two inscribed sherds. The first is from Pergamon (Fig. 1).² One notes the use of "apices" (serifs), and the broken bar in the alpha. From systematic study of Athenian lettering in inscriptions, it can be said that such traits, though found very infrequently in the late third century, almost invariably date an inscription in the second century or later; they are really common only after *ca.* 150 B.C.³ On coins they appear a generation or so earlier, beginning with the "New Series," the commencement of which is usually put in 229.⁴ There is no known significant occurrence in Athens of the serif or the broken bar earlier than 229 B.C.⁵

¹ *Archaistische Kunst*, pp. 84–86. The older literature is listed in G. v. Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, p. 1; also in *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Brit. Mus. no. I, which contains a collection of fourth century examples convenient for comparison. The author of this fascicule seems not to have been impressed by the view of Schmidt. For the historical aspects see W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, esp. p. 56.

² M. Fraenkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon* (Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII, 2), p. 502, no. 1328. Brauchitsch, no. 123; Schmidt, *loc. cit.* This sherd, found in 1886, was published in 1895. Two things prevented the realization of its importance. First, it has only become possible very recently to speak with complete certainty about the style of the letters. Second, even if the date had been known, the temporal isolation of that one sherd would have been suspicious.

³ Outside of Athens such features are known much earlier. Especially to be noted is the form λ in the Apulian "Perservase" (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 88). Omega in other vases of that series (F. R., pl. 90) still has an early shape.

⁴ J. N. Svoronos, *Trésor des Mon. Ath.*, pl. 33.

⁵ The standard reference for forms of inscribed letters is now J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin, 1935).

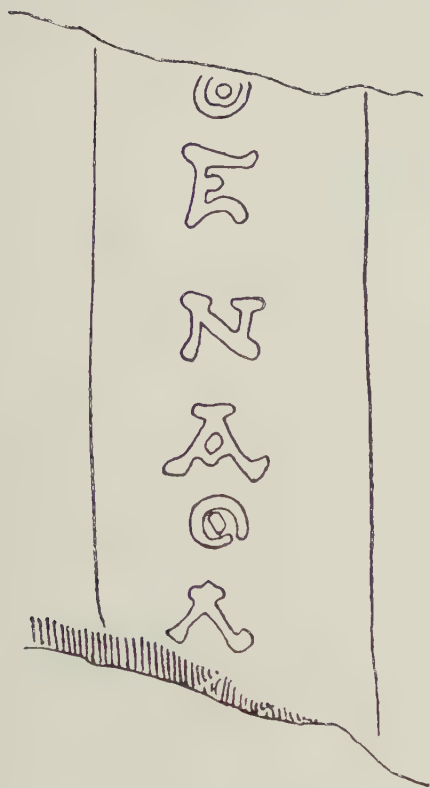


Fig. 1. Sherd from Pergamon: Drawing Enlarged to Approximately Actual Size



Fig. 4. Agora P 5911, Detail of Obverse



Fig. 2. Agora P 5911, Obverse



Fig. 3. Agora P 5911, Reverse

We have now a piece with similar lettering.¹ The fragments were found near the Tholos in a context of the third and second centuries B.C. Preserved: obverse (Fig. 2),

parts of Athena's robes; reverse (Fig. 3), wrestling. The drawing consists of rapid incisions. If well done, it would have had a certain dashing quality; as it is, one can only say that it suits figures in motion better than figures in repose; and that the fourth century produced prize vases with comparable drawing.

The inscription (Fig. 4), $\tau\omega\nu\ \alpha[\theta\eta\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\theta\lambda\omega\nu]$, is regular, like the Pergamene, which reads $[\tau\omega\nu\ \alpha\theta\eta\nu\eta]\ \theta\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\theta\lambda[\omega\nu]$. Enough is preserved in the Agora sherd to show that the bar of the alpha was broken. The omega also has a particularly characteristic second century B.C. shape.² The general resemblance between the two sherds, to judge by Schuehhardt's drawing, is such as to suggest the same period, though not the same hand.

We may now consider briefly the other items of evidence which have been, or ought to be, assigned to a Hellenistic date. Various pieces have been dated late by the evidence chiefly of the drawing. To those given by Schmidt (*loc. cit.*) add some cited in K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertschen Vasen*, p. 109 and n. 129; and in Würzburg (catalogue by E. Langlotz and W. Hahland), no. 172. Several fragments at the Kerameikos, mostly necks, are early Hellenistic in shape and drawing.³

Later than any of these is a fragment (Fig. 5) from the Agora which preserves the



Fig. 5. Agora P 372, Obverse

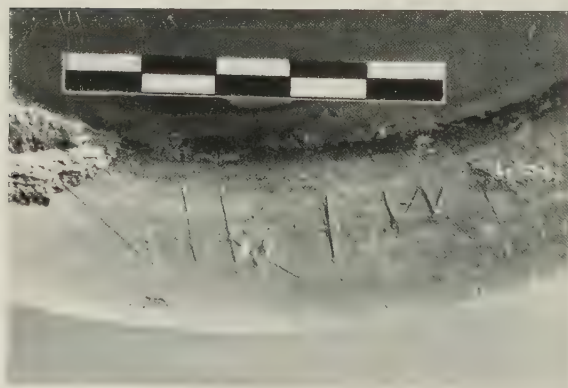


Fig. 6. Agora P 372, Detail of Lip

¹ Inv. No. P 5911. Estimated greatest diameter *ca.* 0.5 m. Thickness of sherds, greatest 0.012 m.; least 0.007 m. Firm black glaze.

² Kirchner, *op. cit.*, 106, 112, etc.

³ Dr. K. Kübler has kindly assisted me in the examination of these fragments.

neck and lip.¹ The context would suggest that the piece was Hellenistic even if the workmanship were less pronounced. Below a band of palmettes is painted a head of Athena in a crested helmet, the details of which are incised. The colors are accessory white on Athena's face, and purplish red around the edge of the rim and on both sides of the ridge of the neck. The glaze and method of decoration are typical of the second century. They find close parallels, *inter alia*, in contemporary West Slope ware, such as, for instance, the cross-hatching on the crest, of which Thompson publishes a good example in *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 399, fig. 88. One notes also that subsequent to the latest preserved vases of the fourth century, the neck was elongated, and lost the gradual curve which joined it to the shoulder (cf. vases in the Brit. Mus. cited above). These technical details have their interest; but for Athenian craft in the second century, one can say no more than that the potters could still throw and bake a large vase.

On the lip is a graffito NIKIWN (Fig. 6). The shape W is not to be considered evidence of a late Roman date; it is probably merely the easiest way to scratch a cursive ω in terracotta. Such a shape does however favor a late Hellenistic date. The letters must form the name *Nixíων*. To attempt identification of this person might be rash were it not that the name, rare in Greece generally, is confined, so far as we know, to only one Athenian family. We have no proof that *Nixíων* was an Athenian, but the fact is suggestive that one member of the Athenian family was interested in athletics at a time well suited to the forms of the letters in the inscriptions on the vase. *Nixíων Ἀριστογένης Μαγαθώνιος* (P.A., 10836) was listed in a catalogue of free boys *ἀγωνοθετησάντων καὶ λαμπαδαρχησάντων τὰ Ἑρμαῖα* of ca. 135–130 B.C. His name on the rim might refer to similar functions at the Panathenaia, perhaps including that of providing the vase as a prize.

Two other sherds from the Agora, both of which are from the necks of Panathenaic vases, may be mentioned here. The first (Fig. 7) shows the head of Athena.² The drawing of the crest is earlier than that of Fig. 5, but the quality of the glaze bespeaks a late date, i.e., early Hellenistic. The face was added, or was to be added, in white, as usual. From the same period is a fragment with a handle and palmettes (Fig. 8).³

There is a variety of other evidence which can now be fitted into place. Thus three sherds which were inscribed, if the restorations are correct, *ἀγωνοθετοῦντες τοῦ δέιρος*, may be dated earlier than the series with the *ταμίας* (which is of the middle and late

¹ Inv. No. P 372. Found near the Stoa of Zeus. Diameter of rim, 0.25 m.; of neck, 0.085 m. Two large vertical handles, springing from ridge around neck, broken away. Very heavy fabric; fine pinkish-buff clay; thin black glaze, much worn; accessory white on face; purplish red around edge of rim and on both sides of neck ridge.

² Inv. No. P 120. Broad red band to left; black band to right. Details of helmet indicated by coarse incision. Found in Hellenistic fill south of railway, just west of the Stoa of Zeus.

³ Inv. No. P 339. Found in an area disturbed by railway cutting, region of the Stoa of Zeus.

third century: see below), but probably later than the series, ending in *ca.* 311/0, which has merely the *εργων*.¹

A mosaic in Delos plainly shows a Panathenaic amphora (of terracotta, not of metal) with a chariot scene.² The houses in the area where it lies date from the end of the third to the beginning of the first century B.C.³ Bulard argued that the mosaic, which shows also a wreath and a palm, was nothing but a symbol of victory in the *ludi compitalicii*, akin to many similar representations in Delos of vase, wreath and palm. This explains the



Fig. 7. Agora P 120



Fig. 8. Agora P 339

presence of an amphora, but not of a Panathenaic amphora. The inference is rather that the owner of the house was a victor in the two-horse chariot race, the event illustrated on the vase.⁴

¹ Cecil Smith, *B.S.A.*, 1896/7, 194f.; Graef-Langlotz nos. 1109, 1138. The glaze and drawing of the latter two fragments seem to support this intermediate dating; but cf. Graef-Langlotz. In 1109 the first letter, as the photograph shows, appears as a horizontal bar, disturbingly long for a foot of an Ω ; but it is hard to see what else it might represent. No. 1137 may be one of this or a later group. It is significant that none of the other sherds preserved and recorded in this collection from the Acropolis appears to be "late" in this sense. One is struck also by the huge size of the vases just mentioned.

² Smith, *op. cit.*, with reference; M. Bulard, *Mon. Piot*, 1908, 191f. and pl. X (in color); Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

³ *Exp. Arch. de Délos, Le Quartier du Théâtre*, by J. Chamonard, pp. 69-73.

⁴ The owner, not, as Cecil Smith had to suggest, an ancestor (*B.S.A.*, 1896/7, 187).

On Athenian coins the Panathenaic amphora is represented under the owl from 229 to Roman times. The shape varies more or less from one coin to the next; on the whole, the neck tends to become longer in the later series. It seems doubtful whether minute study would be rewarding; some of the shapes strongly suggest metal, but one could hardly speak with certainty. The main point, however, is that the amphora as a symbol on coins represents something more than a mere memory of earlier athletic awards.

It seems in fact that the Panathenaic amphora was widely known and imitated in the Hellenistic world. The persistent occurrence of amphorae on Athenian coins would suggest as much. We might note that the shape is common in Delian paintings;¹ representations were evidently to be seen abundantly in the residential quarters. Consonantly, the word *Παναθηναϊζόν* had gained a wide denotation even by 100 B.C., whatever may have been the precise shapes which it signified.² It is tantamount to a *κοινή* form of vase. The shape doubtless appealed to the taste of the time; more powerful doubtless was the prestige of Athens and its greatest festival, in an age when Athens was admired and festivals flourished.

A Panathenaic amphora is depicted on an inscribed stele of 126/7 A.D., between a crown and a palm (P. Graindor, *Album*, pl. XXXVII; *I.G.*, II², 3734). Doubtless the shape persisted late into Roman times.

So much by way of proof and confirmation of the theory that the Panathenaic prize vase had a long history. Whenever precisely the end may have come, there can be no vestige of doubt that such vases were made, and that some at least were of terracotta, in Hellenistic times. Hence without hesitation we can now assign two inscribed sherds to the period of activity of the two men named in the inscriptions on the vases. These two men, who were related, were famous Athenians.

The first appears on a somewhat peculiar sherd which has always, and rightly, been accepted as part of a Panathenaic amphora (Fig. 9).³ On the left, as the sherd is broken, appear folds of Athena's garment. In the middle is shown a statue possibly of bronze, on a tall base. Most of the details are clear in the photograph. The figure wears a short chiton, high-girt, and tall boots with decorative lacings flying out to either side.⁴ On the left shoulder appears the end of a ribbon, painted in white.⁵ The staff

¹ Bulard, *op. cit.*, and *Exp. Arch. de Délos, Description des Revêtements Peints*.

² Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 188, with references.

³ The context was mixed. Parts of at least five other Panathenaic amphorae occurred in the deposit. O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder*, p. 22 and pl. 10; Cecil Smith in *B.S.A.*, 1896/7, 198; W. S. Ferguson, *Klio*, 1908, 348; A. Wilhelm, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1902, 1100, and *Beiträge zur Inschriftenkunde* (1909); G. v. Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 73 (no. 121) and 115; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Vasen von der Akropolis*, I, p. 126 and pl. 65, no. 1113 a; E. Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst*, pp. 84–86; *I.G.*, II², 834, commentary.

⁴ Miss M. E. Barton of Yale University, who is studying ancient foot-gear, informs me that high boots ordinarily are worn by gods, soldiers (especially cavalymen), and messengers.

⁵ Brauchitsch took this to be the tip of the crest of a helmet.



Fig. 9. Sherd from the Acropolis



Fig. 10. Agora P 109

is also decorated by a white ribbon-like object, of which both ends show. The last preserved part of the staff at the top shows the beginning of a bulge. The left foot rests on a shield. Certain representations of a similar figure in sculpture portray Dionysos.¹ Nearest is a figure in high relief from Magnesia, which has the high-girt chiton, the boots, and even the folds of the chlamys hanging over the left arm.² The ribbons on the Acropolis sherd, which fall from head and staff, are therefore *τανίαι*, and the staff, bulging at the end, is the thyrsos. The *τανία*, a symbol of what we think of as sanctity,³ often appears bound about the head of Dionysos, and hanging from the thyrsos.⁴

A similar sherd has been unearthed in the Agora of Athens, and is published herein (Fig. 10).⁵ Again we see the base, the boots, and the shield. The boots and pose are not shown in precisely the same way—the one draughtsman did not copy the other—but the pose of the figure was probably similar, and in fact both paintings were doubtless made from the same statue.⁶

The inscription on the sherd from the Acropolis was first read and restored correctly by Wilhelm: [ταμ]ιέοντος Εὐρυκλείδου. Wilhelm explained the appearance of a *ταμίας* on a Panathenaic sherd by a reference to Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, XLIX, 3: καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν Νικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια συνεπιμελεῖται (the Boule) μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. A famous Eurykleides, son of Mikion of Kephisia, held this office in 253/2.⁷

¹ The short chiton, the boots, and the shield suggest a military subject, but the staff is hardly a lance.

² Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, *Magnesia, Bericht*, 1891–1893, pp. 176, 179 and pl. VII (C. Watzinger). See also the Dionysos on the large frieze of the altar at Pergamon (Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. III 2, pl. I, and text pp. 13 f. (H. Winnefeld). A similarly-garbed figure on the small frieze has been taken for Herakles (*loc. cit.*, pl. XXXI, no. 2, text pp. 159, 218). On a vase, Lenormant-de Witte, *Monuments Céramographiques*, pl. XLI. A few others are referred to in Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, 1132 f. (Thrämer). The Roman relief representing Mars, from a chariot, which Brauchitsch (*op. cit.*, p. 115) would compare, is irrelevant.

³ Dow, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, XLI, 68.

⁴ The large fragment with runners, published by Graef-Langlotz as a second piece of the same vase, has a certain importance, since the drawing is better than anything on the Hellenistic vases considered above, which aesthetically are far from good. The curvature in the two pieces is similar, but the drawing and the red slip are decidedly opposed to the theory that both sherds are from one pot. Hence the comparatively good drawing need not be dated with the poor; the runners are probably of the fourth century.

⁵ Inv. No. P 109. Found just west of the Stoa of Zeus; the context is of the third and second centuries B.C., but it is possible that a few earlier sherds found their way into the fill.

⁶ The Agora fragment (Inv. No. P 109) is two sherds joined. Maximum height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.094 m.; thickness, 0.006 m.; estimated diameter at level of sherd, 0.45 m. Either no red slip was applied, or the slip has disappeared. The clay was fired to a buff-pink shade. The drawing is by crude broad incision. For lack of comparative vase material it would be a mistake to venture an opinion on the date of the lettering. The broken right edge preserves for us traces of dark brown glaze. The edge of this is straight, and it slopes upward at an angle, away from the vertical lines of statue base and plinth. The angle is not too great however for the traces to be the side of the panel.

From this description we may note certain minor points of divergence from the Acropolis sherd. (1) The Acropolis sherd is rather thick, and the curvature seems to be that of a larger vase. (2) The Acropolis sherd has a better red wash.

⁷ Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, I.G., II, 791. For the date, Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles* (see index) and *A.J.P.*, LV, 1935, 334 ff.; the years 241/0 and 232/1 are also to be admitted, as unlikely possibilities. Since Panathenaic

It is tempting to restore the sherd from the Agora [ταμ]εύοντος | [Μικι]ωνος. The space accommodates this exactly.¹ Eurykleides had both a brother and a son named Mikion, and both were active in politics. In fact we know that Eurykleides, after performing the duties of ταμίας in his own name, fulfilled them a second time in the name of his son.² The appearance of the title and name of the Treasurer of Military Funds on the vases he had prepared, and which he had to fill with oil received from the archon, accords with the known increasing prominence of the Treasurer in the late third century.³

The sherds evidently reveal to us an actual Athenian statue, quite likely a then famous monument which had been set up within a generation or two of the Treasurership of Eurykleides. Possibly he or his family had erected it; some such special circumstance is necessary to explain its appearance on a Panathenaic vase, in place of the usual column surmounted by a cock or some other object. Be this as it may, the taste of the time is hardly known to us in any more direct way. No trace appears of the right arm, which must have been raised: this detail, and the position of the left foot on the shield, give a histrionic pose already in the spirit of Roman imperial statues.

amphorae were not otherwise known after the fourth century, Wilhelm admitted that the Eurykleides on the vase may have been an ancestor, whose name had not elsewhere appeared in our records. This possibility need no longer be considered.

¹ For the first line, [χοσμητ]εύοντος is too long. The second line, in work so careless, probably began just below the beginning of the first, instead of being carefully indented for exact symmetry.

² *I. G.*, II², 834 and Ferguson, *A. J. P.*, LV (1935), 334 f.

³ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 203. For receiving the oil, see E. N. Gardiner, *J. H. S.*, XXXII (1912), 192.

STERLING DOW

A STAND SIGNED BY EUTHYMIDES

On one of several fragments from a large red-figured stand (Fig. 1) found in the Agora in 1935,¹ the signature *Εὐθυμίδης ὁ Πολίῳ* may with certainty be restored.²

The principal fragment preserves the head of Apollo, magnificently wreathed in red and white; his shoulder with a bit of chiton and himation; and much of his large lyre. To the left above is the end of the signature,]ΠΟΛΙΟ. Here (as on both his Munich amphorae with arming scenes and on his Turin psykter), the painter has set himself down as the son of the "grey-haired one." A bit of a second inscription, the single letter Ο, can be seen at the lower right corner of the fragment which preserves the mid-part of the god's figure; most probably Apollo's name was written beside him.³

To the right stands Artemis, her left hand holding up her skirt. She faces towards the musician; behind her is the sacred palm⁴ whose spreading branches overshadow her

¹ Agora Inv. P 4683. Nine fragments, found scattered through a terrace filling of the early fifth century, at the foot of the southeast slope of the Kolonos Agoraios.

Height of largest fragment, 0.11 m.; diameter at edge of rim estimated at 0.29 m.; full height estimated at about 0.40 m. Purple red for inscriptions, flower sprays, leaves of wreath, lyre-keys and plectron string; white for the berries of the wreath, black relief lines as strings for the lyre; brown for the fold-lines of the chitons, for the iris of the eye, and for the inner drawing. Relief contours throughout, save on part of the border and around the hair; the bunch of curls incised. The rim is reserved above; inside the vase, bands of glaze alternate with reserved bands; near the top the bands are narrow and the glaze a shiny black; lower down they are wider, and the glaze rougher.

In studying this vase I have been continually indebted to Professor J. D. Beazley. For criticism and suggestions I wish also to thank Mr. L. D. Caskey, Professor H. R. W. Smith, and Dr. Hans Diepolder. To Mr. Eugene Vanderpool I owe my acquaintance with the stands in Eleusis, Figures 5 and 6, whose publication Professor K. Kourouniotes has generously made possible. I have further to thank Professor Camillo Praschniker for permission to include a photograph, Figure 4, of an amphora in the Vienna University collection.

² The new vase adds a seventh to the six signatures of Euthymides already known:

Munich 2307: A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Berlin, 1904-1932, [F. R.], pl. 14; J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*, Tübingen, 1925, [Att. V.], p. 63, 1.

Munich 2308: F. R., pl. 81; Att. V., p. 63, 4.

Turin: *J. H. S.*, XXXV (1915), pls. 5, 6; Att. V., p. 64, 9.

Bonn: J. C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows*, Cambridge, Mass., 1917, [Hoppin], pl. 6; Att. V., p. 64, 12.

Formerly Adria: R. Schöne, *Le Antichità del Museo Bocchi di Adria*, Rome, 1878, pl. 4, 2; Att. V., p. 64, 14.

Rome, Villa Giulia (other fragments in Florence and in Boston): J. D. Beazley, *Campana Fragments in Florence*, Oxford, 1933, [C. F.], pl. 7, 2-3; pl. Y, 23-24.

³ The god's name appears in this position, written lengthwise of the pot, on a related amphora in Vienna; see below, p. 64, note 1, and Figure 4. Euthymides, whose love of inscriptions has often been noted, may well, likewise, have labelled an unmistakable figure.

⁴ No attempt is made to render any of the natural details of the tree; the palm shows the stylized version most usual in archaic red figure (Paul Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 99-101).

Fig. 1. Agora P 4683



shoulder. Between her arm and the trunk of the tree is part of a third inscription, KA[λός. Of the figure to the left there is preserved, behind Apollo's head, a raised left hand holding a flower spray. A small non-joining fragment should also belong to this figure. On it we can distinguish the lower line of the left breast, the folds of an himation worn scarf-wise over the shoulder, and the lower line of the upper arm, outstretched, with folds of the sleeve falling over it.¹ One more figure would have filled out the circle of the vase, but of it no fragments have been found. Conjecture might possibly supply Ares, whom Psiax² represents in a similar concert scene³ or, perhaps better, a messenger such as Iris. Her spread of wing (compare Fig. 5) would suit the available space; nor would her association with the Delian palm⁴ be inappropriate.

The palmette border which appears above these figures is by no means rare;⁵ the single interpolated lotus is, however, odd and agreeably ingenious. From the manner in which its right side is squeezed in we may believe that it was not part of the original plan, but that it served as an expedient when the spacing of the palmettes did not come out evenly. Yet we need not imagine that the painter much regretted the necessity for punctuating his border here over the head of the principal figure.⁶ The lotus provides something of an exclamation point. It does not altogether replace the proud inscription, but at least it invites us to linger over Euthymides' Apollo.

That the Agora stand belongs to the time of Euthymides' Munich masterpiece with Theseus carrying off Korone (note 1, below) any comparison of the head of Apollo (Fig. 2) with the head of Theseus will suggest. The meditative god lacks the abounding vitality

¹ For a similar arrangement compare Antiope on the reverse of Euthymides' amphora with the rape of Korone, Munich 2309: F. R., pl. 33; *Att. V.*, p. 63, 3.

² G. M. A. Richter, "The Menon Painter = Psiax," *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 547-554.

³ Madrid: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* [C.V.A.], Madrid 1, III He, pl. 23, 1 and pl. 24; *Att. V.*, p. 9, 3. The composition on this vase and that on the same painter's amphora in Philadelphia (*Philadelphia Museum Journal*, 1914, V, pp. 32, 33; *Att. V.*, p. 9, 4) provide good comparisons with the vases illustrated here. The connection between this painter and Euthymides was pointed out by Hoppin (p. 37) and is emphasized by H. R. W. Smith, *New Aspects of the Menon Painter*, Berkeley, 1929, pp. 54, 55.

⁴ In the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo, ll. 102 ff., Iris is sent to summon Eilithyia to Leto's assistance.

⁵ Hoppin, p. 9, I (b). In Euthymides' work the pattern appears on the Bonn hydria and the Munich Theseus amphora. Related ornament, with similar irregularities of execution, appears on both of the signed Munich amphorae. On Munich 2308 an abbreviated lotus alternates regularly with pointed palmettes.

The spindly lotus of our ornament, springing from no proper calyx, reflects a tendency towards a loosening up of the elements of the motif, which appears at about the time of transition from black-figure to red-figure painting: Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, p. 166 ff.; cp. pl. 88c, where a straight-based lotus comparable with ours appears on the same vase as a blossom of the more persistent full-calyxed type.

⁶ There is a fair possibility that the lotus was deliberate. No evidence of erasure can be seen at the point where the frames of the adjoining palmettes are attached to the volutes serving as calyx for the lotus. It is difficult to see how something of the sort could have been avoided, if the artist had drawn the full curve of the palmette frame without planning for this junction.

We may, moreover, reasonably enquire why if the painter had not intended the lotus he would have begun his pattern over the head of the principal figure, at the very point where the chances of not coming out even might have proved most disastrous. His vase is without handles and has no obvious distinction between front and back. An eye to careless housemaids, and a desire to point out to all beholders that here indeed is the centre of the picture, might seem sufficient reasons for the presence of the flower.



Fig. 2. Agora P 4683: Detail (actual size)

of the hero, but the drawing is no less sensitive and no less superb. Apollo's gaze is singularly softened by the use of a brown wash over the iris of the eye. The outline of his hair is reserved, save for an incised bunch of curls projecting at the back. On the Theseus vase incision is rather the rule.¹ The reserved outline cannot, however, in the work of our painter be considered as indicative of a late date, for it occurs on the signed hydria in Bonn, where he praises the fair Megakles.² To the same time as this hydria, the years between 510 and 505, the Munich amphorae belong.³

Apollo's drapery shows no departure from the Euthymidean canon as seen on the Theseus amphora, though the proportion of black fold-lines to brown is somewhat higher. On the skirt of the figure to the right, whom we call Artemis, we remark not the fine radiating folds seen on the dresses of Antiope and her fleeing companions, but a more rigid arrangement, suitable to a standing figure, a treatment with which we may compare Hecuba's skirt and Hector's chiton on the Munich amphora which shows Hector arming. For the hand of Artemis, Helen's right hand and Antiope's left, again from the Theseus amphora, will supply line for line comparisons. The contrast in the treatment of drapery and details which our fragments provide with Euthymides' later chariot amphora in the Louvre⁴ serves to emphasize their relationship to the vases of the painter's middle period, and especially to the Munich amphorae.

Among many contemporary renderings of the scene on our stand one of the most useful for the reconstruction of its composition appears on an amphora in London⁵ (Fig. 3) painted by an unnamed follower of Euthymides. The arrangement of the figures on the Agora vase seems to have been very close to that of the Apollo, Artemis and Leto of this amphora. Another version appears on a fragmentary amphora in the Vienna University collection, the masterpiece of the painter of the London amphorae,⁶ an imitator

¹ Euthymides seems to use the reserved hair-outline sometimes from choice, sometimes from necessity. On the new fragments, the arm of the lyre, against which Apollo's head in part appears, may have influenced the technique of the outline. We may compare the head of Korone on the Munich Theseus amphora. Imitators were not always so logical and might cling to the less troublesome incision; compare Figure 3. It is worth noting that on Psiax's Madrid amphora (p. 61, note 3) Apollo's curls are painted against a reserved background.

² For Megakles' chronology, see E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1925, pp. 148, 149, and H. R. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³ E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 61, 62.

⁴ G 44: Hoppin, pls. 15, 16 and p. 61, fig. 6; *Att. V.*, p. 63, 2; Langlotz, *loc. cit.*

⁵ British Museum E 256: Hoppin, pl. 9; there assigned to Euthymides, but see Beazley's review, *J.H.S.*, XXXVII (1917), p. 235. The new photograph, used here by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, has been provided by Mr. E. J. Forsdyke.

⁶ *Att. V.*, p. 65, 1-3, and p. 468; *C. F.*, p. 33, 7. Besides the Eleusis fragment, here Figure 5, Mr. Beazley's unpublished list, which he kindly allows me to cite, now includes two black-figured amphorae, one in Bologna (A. Zannoni, *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, Bologna, 1879, pl. 8; *C.V.A.*, Bologna 2, III He, pl. 8, 4-5), and another in Agrigento: A, Athena mounting a chariot; behind the horses, Apollo and Artemis; B, Apollo between Artemis and Athena. This vase I know from a photograph taken by Miss Emilie Haspels, who made the attribution, and sent to me by Mr. Beazley.

The amphorae in Vienna, Bologna and Agrigento, and one of those in London (B.M. E 254: Hoppin, pl. 7), all carry concert scenes.

of Euthymides who worked in both black- and red-figure. Figure 4 gives a detail from this vase,¹ showing the head of Leto, and part of the figure of Apollo. This amphora is a much more accomplished piece than that in London; we shall find on it no such ineptitudes as the hand and skirt of Artemis on the latter. But a glance at the



Fig. 3. British Museum E 256

drapery of the new Apollo suggests how relative is this excellence. No comparison could better serve to illuminate the freshness and animation, the crisp assurance and the spirit of Euthymides' draughtsmanship.

¹ *Att. V.*, p. 468, and *C.F.*, *loc. cit.*, where two fragments of the same vase are noted as in Freiburg.

Over against the red-figure Leto of the Vienna amphora we may set a black-figure Iris,¹ Figure 5, attributed by Professor Beazley to the same painter. This delightful fragment comes, like the Agora pieces, from a large stand, and shows us that not Euthymides only, but at least one other member of his immediate circle, decorated a



Fig. 4. Vienna, University. Fragmentary Amphora: Detail (slightly reduced)

vase of just the same shape as his. The form is not a common one in archaic or classical red-figure; of related pieces² known, no one is preserved complete. We may,

¹ Eleusis Inv. 1223. Height preserved, 0.22 m. White for the flesh; red for the wreath, the wand, and the borders of hair-band and himation. The fold lines are incised lightly for the chiton, more heavily for the himation. Inside, at the top, two glazed bands; below, unglazed.

² Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection: B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen aus der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1933, II, 675, pl. 52; J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, Berlin, 1931, 83, pl. 28, 3. Beazley's suggestion that the fragment comes from a stand seems preferable to Langlotz's view that it might have belonged to an incense-burner. Our vase has, however, no trace of any such openings in the wall as those which characterize this fragment.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: *C. V. A.*, Cambridge, III Id, pl. 38; *Att. V.*, p. 352, 41, the Villa Giulia painter. The Hague, Scheurleer Collection: *C. V. A.*, The Hague 2, III Id, pl. 4, 4; *Att. V.*, p. 421, 22, the Kleophon painter.



Fig. 5. Eleusis 1223 (actual size)



Fig. 6. Eleusis 1244

however, compare other black-figured stands one of which,¹ found like the Iris fragment at Eleusis, is illustrated in Figure 6. On this vase, upper and lower rims narrow to a

¹ Eleusis Inv. 1244. Height, 0.22 m.; diameter at rim 0.155 m. Artemis mounting a chariot; behind her, a man with a spear; behind the horses, Apollo with his lyre; and Dionysos; Hermes leads the way. Red and white freely used.

Eleusis Inv. 1243 is another stand of the same shape decorated with a similar subject. For the provenience of these vases see K. Kourouniotes, "Das eleusinische Heiligtum," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXXII, p. 71.

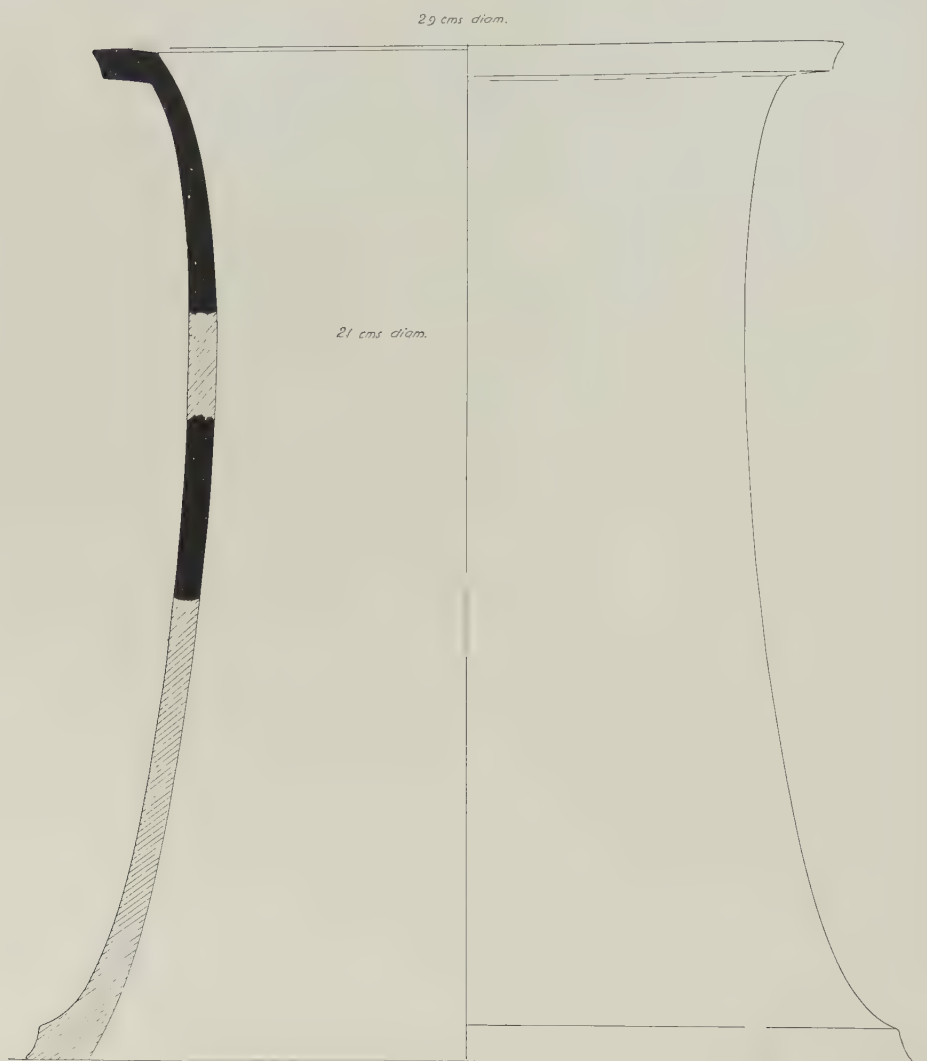


Fig. 7. Agora P 4683: Restored Profile (one-third actual size)

sharp edge. It may be that the Agora stand also had both rims alike, but the vertical face of its upper rim suggests an alternative and in the drawing of the restored profile given in Figure 7 a somewhat more substantial basis is suggested, on the analogy of squatter black-figured stands, in Frankfort and in Toronto.¹

We should also compare Athens, National Museum, Inv. 501, from Eleusis: *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, III Hg, pl. 5, 1-2, a small black-figured stand on which appear Demeter, Kore and attendants. The prevalence of tall, polos-shaped stands at Eleusis strengthens the possibility, already suggested in connection with the vase last named, that the shape had a special significance in the worship of the two goddesses.

¹ Frankfort: A. Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, II, Munich, 1913, p. 122; Hans Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt, 1923, pl. 24.

The tranquil scene of the new vase is remote from those in which Euthymides achieved his most personal and most original successes. Here we have no Theseus, carrying off Korone, no komasts, no discus-throwers or wrestlers, not even the action provided by an arming scene, and nothing certainly of those "pioneer-studies of movement"¹ by which Euthymides most strongly influenced the next generation of vase-painters. Our vase is separately significant. By providing Euthymides' version of a thoroughly formal and traditional scene it sets the painter clearly forth in relation both to predecessors and to contemporaries, and enables us to trace an artistic sequence remarkably precise.

Toronto: D. M. Robinson, C. G. Hareum and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*, Toronto, 1930, pl. 27, 284.

I am indebted to Mr. Beazley for calling my attention to the stands of this type.

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 14, 15.

LUCY TALCOTT

A ROMAN WATER-MILL IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

In 1933, in Section Iota, just south of the Stoa of Attalos, a long stretch of the so-called Wall of Valerian was uncovered, with two towers projecting towards the west.¹ Here, in the sunny southwest corner where the northernmost of the towers makes an obtuse angle with the west face of the wall,² an unpretentious but curious building was revealed.

A great slot-like structure was found first: long, narrow, set deeply into the bedrock³ (Fig. 1, A and Fig. 6). Its walls were thickly coated with lime deposit, left by the hard Athenian water. From the foot of its north wall, a drain of considerable size had served to carry off the water towards the north (Figs. 1 and 2), but in all the three-metre height of the south wall there was no trace of an inlet of proportionate size (Fig. 3). In the west wall an arched niche rose above a ledge which ran the length of the slot. The niche was floored with a block of marble with a rectangular cutting, like a socket, in its outer edge (Figs. 2 and 4, α). Just opposite, in the east wall, an arched aperture (Figs. 3 and 5 A) opened into an adjoining room (Fig. 1, B; Figs. 6 and 7). This room, though bonded with the "slot" at the southwest corner, was of much more summary construction; and the lower courses of the "Valerian Wall" and the south wall of its tower had served as east and north walls of the building. The floor was covered in great part by a layer of carbon and ashes on which lay two circular mill stones, as well as fragments of several others.⁴ In the floor, just inside the arch, was a rectangular

¹ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 329 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pl. III. The wheel-race and flume of the mill are shown with a broken line.

My indebtedness for assistance in preparing this study is gratefully acknowledged to the following: Professor A. W. Van Buren who called to my notice a Roman mill-wheel in the Naples Museum and a Roman water-wheel in London; Cav. Ing. Luigi Jacono who supplied me with a photograph of the Naples wheel and a most helpful accompanying letter; the authorities of the British Museum, particularly F. N. Pryce, Esq., who sent me information about the London wheel and saw that I was supplied with photographs; André Kenny, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge, who generously placed at my disposal his expert knowledge of ancient hydraulics and made many useful suggestions; Col. R. W. Gaussman, general manager of the Athens Water Supply Works, whose wide experience and practical knowledge helped solve many a puzzling problem; and finally, my colleagues, H. A. Thompson and J. Travlos, the latter of whom has prepared all the drawings for the article.

³ The maximum dimensions preserved are: Length, 5.50 m.; width, 1.10 m.; height, 4.20 m. Levels where given in the drawings are in metres above the floor of the drain north of the mill (cf. Fig. 1).

⁴ The dimensions of the room are roughly 7.00 m. \times 4.60 m. Like the slot, the room was sunk into the bedrock, but less deeply; while the floor at the south is *ca.* 0.80 m. below bedrock level and 1.70 m. below the ancient ground level, the slope is such (Fig. 1) that at the north the depth is very slight. The shabby wall of rubble in the southeast corner (Fig. 6) is merely a facing for the bedrock exposed below the foundation of the "Valerian Wall."

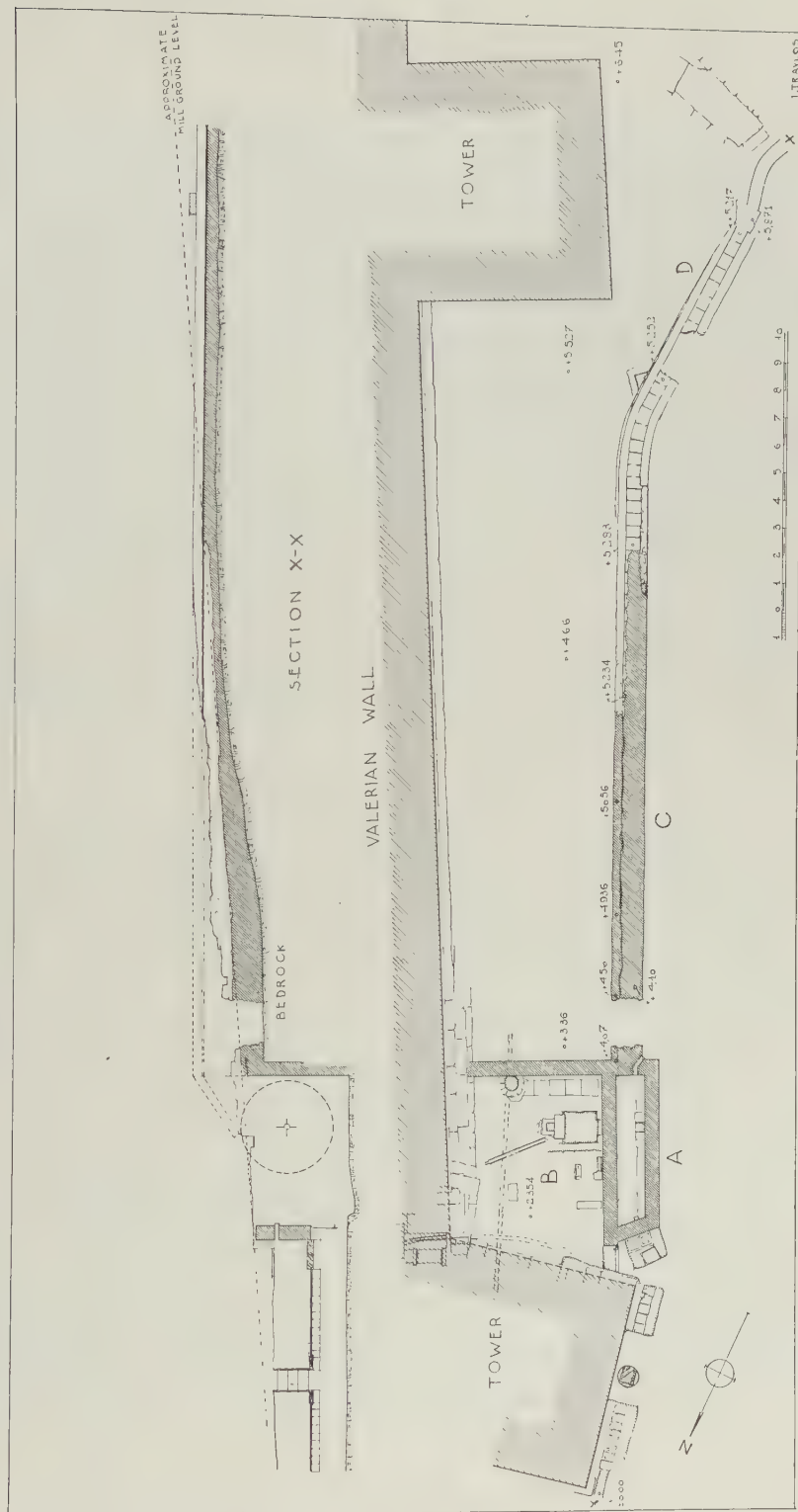
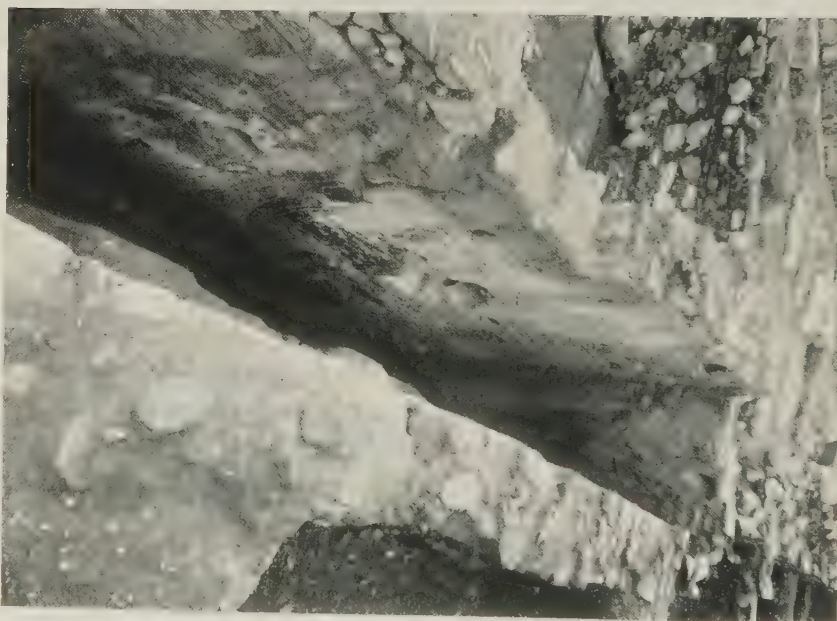


Fig. 1. Plan and Longitudinal Section of Mill and Mill-race

Fig. 2. West and North Walls of Wheel-race, from South



Fig. 3. East and South Walls of Wheel-race, from North



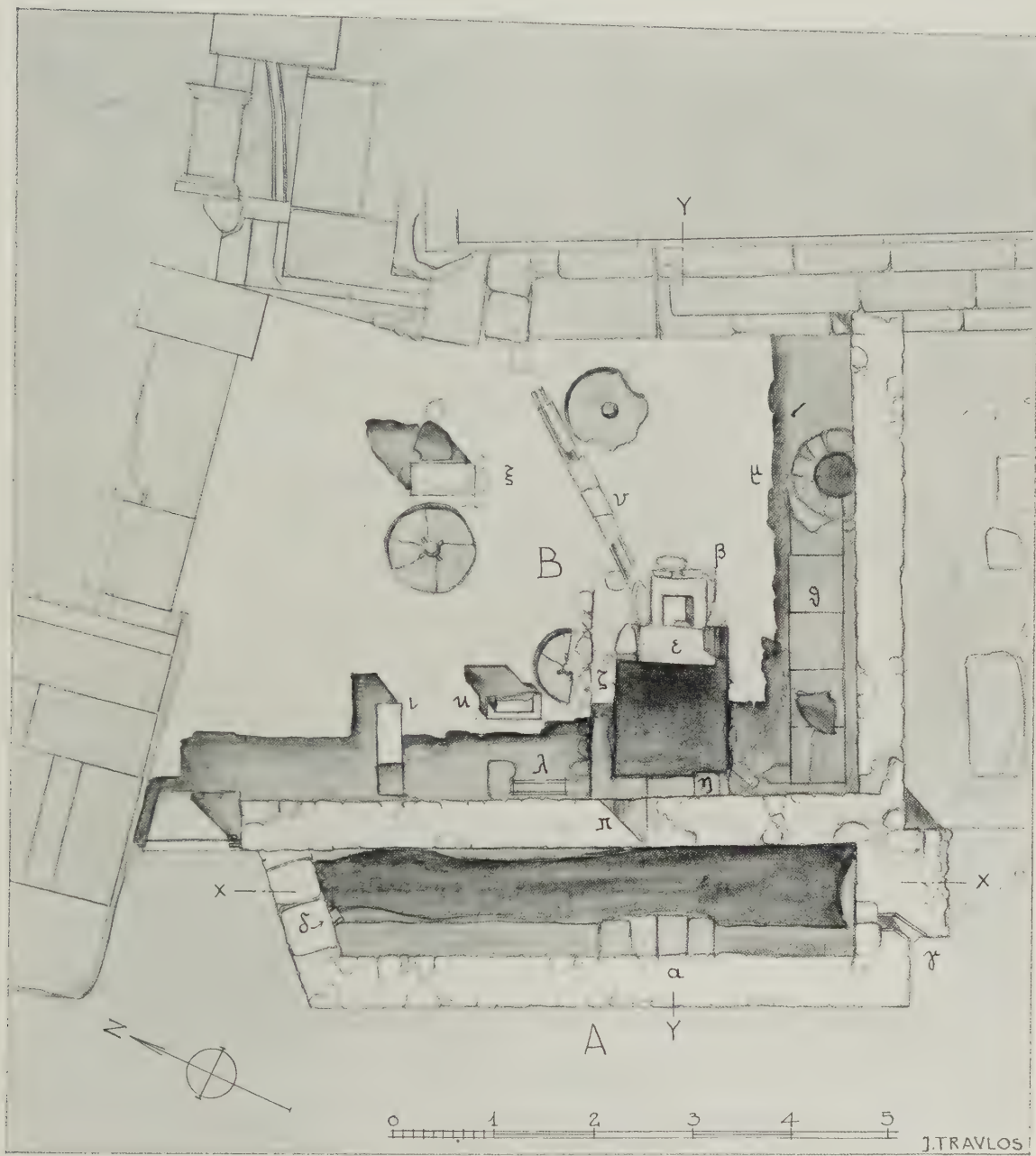


Fig. 4. Plan of Mill-room and Wheel-race, Actual Condition

pit with built-up sides and a heavy wall of large blocks at its east end (Figs. 5 B and 8); here was a second block of marble with a rectangular cutting, apparently corresponding to that in the niche (Fig. 4, β).¹

The stones lying on the floor and the socket-like cuttings suggested the character of the building. But the complete interpretation was not clear until further excavation showed, first, that a massive but considerably broken wall running towards the south from the end of the slot had originally been bonded to—an integral part of—the slot (Figs. 1, C and 6),² and then that a carefully built water-channel previously exposed some 20 m. to the south had once been carried all the way north on this wall (Figs. 1, D and 9).

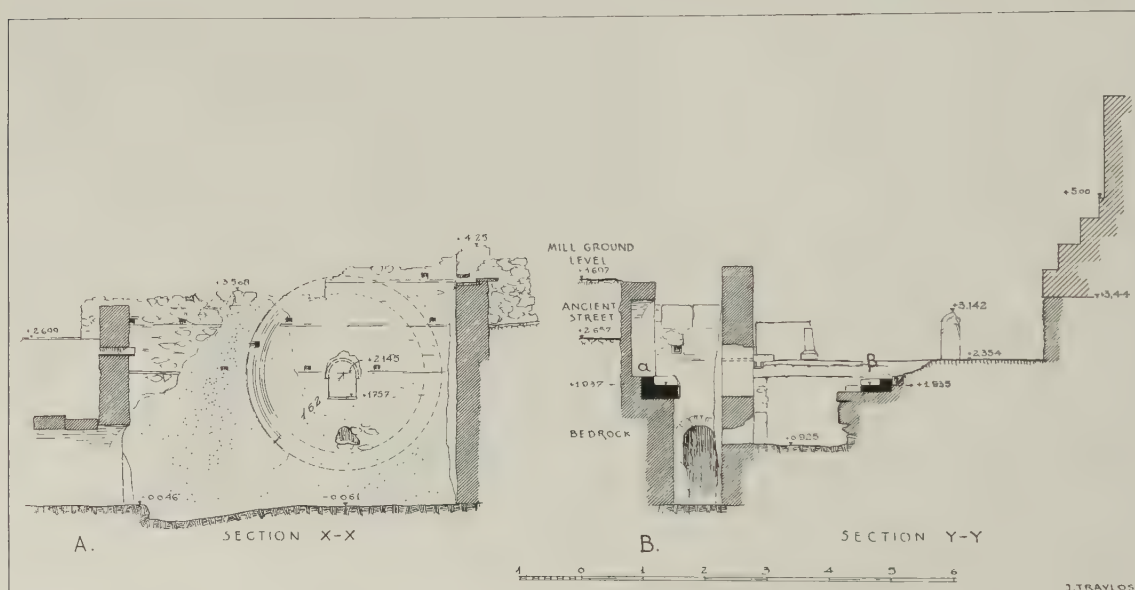


Fig. 5. Longitudinal and Cross Sections

No further question now remained as to its identity; no one familiar with the mills which are today a picturesque and charming feature of the Greek countryside, wherever there are streams copious and permanent enough, could fail to be struck by the similarity, in every essential detail, between this simple structure of the late Imperial period and the only slightly more elaborate installations of modern times. The entire complex could be nothing but a flour-mill, powered by water.

¹ The pit is *ca.* 1.15 m. long, *ca.* 1.10 m. wide, and *ca.* 1.40 m. deep. Its floor is formed by the rough bedrock. The wall below the arched opening is pierced, at the level of the floor of the pit, by a runout hole (Fig. 5 B) apparently made after the wall was built when it was found that water collected in the pit. The "socket" shows plainly in Figure 7, and in Figure 8 in the foreground.

² The wall was completely destroyed just south of the slot by a well sunk in the Middle Ages.



Fig. 6. Mill-room and Wheel-race from Northwest



Fig. 7. Mill-room and Wheel-race from Northeast

No other mill of this type, preserved from antiquity, seems to have been found, or, if found, to have been published,¹ although the existence of the *ὄδραλέτης* in many parts of the ancient world and over a long period of time is well attested in literature.² But Vitruvius' account of how a water-mill is to be built is, despite its brevity, sufficient to show that the Agora mill is as close to the ancient tradition as to the modern.

These are the relevant passages from the *de architectura*:

- (X, 4, 1) ... Et primum dicam de tympano ... ad tornum aut circinum fabricatus (axis), capitibus laminae ferratis, habens in medio circa se tympanum ex tabulis inter se coagmentatis, conlocatur in stipitibus habentibus in se sub capita axis ferreas laminae ...
- (X, 5, 1) Fiunt etiam in fluminibus rotae eisdem rationibus, quibus supra scriptum est. Circa earum frontes adfiguntur pinnae, quae cum percutiuntur ab impetu fluminis, cogunt progredientes versari rotam ...
- (X, 5, 2) Eadem ratione etiam versantur hydraetae, in quibus eadem sunt omnia, praeterquam quod in uno capite axis tympanum dentatum est inclusum. Id autem ad perpendicularum conlocatum in cultum versatur cum rota pariter. Secundum id tympanum maius item dentatum planum est conlocatum, quo continetur. Ita dentes tympani eius quod est in axe inclusum, impellendo dentes tympani plani cogunt fieri molarum circinationem. In qua machina impendens infundibulum subministrat molis frumentum et eadem versatione subigitur farina.

The mill has been badly destroyed; its walls are standing, roughly, only to the ground level contemporary with the destruction (Fig. 1) but, thanks to the fact that its floor level was far below that of the ground outside, an unusual number of details are preserved. So many, indeed, that the temptation to try a reconstruction, using the text of Vitruvius as a basis and the analogy of modern mills as an aid, is too great to be resisted.

If for the *flumen* we substitute the great slot, setting the wheel, the *rota*, here, we have the Vitruvian scheme exactly. The *axis* runs between the sockets, from the niche

¹ Scanty traces of water-mills have been found on the Janiculum in Rome (A. W. Van Buren and G. P. Stevens, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1915-16, pp. 59 ff., and *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 69 ff.). There must have been a water-mill at Venafrum, where the Naples wheel was found. The wood had entirely decayed but had left its impression in the heavy incrustation of lime which had formed about it; enough of this incrustation is preserved to permit reconstruction of a wheel of Vitruvian type with *pinnae*. The wheel, restored in wood, is now in the Technological Section of the Naples Museum, but is, as yet, unpublished.

² The important collections of source material on mills are these: Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie ... bei Griechen und Römern*, I (1875), pp. 23-49 (water-mills, pp. 45-49); L. Lindet, "Les origines du moulin à grains," *Rev. Arch.*, XXXV (1899), pp. 413-427, and XXXVI (1900), pp. 17-44 (water-mills, *Rev. Arch.*, XXXVI, pp. 35 ff.); Baudrillart, art. *Mola*, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités* (water-mills, pp. 1961 f.); A. Hug, art. *Μύλη* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XVI (1933). Blümner's article is basic, particularly for the technical aspects and the terminology. Lindet's is the most historical in its approach, as the title implies; but much can still be done with the history and still more could be done were excavators to overcome their reluctance about publishing millstones found on ancient sites. A reference to Kourouniotes, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1917, pp. 151 ff., would be in place in Hug's article, following his citation (col. 1071, top) of Versakis, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1914, pl. I. An interesting recent addition to the source material is the epitaph of a *μανγανάρειος ὄδραλέτα* of the 4th or 5th century A.D., from Sardis (Buckler-Robinson, *Sardis*, VII, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, I, 1932, pp. 138 f., no. 169).

in the wheel-race to the far end of the pit in the mill-room (Fig. 5 B, α and β). On the shaft where it crosses the pit must be set the vertical *tympanum*, meshing¹ at the top with the larger² horizontal *tympanum*. The vertical shaft on which this is fixed will, in turn, move the mill-stone on a platform above.

These are the main outlines; something more can be made from a detailed examination (Fig. 10). First the wheel-race: its walls are stoutly built of rubble and mortar, with courses of brick at intervals of *ca.* 0.75 m.³ Its unpaved floor is deep below the ground level, so that the socket for the axle-bearing, 2.10 m. above, may be firmly braced against the bedrock. The ledge, or catwalk, is wide enough for a man to move about on in comfort, if he supports himself with his hand against the opposite wall. The arched recess is high enough and deep enough for a man to crouch in and have room to work at the bearing. The catwalk could be reached without great difficulty from the north end of the race, which was apparently never built higher than the two large blocks which now crown the wall. At either end of the wheel-race a small drain opening from the street level helped to keep the ground outside the mill dry (Fig. 4, γ , δ ; and Fig. 5 A).⁴



Fig. 8. The Pit from the East; the Western Socket shows beyond the Arched Opening

¹ This is surely the meaning of *quo continetur*, and makes it unnecessary to assume that something has been lost from the text.

² This seems the easiest and most natural interpretation of *secundum id tympanum maius* . . etc. In the Agora mill, at least, there is reasonably sound evidence that the horizontal gear was the larger.

³ On the brick courses rested the crossbeams of the builders' scaffolding; the holes, still visible (Fig. 5 A), pass completely through the wall. This was, as it still is in Greece, the common method of supporting the staging (cf. a good illustration of such a scaffolding in a tomb painting of the late third century in Rome, *Arch. Anz.*, 1912, p. 293, fig. 14). The walls themselves are *ca.* 0.50 m. thick, bound with a strong mortar.

⁴ The small drain which empties into the wheel-race through the north wall was certainly intended, originally, to catch and carry off the water which would otherwise have run from the higher level of the street down to the door of the mill-room. The drain which discharged into the southwest corner of the mill-race just at the level of the street, unquestionably represents an already existing channel which was cut off by the construction of the mill.



Fig. 9. General View of Mill-race and Mill, from the South

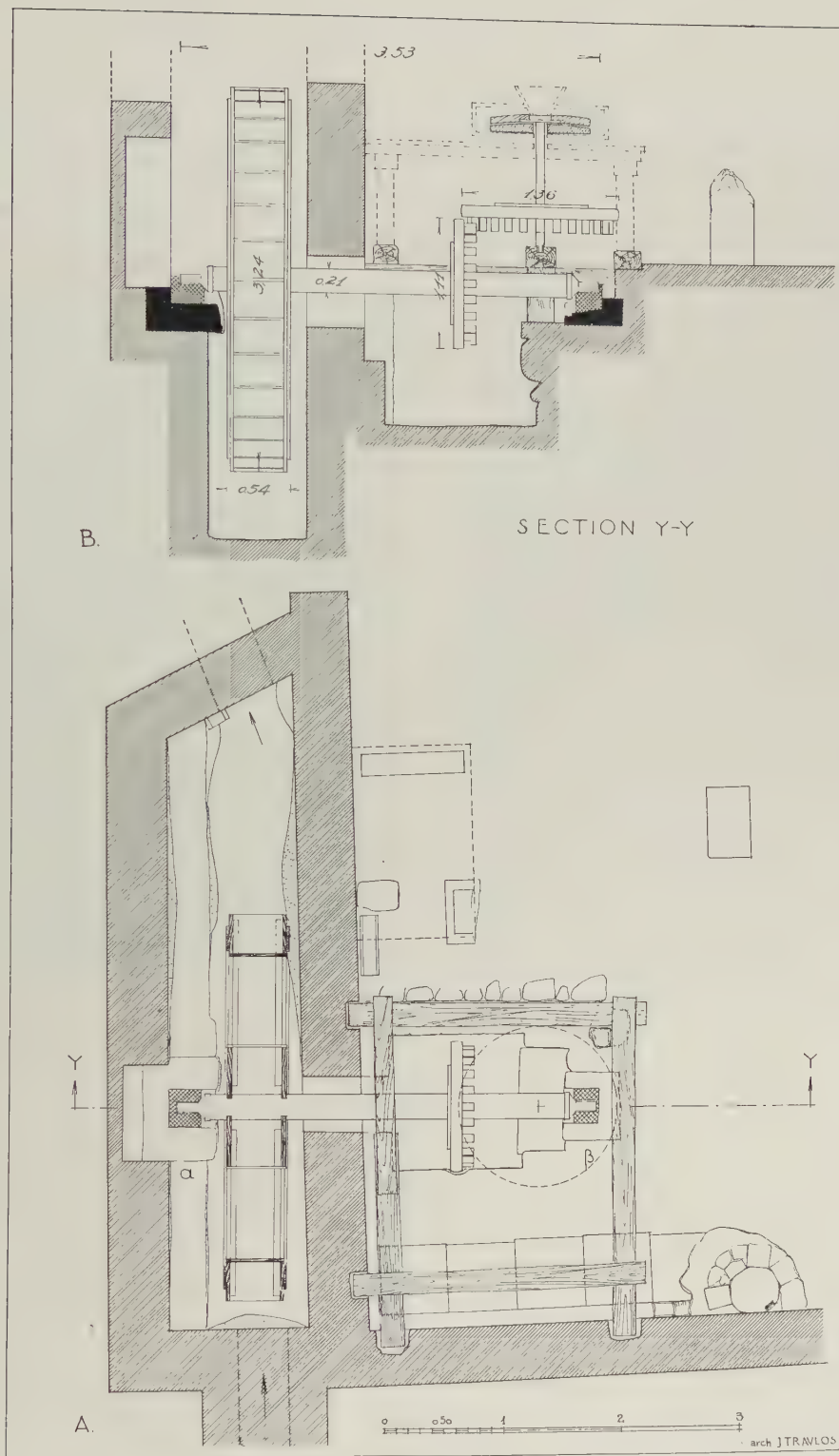


Fig. 10. Restored Plan and Section

The most interesting feature of the wheel-race is the evidence it offers as to the nature and size of the wheel itself. Here, two things help: first, the way in which the lime deposit has formed on the walls shows at once that the wheel was overshot, i.e. that the wheel, as seen in elevation from the west (Fig. 5 A), received the impulsion of the water on its upper left perimeter and turned in a counter-clockwise direction. Only if this were the case could the deposit have formed as it has, most thickly and evenly along the left perimeter of the wheel and down to the floor of the race, and again in great, irregular blobs at the lower right where the last drops were kicked off (Figs. 3 and 5 A).¹ Secondly, a builders' blunder which was undoubtedly a sad inconvenience in antiquity has proven a boon to the modern student. A straight-edge laid on the plan (Fig. 1) will show that the axis of the flume falls just a little out of line with

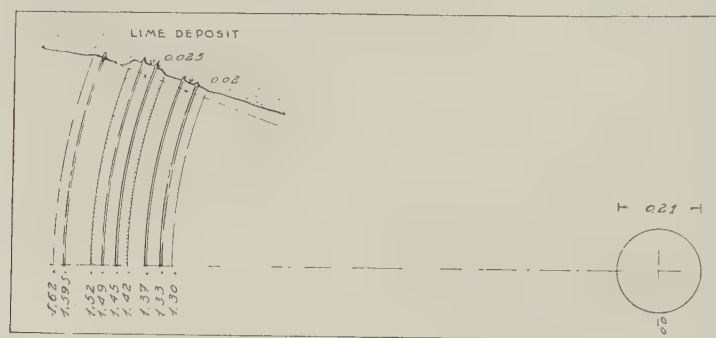


Fig. 11. Profile and Projection of Scratches made by Wheel

that of the wheel-race. The divergence is not great but it is enough so that the wheel, in order that it might take the force of the water as squarely as possible, had to be set at a slight angle to the walls of the wheel-race. The result was that the rim of the wheel, swinging close to the east wall, has left plain traces in the heavy lime deposit, in the form of a series of concentric grooves (Fig. 3). Thus the profile of the wheel, for something over 0.30 m. back from the circumference, is perfectly preserved.² This enables us not only to determine exactly the diameter of the wheel—3.24 m.—but also to fix its centre with accuracy. Further, the clear marks of nails and of projecting planks which show that the rim was attached outside the spokes, not inside, as often in modern times, give us a hint of what may have been the actual construction of the wheel. The wheel will, naturally, have been of wood; its chief difference from that of Vitruvius being that since this is an overshot wheel we must substitute some sort of buckets for his *pinnae*.

¹ The lime deposit is indicated in Figure 5 A by stippling; where the dots are densest, the deposit is heaviest.

² Fig. 11 shows the profile of the rim as it is preserved in the lime deposit; the restoration in Figures 10 A and 10 B has, except in respect to its diameter and width, no claims to authenticity, and is shown simply

Just such a wheel as this it must have been which Antipatros of Thessalonika pictures, in a not unpleasing conceit, as turned by the leaping feet of Demeter's nymphs.¹ To it the water was brought through a nearly horizontal mill-race, just as it is done in many a modern mill (Figs. 12 and 13), with one striking difference. The modern overshot wheel is turned by the weight of the water alone; the water drops into the



Fig. 12. The Agora Mill-race looking North



Fig. 13. Modern Mill-race near Livadia in Boeotia

exempli gratia. The wheel in London may give some clue to the way our wheel was put together. It is not a mill-wheel but a wheel for raising water (Vitr. X, 4, 3) from a Roman mine in Spain. A similar wheel (from the same mine?) is illustrated by Ardaillon in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, s. v. *Metalla*, figs. 5002 and 5003. Despite the difference in function, these wheels with their *modioli* (Vitr. l. c.) and their many long spokes, are in their general structure closer to what ours must have been than is the Venafrum wheel, that is small, chunky, and designed to turn rapidly in a fast-running stream.

¹

Ἀπὼ γὰρ νύμφαισι χερῶν ἐπετελλατο μόχθους·
αἱ δὲ κατ' ἀκροτάτην ἑλλόμεναι τροχὴν
ἄξονα δινέουσιν· ὁ δ' ἀκτίνεσσιν ἑλικταῖς 5
στρωφῶν Νισυρίων κοῖλα βόρη μυλάων·

Anth. Pal. IX, 418, vv. 3-6

The poet can only have been thinking of an overshot wheel; otherwise the picture suggested by κατ' ἀκροτάτην ἑλλόμεναι τροχὴν quite loses its point. The ἀκτίνες ἑλικταῖ must be, of course, the teeth of the *tympana dentata*, as the editors of the revised Liddell and Scott point out.

buckets from but a hand's breadth above (Fig. 14). Only in the case of small undershot wheels or horizontal turbine wheels is the force of the water utilized by dropping it through a sharply inclined channel or pipe before it strikes the wheel. But the designer of the Agora mill seems to have hoped to combine the two principles: the gradient indicated by the floor tiles of the mill-race where they are preserved 15 m. to the south will bring the channel, restored, to the wheel-race at a height of *ca.* 1.40 m. above the wheel. This is certainly too high for the water to fall uncontrolled onto the wheel; some such solution as that suggested in Figure 1 must have been adopted to avoid loss of both water and efficiency. When the wheel was to be stopped a simple trap in the floor of the channel above the south wall of the wheel-race let



Fig. 14. A Modern Wheel at Livadia in Boeotia

the water fall directly to the floor; both common sense and modern practice are enough to suggest this, while the extraordinarily heavy lime deposit which covers this wall from top to bottom is ample proof of it. The channel, where it is carried above the ground on what Frontinus calls the *substructio*, is *ca.* 0.42 m. wide and 0.42 m. deep, floored with rectangular tiles; below ground, north of the mill, and at the south where it first appears, it is deeper and unpaved, its walls built up of rubble and mortar, covered with semi-elliptical drain tiles.¹

The axle, like the wheel, was of wood; a single beam *ca.* 3.50 m. long, *ad tornum aut circinum fabricatus*. Vitruvius says of it only *capitibus lamna ferratis*. We can be more specific: the diameter of the shaft was a little over 0.20 m.; the metal ferrules, the *laminae*, were placed, not at the ends, but a little back from them, and the projecting wood worked down to form the bearing (Fig. 10). Modern practice and the wear on the east socket permit us to restore these details with reasonable certainty.²

¹ Immediately north of the wheel-race, outside the door of the mill-room, the tiles have been replaced with re-used marble slabs (Fig. 1); that this was done just before the destruction is suggested by the fact that the surface of the path which led down from the street to the doorway had not re-formed before the whole building was abandoned. A manhole lined with circular tiles, 5 m. to the north, permitted easy cleaning (Fig. 1).

² Fig. 15 and Fig. 16, 1, 2, 3 show the details of the socket. Note the deeply worn groove left by the 0.04 m. wide metal collar; note, too, how the sloping floor of the socket gives us at least a hint of the taper of the axle (this is exactly the way in which such wooden shafts are treated today).

The centre of the shaft, in the last phase of the mill, was 0.20 m. above the floor of the sockets. This leaves space to set into the sockets wooden blocks, *stipites*, hollowed out above to receive the ends of the shaft.¹

On the axle, within the mill-room, the vertical gear wheel, the *tympanum dentatum ad perpendicularum conlocatum*, was fastened. Its position, almost in the centre of the pit, and its diameter, 1.11 m., are, happily, fixed: at some time during the long life of the mill the rim of the *tympanum* has struck the upper edge of the pit at the south and, little by little, has bit deeply into stone and brick, wearing them to glassy smoothness.²

For the size and position of the horizontal *tympanum* there is also evidence, even if it is less precise. The solidly founded block of marble below the east bearing of the axle (Fig. 4, ε; Fig. 15) is justified only if we assume that it carried the supports for the bearing block in which the vertical shaft was set. Thus the diameter of the wheel cannot have been much more or less than 1.36 m.³ This is considerably larger than that of the vertical *tympanum*, and means, of course, a proportionate loss in speed. But it is likely that the flow of water through the mill-race was never such that the mill-wheel developed any surplus of power; and speed, in late Roman Athens, was doubtless a matter of little importance.

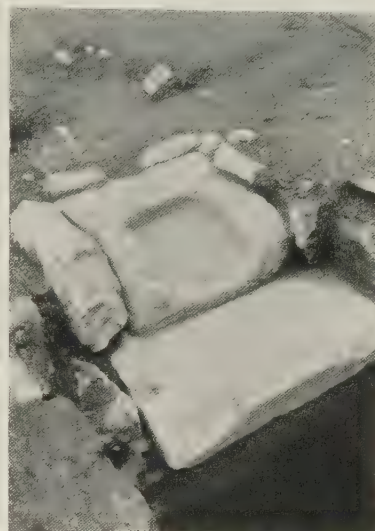


Fig. 15. The East Socket

How all this is to be held in place: how the millstones and the *infundibulum* are to be supported, Vitruvius did not think it necessary to specify. Nor need he have; a modern mill shows what is needed: the millstones must be set directly above the horizontal *tympanum*, whose axle, passing through a bearing in the lower stone, turns the upper. If we have little beside the

¹ These bearing blocks were presumably made of one or more pieces of wood, the grain running up and down, strapped, below the bearing, with *ferreae laminae* to prevent splitting. The wear on the east socket can only be explained if the bearings were of wood; a metal bearing, if it wore out, would have been replaced at once.

² Neither this wear nor that on the east socket belongs to the last period of the mill, when the shaft was set too high. But the mill was in use for more than a century and the wooden parts must have had to be replaced on more than one occasion. It has not seemed too great a stretching of the facts to treat the evidence as though it all belonged to one period.

³ For the construction of the *tympana* we can say with certainty only that the teeth were set as we have shown them (Fig. 10); teeth set around the circumference in the same plane as the wheel would have broken when the wheel came in contact with the side of the pit. The builders of modern Greek mills make the teeth of short sections cut from the limbs or trunk of the *πρινάρι* (the ancient *πρίνος*), the holm-oak, unworked except for removal of the bark. The depth and sharpness of the wear suggest that the circumference of the wheel was bound with an iron strap.

diameters and the positions of the *tympana*, we have at least samples of the millstones and something to indicate the arrangement of the platform on which they rested.

The requirements for the platform are simple. It must be high enough to clear the gears comfortably and to permit a man to crawl underneath and into the pit to lubricate bearings or make necessary repairs. It must be high enough, too, so that a sack may be stood below it to receive the fresh-ground flour. It must be long and wide enough so that a man may work on it, lifting the heavy bags of grain, emptying them into the hopper—the *infundibulum*.

There is also some evidence, besides the modern mill, to help us. There are no beam holes in the walls, except a series just at floor-level; clearly the platform stood essentially free of the walls. That it did so is easily explained: rubble and mortar walls are ill-suited to withstand vibration, which here may have been considerable. There are no post holes in the floor; it is hard to see why, but we must do what we can without them. In suggesting a restoration of the foundation for the platform we have used the ledge at the north edge of the pit (Fig. 4, ζ), the small projection just at the south side of the opening (Fig. 4, η), together with its mate which is to be restored at the north and the curious row of heavy square tiles close to the south wall of the room (Fig. 4, θ). There are beam holes in the south wall of the room at two points (Fig. 7; cf. Fig. 10): one near the middle, just opposite the east end of the ledge where a bedding worked in a projecting stone indicates a corner (Fig. 8, in right foreground); the second close to the southwest corner. Both are at the level of the row of tiles. A third beam hole appears in the west wall of the room, opposite the last tile and *ca.* 0.11 m. above it. The breaks at either side of the opening above the pit¹ and at the west end of the ledge (Fig. 8—the wooden braces are, of course, ours) must mean that beam-ends or braces have been torn out. But the levels are a little puzzling even when the restorations demanded by the evidence are made.²

We must doubtless make allowance, on the part of the builders, for a willingness (not infrequently observed in their modern descendants) to substitute for careful workmanship at the start an elaborate arrangement of wedges, braces, struts and such makeshift devices. For the height of the platform, a metre or so above the floor will be ample, with a pair of steps for easy access.³

¹ Quite possibly a third bearing should be restored at the east side of the opening.

² Taking the floor of the room as zero, the levels are as follows: the ledge (its west end restored), -0.175 m.; the projecting shelf, south of the arched opening, -0.17 m.; the westernmost tile, opposite the beam hole, -0.162 m.; the fourth tile, opposite the centre of the beam hole, -0.11 m. A complicating factor is the axle whose centre is only 0.02 m. below the level of the ledge, the shelf and the western tile; but the original axle for which the installation was designed may have been as much as 0.10 m. lower.

The original purpose of the row of tiles remains obscure. If the whole floor or a part of it was originally tiled, all traces not only of the tiles, but of the thick cement-bedding in which they were laid, have disappeared.

³ In the restored section, Fig. 10 B, we have used a broken line to indicate those parts for which we have no evidence whatever.

Now the stones (Fig. 17): two are completely preserved or nearly so; happily, one (Fig. 17, *b*) is an upper stone, one (Fig. 17, *d*) a lower; unhappily, they are not a pair. But there are fragments of four others, all of which are upper stones; the diameter and profile of one of them (Fig. 17, *a*) would make it a very good mate for the solitary lower stone. The material of all is rough, gray, volcanic stone, which is the common material for millstones in Greece throughout antiquity.¹ The lower stone is slightly convex above, flat below, with innumerable tiny channels on its upper face running in a whirling pattern from centre to edge.² It must be fixed to the platform or, better, to some sort of wooden bed which can be raised or lowered with wedges. Through its central hole, fitting tightly, passes the vertical shaft, terminating in a double "swallowtail" of metal by which the power is finally transmitted to the upper stone (cf. Fig. 10 B). This is concave below to fit the convexity of the lower stone but may be convex, flat or even concave (Fig. 17, *a*) on top. Four shallow notches in the under side at the edge of the central hole held the "swallowtail" in place.³ Remarkable by contrast with modern stones is the thinness of these. No doubt they are badly worn down—to the point of uselessness, perhaps, else they would scarcely have escaped the looters who ransacked the mill at the time of the destruction. The thickest of the fragments is *ca.* 0.08 m.—only a fraction of the thickness of the stones used today—an indication surely of the relative simplicity of this establishment.⁴

Set above the millstones an *infundibulum*, a simple hopper of wood such as is often illustrated in Roman art,⁵ and the mill is ready to work.

Less can be said and, on the whole, with less certainty, about the rest of the arrangements within the mill. But some evidence remains. Just north of the pit two carefully placed bits of marble (both are fragments of statue bases, Fig. 4, *ι*, *κ*), together

¹ The most favored source of this stone was, so far as we know, Nisyros (cf. Strabo, X, 5, 16: *ἡ τῶν μύλων ἐμπορία*; *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 21; Antipatros' epigram, quoted above, p. 81, where, however, *Νισυρίων* is a restoration). The ancient quarries were still visible in the nineteenth century (Ross, *Inselreisen*, II, p. 80). The excavators of Priene suggested the peninsula of Erythrae (the *ἄκρα Μέλαινα* of Strabo, XIV, 1, 33) or Thera as a centre of export (Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 393 f.). For a collection of the source material, see Fr. Ebert, *Real-Encyc.*, s. v. *Molaris Lapis*. For the commonly held notion that Melos shipped millstones in antiquity (cf., e.g., Mackenzie, *B.S.A.*, III [1896/97], p. 72) there appears to be no basis. The millstones produced there in modern, and in mediaeval, times are of another stone, a porous quartzite (Ehrenburg, *Die Inselgruppe von Melos*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 115 ff.). The millstones most in demand in Greece today are imported from France.

² One notes with surprise that the upper stone must have turned against, not with, the swirl of the channels. The intention was, clearly, to assure a finely ground flour.

³ Lindet, *Rev. Arch.*, XXXVI (1900), p. 39, fig. 21, illustrates the kind of "swallowtail" in use in France in the XVIIIth century. Note that the differing arrangements of the notches in Fig. 17, *a*, *b*, and *c* suggest as many different shapes of "swallowtail."

⁴ Dr. H. A. Thompson makes the suggestion that perhaps the upper stones were weighted by blocks laid on top, thus enabling the miller to economize considerably on millstone.

⁵ Cf., e.g., a relief in the Vatican (Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, p. 1961, fig. 5106; Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 44, fig. 6).

with a beam hole in the wall opposite the southernmost, might be the supports for a table.¹ From below its southwest corner, a length of rectangular tile-drain leads into the pit (Fig. 4, λ). Here, perhaps, the grain was washed before milling.² Water was at hand; the small cylindrical basin against the south wall of the room (Fig. 4, μ) tapped the trench of a small water-channel, laid through here long before.³ At an earlier period the washing place was possibly in the northeast corner of the room, drained by the channel (Fig. 4, ν) which runs from a shallow depression in the floor to the northeast corner of the pit. The channel was out of use in the last phase of the mill; its outlet was blocked by a stone set in to brace the east bearing, its covers were broken or missing, and its channel was choked with earth. The washing place may have been moved when the block of poros, of which the stump still remains (Fig. 4, ξ), was set into the floor near the northeast corner.⁴

There is little more that can be added: the threshold block has cuttings for a door that opened inwards—a slot for the wooden framing, a pivot hole for the hinge; there seems to have been a small window in the wall above the pit, through which the miller could watch his wheel (Fig. 4, π and Fig. 5 A); a great mass of fragments of roof-tiles, heaped up against the south wall by the looters, is all that is left of the roof.

The picture which emerges is reasonably complete. Our partnership with Vitruvius has been a profitable one. Without his text the problem would have been more difficult; the restoration, in many respects, more hesitant. But we have added something: Vitruvius was not writing specifications, but explaining in the briefest possible terms the general principles of a water-mill. The actual specifications would be drawn up by the individual mill-builder, who, while basing his design on Vitruvius' account, would supply the details from his own experience and adapt them to the particular requirements of each mill which he planned. And in the Agora we have now, for the first time, such a mill, one which might, as we have seen, have been designed with Vitruvius' text in hand, which is so well preserved that in nearly all its essential parts it provides a clear idea of just

¹ We have suggested its restoration in Figure 10 A.

² Washing the grain is shown on a very interesting molded bowl in Athens (*Aex. 'Eφ.*, 1914, fig. 3 and pl. I; cf. Kourouniotes, *Aex. 'Eφ.*, 1917, pp. 152 f.). The round object which the miller holds is certainly a sieve; and it is a basin on a stand, not a table, over which he bends. Clearly he is using the sieve to drain the water from the wet grain, not to sift it. The bowl is probably to be dated in the late third or early second century B.C., according to Dr. Thompson, who has examined it with me. Washing the grain before it is ground is still the practice in many Greek mills.

³ The basin is 0.75 m. deep, 0.40 m. in diameter, lined with hard waterproof cement. The overflow ran out through a channel scooped in the bedrock between the tiles and the wall, emptying into the pit in its southwest corner. The built-up rim of rubble and mortar which now covers the easternmost of the tiles is certainly an addition, put on, perhaps, when accumulated débris had raised the floor in the south half of the room level with that in the north.

⁴ The post, like the built-up rim of the water basin, was not a part of the original scheme, for a piece of a much worn mill-stone is incorporated in the cement bedding. How high it may have been we have no way of knowing. It can hardly have been needed as a support for the roof but possibly supported the corner of a loft or platform for grain storage, built into the northeast corner of the room.

how the builder applied Vitruvius' general rules. If we have been unable to reproduce the original specifications *in toto*, it has been possible to restore at least a great part of them, much with authentic detail, the remainder with fair certainty.¹

The faithfulness with which the local architect clung to the Vitruvian plan is particularly interesting because of the date of the Agora mill, which can be established with some accuracy. Where the mill now stands, in earlier times, a paved street climbed towards the Acropolis. After the disastrous invasion of the Heruli in A.D. 267, after the building of the "Valerian Wall," this part of the street was for years abandoned; its paving blocks were gradually covered with rubbish, later by the gravel and sand washed down by a winter torrent.² When the mill was built this process was checked and a new ground level was formed, some 0.60–0.75 m. above the old (Figs. 1 and 5 B). During the excavation, much of the filling, in and below the new level was examined; a great quantity of pottery and many coins were found. The bulk of the coins are of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D.; four are of the emperor Marcianus (A.D. 455–457), three of Leon I (457–474). These are the latest; with them the lamps and potsherds agree: we shall not go far astray if we date the construction of the mill some time during the long reign of Leon.

The mill was finally destroyed by fire—or sufficiently so that it was not rebuilt. The floor north of the pit in the mill-room was covered by a layer of ash and carbon, as thick in some parts as 0.25 m. More than seven hundred bronze coins were found on the hard floor below this layer, and scattered through the softer filling in the southern portion of the room.³ In the pit, in the rubbish in the bottom, covered by the charred remains of wood and iron, some thirty more coins were discovered, with several complete lamps and vases. The coins form a particularly interesting group. Well over four hundred proved legible; nearly all are of the fifth and sixth centuries (only twelve are earlier). Most of them are the tiny bits of bronze of the class called "Vandal." Justinus I is well represented, and Justinian the Great; the latest are five of the emperor Justinus II (A.D. 565–578). We must set the destruction of the mill in his reign or not long after it.⁴

The mill was planned and built nearly five hundred years after Vitruvius wrote. It might as well have been five years or fifty, as far as the actual installation is concerned, for once the principle was discovered, this simplest application of it must have been

¹ One has but to compare the drawings of the Agora mill, especially Figure 10, with restorations based on the text of Vitruvius alone (e.g. Choisy, *Vitruve*, IV, pl. 68, fig. 2; Neuburger, *Technik des Altertums*, pp. 96 f., fig. 157) to see how much the Agora mill has contributed.

² The remaining paving blocks, once more exposed, are visible, just south of the mill, in Figures 6 and 7.

³ This is hard to explain. Either the mill-room had a board floor, through the cracks of which a small coin might easily slip—no single coin being worth the effort of raising the planks; or the miller could afford to be more casual with his money than the scale of his establishment would lead one to suspect.

⁴ Is it simply coincidence that this is so close in date to the great invasion of Greece by the Slavs, in A.D. 577? Dr. Gladys Davidson has been kind enough to tell me that she has recently found evidence showing that the Slavs were in Corinth, which, like Athens, had been thought to have escaped these invaders.

rapidly developed. The earliest *ὕδραλέτης* of which we hear, that of Mithridates, at Kabeira in Pontus¹ was doubtless not very different from ours. The mills in the aqueducts at Rome² which Belisarios replaced with ship mills in the Tiber in A.D. 537, were certainly much the same. And today in lands which have not yet felt the full influence of the Industrial Revolution, mills like these are still in use.

The Agora mill is thus interesting, not merely as an illustration to Vitruvius but as a link in a two-thousand year tradition, a comment on what is all too easily forgotten, the conservative, the unchanging life of the mass of the population.

Only one more aspect of the mill need here concern us. That is its immediate significance for the history and topography of the Athenian Agora. A water-mill implies both a copious and a steady stream; and it suggests an Agora of a very different character from the traditional one.

Where did the water come from to turn the wheel? The "Wasserarmut" of Athens has been axiomatic with modern commentators; if the ancient Athenians themselves thought of their water supply as inadequate, none of them has mentioned it. True, Herakleides, *ὁ κριτικός*, found the city *ξηρὰ πᾶσα καὶ οὐκ ἐνὺδρος*.³ But Herakleides, like more recent critics, was a foreigner; he came, doubtless, from some well-watered Asiatic homeland and chose perhaps a scorching midsummer day for his visit. There is nothing elsewhere in literature to bear out his judgment. A mean annual rainfall in Athens of 0.393 m. (*ca.* 15.5 inches) must have kept the countless cisterns and reservoirs filled, while wells tapped water at a reasonable depth.⁴ Once the sources of Pentelikon and Hymettos had been brought in by the Peisistratids, the supply seems to have been quite sufficient for the demands of the inhabitants, granting that these were, by modern (and Herakleidian) standards, relatively modest.

And now the excavations in the Agora are showing that from early times a copious source, probably a series of springs, existed in this region—and still exists, for that matter; the lively underground streams which bubble out through the central area are a constant and serious obstacle to the excavator's progress. If the springs themselves have not yet been found, they lie, certainly, somewhere on the north slope of the Areiopagos: on some point here all the lines are converging—the aqueduct of the great fountain-house, the channel that fed the mill, a whole series of mains and pipelines of various epochs. Always, the supply appears to have been plentiful: in classical times it was adequate not only for the fountain-house but apparently for several capacious pipelines which distributed the water to other parts of the city; a thousand years later,

¹ Strabo, XII, 3, 30.

² Procopius, *bell. Goth.*, I, 19 (pp. 96 f., Bonn). Until the discovery of the Agora mill these were the latest water-mills known from antiquity.

³ Herakleides, I, 1 (*F.H.G.*, II, pp. 254 f.; *Geog. gr. min.*, I, pp. 97 f.).

⁴ The rainfall figures are modern, cf. Judeich, *Top.*², p. 51. Wells in the Agora region run generally from 12–14 m. in depth.

although the fountain-house had been abandoned, there was still the Roman bath to be supplied as well as our mill.

It was the destruction of the great fountain-house which rendered the water available for other uses, the desertion, late in the third century, of the Agora of the old days, which turned it into more prosaic channels. The city, which, a century or so after the construction of the "Valerian Wall," began once more to expand in the Agora region, was little more than a small University town. The complex of baths, gymnasium and lecture-halls was not unimpressive,¹ but it represented another spirit, another economy than the Odeion and the South Stoa whose site it occupied. That, fifty years later, the mill could be built only a stone's throw away is, surely, an indication of rapid decline. Justinian's edict in A.D. 529 closed the doors of the University. Only the mill survived: Athens had become a village.

¹ See above, p. 6.

ARTHUR W. PARSONS

THE SARAPION MONUMENT AND THE PAEAN OF SOPHOCLES

During the demolition of modern houses prior to the campaign of 1932 there was found in Section Delta of the American excavations in the Athenian Agora an inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, broken away above, below, at the right and at the left, but preserving in back another face with incised decoration.¹ In the Epigraphical Museum appeared many other fragments which belonged to the same monument and of which the majority were first published by W. Dittenberger in *I.G.*, III, *passim* (as separate inscriptions) on the basis of copies made by Duhn and Lolling. The stones have now been assembled and with them the monument has been partially rebuilt in the Epigraphical Museum. For this I am particularly indebted to the excavation mender, J. Bakoules, who in finding fragments, in discovering joins and in performing the difficult task of putting together the large monument, has supplied me with the very foundation of my article. I am deeply indebted also to the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, K. Kourouniotes, who provided me with every facility and aided me with a most important suggestion which will be acknowledged in its place further on.

The monument, with slightly concave sides, originally consisted of a large triangular base surmounted by an overlapping triangular cap which supported a tripod, not centered on the monument but located toward the front as appears from the cuttings on the stone, E[pigraphical] M[useum] 12469. The latter fragment, preserving both top and bottom but elsewhere broken away, is a piece of the cap with a height of 0.42 m. K. Kourouniotes, who supervised its restoration in plaster at the time of its discovery, estimated that each face of the cap had a width of 0.955 m. Most of the extant fragments of the base join as one piece, 1.38 m. high, broken away above and below (Illustrations on pp. 96, 104, 110). The width of each face is 0.865 m. A beveled surface, 0.065 m. wide lower down but narrowing somewhat toward the top, forms the edge of each side. The non-contiguous fragment *b* from the upper right hand corner of the front is 0.244 m. high. It is unknown how much is missing between the main piece of the base and the fragment at the upper right hand corner or how much is missing below the point where the main piece is broken away, where the paean of Sarapion merely begins.

¹ Inventory No. 1059 I 103. Height, 0.23 m.; Width, 0.41 m.; Thickness, 0.24 m. It is the fragment with the letters ΕΣΜΑ on the front of the monument line 16. The uninscribed face of it may be seen on the right side of the monument above the fragment with the letters ΓΙΑΡΧ in line 2.

The monument is inscribed on all three sides, and honors Sarapion of Chollidae, whose descendants constituted one of the great families of Roman Athens. The majority of the fragments came from the neighborhood of the Asclepieum on the south slope of the Acropolis. The provenience of a few fragments is not recorded, but the place and date of their entry into the Museum catalogue indicate that they also came from the Asclepieum. Only two pieces are known to have been found elsewhere, namely the fragment from the Agora and one small piece from the north slope of the Acropolis.¹ These two fragments were carried away obviously after the destruction of the monument, which may have taken place as early as the latter part of the third century after Christ. Furthermore, the monument was already known from a large base which is still to be seen in the Asclepieum and which bears the following inscription (*I.G.*, II², 3704):

Ἐφηφισαμένης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου
Πάγον βουλῆς Κόιντον Στάτι[ον]
Θεμιστοκλέα Χολλείδην, υἱὸ[ν]
τοῦ διὰ βίου ἱερέως τοῦ Σωτήρο[ς]
5 Ἀσκληπιοῦ Κόιντον Στατ < Γλαύκον
Χολλείδου καὶ Κλανδίας Ἀμμίας τῆ[ς]
καὶ Ἀγριππείνης ἐκ Μαραθωνίων,
Κλ < Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀσιάρχον < θυ(γατρός),
φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπατικῶν καὶ Ἀσ[τ]
10 αρχῶν ἔκγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον
Τίτος Φλαῦιος Γλαῦκος Μαραθῶν,
ποιητῆς² καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ φιλόσοφος,
ἀπὸ συνηγοριῶν ταμίον, κλειδου
χῆσαντα ἐπιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ[ὰ]
15 τὸν κοινὸν πρόπαππον Κόιντον
Στάτιον Σαραπίωνα, οἷ καὶ ὁ πλη
σίον οὗτος τρίπους <

The monument to Sarapion, erected by his grandson, recorded a paeon which Sarapion had written on some occasion two generations before, and of which only a few traces are preserved on the front of the monument, lines 41–45. The main part of the front is covered by a preamble in prose and a philosophical poem in the dactylic hexameter, of which the first and probably also the second are due to the grandson. Between them stood another inscription of uncertain length and character. On the left side of the monument is engraved an old paeon of the tragic poet Sophocles, sung presumably on the same occasion as that of Sarapion. On the right side is engraved a

¹ EM 12752 published with a photograph in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 184, by O. Broneer.

² Compare *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 774 and 775.

catalogue of the chorus, who chanted the paean in the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus, *ca.* 174/5 A.D. At that time, the reader will recall, the plague of Antoninus was still raging.

We are here dealing with two sets of dates. For an interpretation of their relationship we start with the known fact that Quintus Statius Sarapion of the deme Chollidae had been cosmète in the year 158/9 A.D.,¹ and with the probability that a grandson Quintus Statius Glaucus was ephebe about 218/9 A.D.² Therefore the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus (*ca.* 174/5 A.D.), the date on the left side, probably falls within the period of Sarapion and not of his grandson, and it records the year of the original occasion on which the paean of Sarapion was sung by the chorus whose names are inscribed below. On the other hand, the dates on the front indicate the time at which the grandson erected the monument. The rounded letters on the left side are different from those on the right and front, but other inscriptions of the third century (e.g. the ephebic catalogue published with a photograph in *Hesperia*, II [1933], p. 506) exhibit a similar mixture of straight and rounded letters. It is natural to suppose that all three sides were inscribed at the same time,—in the archonship of [Dionysod]orus in the first half of the third century.

The fact that in the sanctuary of Asclepius the dedication was one of a tripod and its triangular base, seems to imply that Sarapion had won a victory in a literary contest to the greater honor and glory of the Savior God.

The heterogeneous character of the inscription, which contains elements in prose as well as several poems, recalls *I.G.*, IV², 128, the Isyllus monument in the Asclepieum at Epidaurus. The latter inscription, which dates from the early third century B.C., likewise contains elements in prose as well as in verse.³ The Isyllus monument, moreover, as also the Sarapion monument, preserves a paean and above it among other things a poem of a philosophical character. Even the Doric dialect is imperfectly imitated in the Athenian poem. The grandson of Sarapion followed an ancient precedent when he erected the monument in the Asclepieum at Athens.

FRONT

Height of Letters: in lines 1–6 and 8–37, 0.02 m.; in line 7, 0.03 m.; in line 39, 0.023 m.; in lines 41–45, 0.011 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *a*, the upper left hand corner of the base, is broken away below, in back and at the right. Height, 0.21 m.; Width, 0.15 m.; Thickness, 0.20 m. Inventory No., EM 8350.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 2079 and 3743.

² *I.G.*, II², 3704 and 2226.

³ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, Heft 9 *Isyllos von Epidaurus* (Berlin, 1886).

Three fragments, namely EM 8336, EM 8337 and EM 4589, join as one large non-contiguous fragment *b* to form the upper right hand corner of the base. Fragment *b* is broken away below, in back and at the left. Height, 0.244 m.; Width, 0.48 m.; Thickness, 0.18 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *c*, broken away on all sides, belongs somewhere between lines 9 and 33. Height, 0.14 m.; Width, 0.16 m.; Thickness, 0.20 m. Height of Letters, 0.02 m. Inventory No., EM 8343.

Likewise the non-contiguous fragment *d*, broken away on all sides, belongs somewhere between lines 9 and 33. Height, 0.09 m.; Width, 0.15 m.; Thickness, 0.21 m. Height of Letters, 0.02 m. Inventory No., EM 8347.



Fig. 1. The Cap (EM 12469) Restored in Plaster

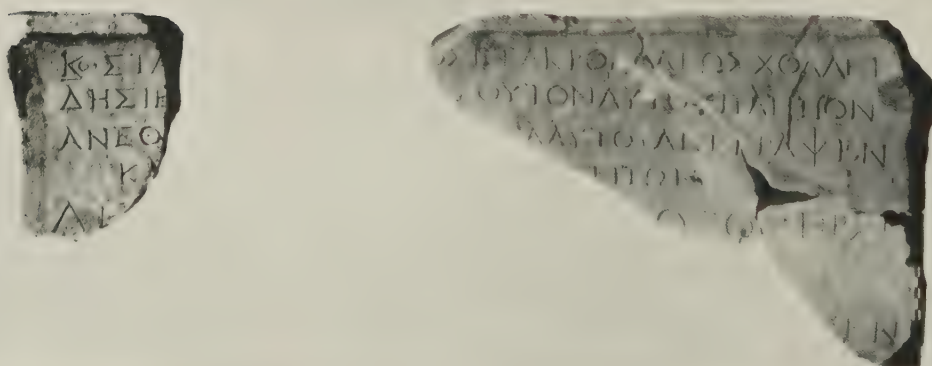


Fig. 2. Front: Fragments *a* and *b*

On cap		[Σαραπίων]α Χολλείδην> ![- - - - -]	
		[φι]λόσοφον Στωϊκ[όν]	
On base	a	<u>Κο</u> > Στά[τιος πυρφόρ]ος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως Χολλεί	b
		δης ἱε[ρεὺς Σωτήρος] θεοῦ τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππον	
	5	ἀνέθ[ηκεν καὶ τὸν παιᾶ]να αὐτοῦ ἀνέγραψεν	
		κα[θ'] ἐπονηματισμὸν Ἀρεοπ[αγ]γειῶν	
		Λε[ύκιος Λιοντόδ]ωρος ἱρχε	
		<i>vacat</i>	
		[. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]κεν	
		An indeterminable number of lines missing	
10		[- - - - -] ἡγε[- - - - -]	
		[- - - - -] δαι[.] δεν ἄθλα καὶ μο[- - - - -]	
		ἡ[.]!![- -] ατεσια[.]ος ἀνδρομάχοι[- - - - -]	
		<i>vacat</i>	
		Ἔργα τὰδε λατρ[ῶν αἰ]ώνια, πρᾶτον ἐ[λέγχειν]	
15		καὶ νόον ἡσθαι ἱ[- -] ἱ[.] προπαρήτω α[- - -],	
		μήδεσι δ' ἦν θιγέ[ωσι, π]αρεῖς καὶ θεσμὸς καὶ ὄρκ[ος]	
		καὶ δ' ἀρεταί· ἀκέο[ι]το [δὲ . . .]σιμυμεῖα τ[ε]ύχη	
		κούρας τ' ἡδ' ἀλόχους ἐρα[τάς], ἀτὰρ ἡγὸς ἀφάσ[σων]	
		στέρνα πόθωι χλιδάοι ἐτέ[ρως τινὸς] [ἡ]τῆρος·	
20		[τοῖς δ' ἐ]χάτοις ἀπόγαμι θε[οῖς τὰ ἐνόντ]α βεβαίοις·	
		[- - - - -] αστεγάμ[- - - - -] ἡτῆρος	
		[- - - - -]ιο κα[ι] ὄργια μύ[στο]ν λάβην	
		[- - - - -] ἄντατοια [.]γει	
		[- -] ασ[- - - - -]ς τέκος ἀθ[ι] δὲ τέχνα	
25		[τ]οῖς με[ι] [- - - - -]! [- - - - -] \ως θεὸς οἷα [σ]αωτήρ	
		δμῶν ἀκτ[ε]άνων [τ]ε καὶ ἀφνειῶν καὶ ἀνάκτων	
		ἴσος [κα]ὶ πάντεσσι δ' ἀδελφεὸς [ῆ]ι, ἀτὰρ ἡγοί	
		παν[- - - - -]ν κάσιες τ[οῖς εἰ]δ[ε]σιν ἔχθου	
		μηδ[- - - - -] μ[ι] ὕθου ἢ ο[- - -] λείξο[- - -]	
30		μην[- - - - -] μινη>[- - -]	
		αισχ[- - - - -] ὕγμιας	
		ἀλλὰ δ[- - - - -]ε[.] τέχνα	
		τοίως [- - - - -]ι ἡτορ	
		<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
35		Ἐπιμελη[τέοντος τῆς πόλεως Κωπω]ρί	
		ο[ν] Μαξιμ[ου]	
		<i>vacat</i>	

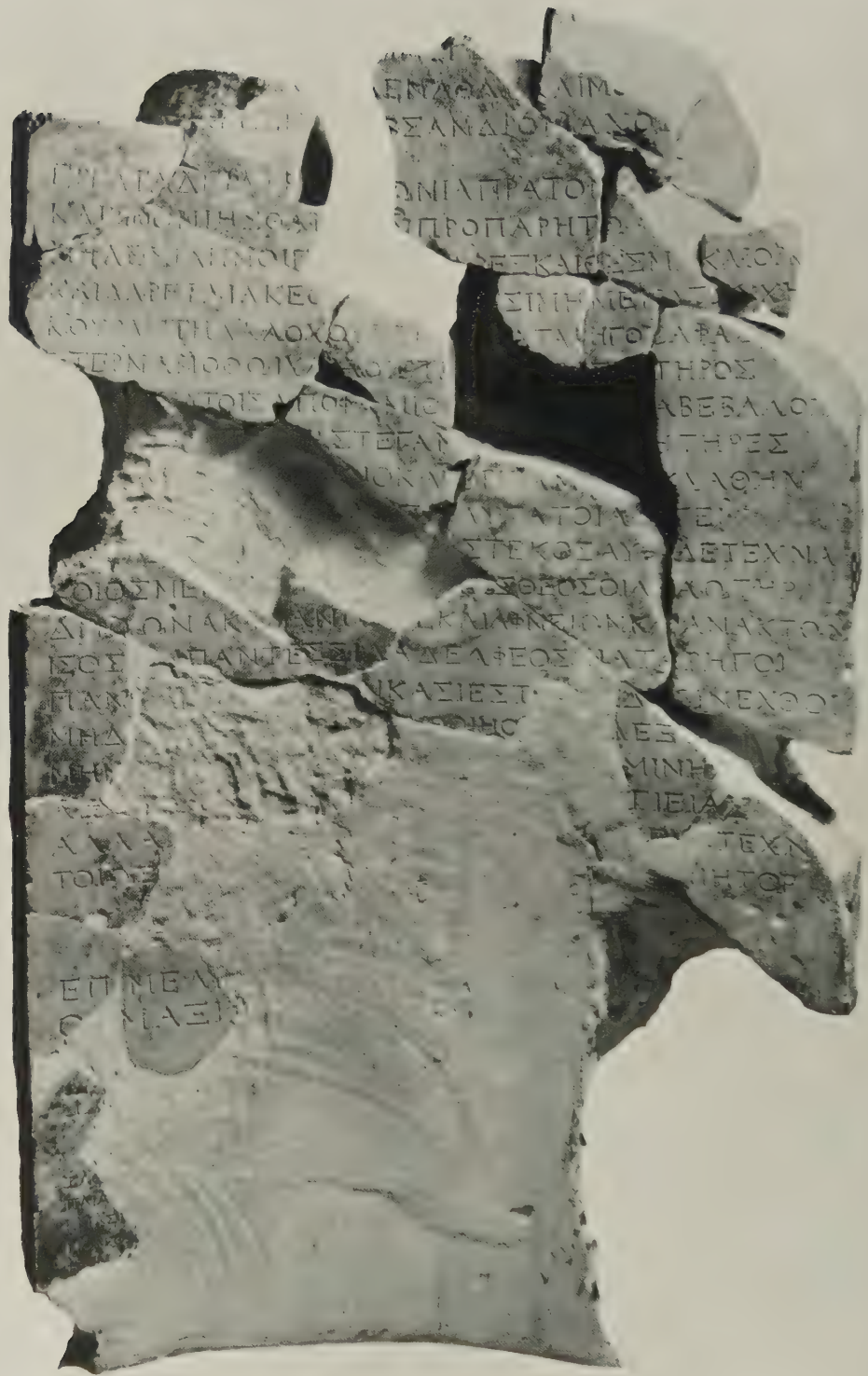


Fig. 3. Front: Main Piece of the Base

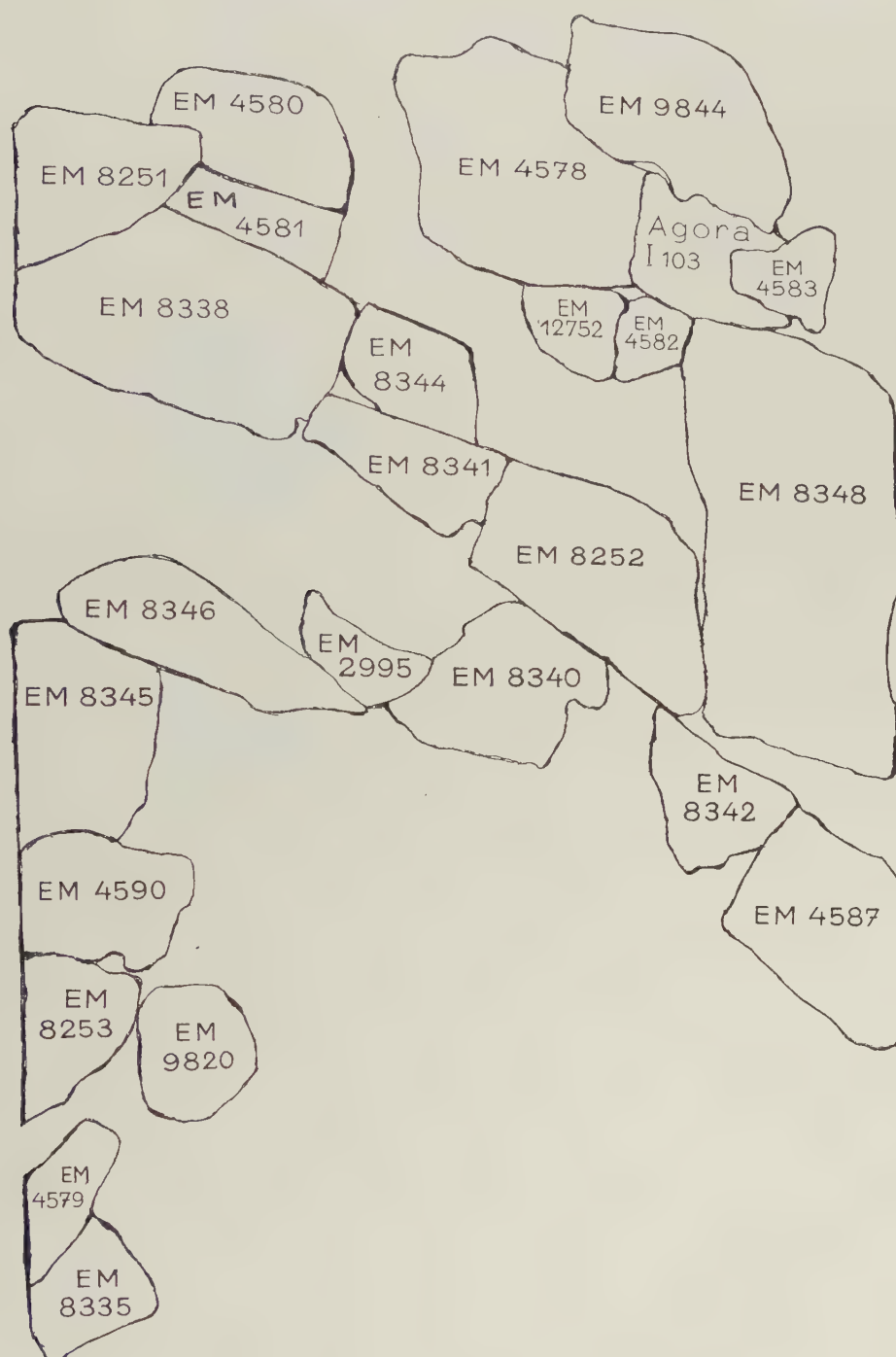


Fig. 4. Key to Photograph on Opposite Page

Ζα[χορεῖοντος -----]
 40 *vacat*
 Ζαθ[ε -----]
 Παιάγ [- -----]
 ἐμᾶς ! [- -----]
 μόλε θε [- -----]
 45 προγ [- -----]
 [- -----]

c -----] κ [- -
 -----] θονεω [- -
 -----] τεραιχοε [- -
 -----] υσιδεμ [- -



Fig. 5.
Front: Fragment *c*

d -----] ε [- - - -
 -----] ἀμόγω [- - -
 -----] μελοι η [- -

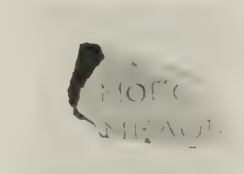


Fig. 6.
Front: Fragment *d*

A list of the inscribed fragments which belong to the front of the monument:

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 12469	<i>I. G.</i> , XII, 9, 40. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 3796
EM 8350	----- } <i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 284, No. 56. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 3631
EM 8336 {	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 720b }
EM 8337 {	
EM 4589	Unpublished
EM 8251	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3941
EM 4580	<i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 4578	Unpublished
EM 9844	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3944
EM 4581	<i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 286

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 8338	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 1414
EM 8344	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3940
EM 12752	<i>Hesperia</i> , IV (1935), 184
EM 4582	Unpublished
Agora I 103	Unpublished
EM 4583	<i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 8341 }	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 1415
EM 8340 }	
EM 8252	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3846
EM 8348	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3845
EM 8346	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3943
EM 2995	Unpublished
EM 8345	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3942
EM 8342	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3865
EM 4590	<i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 4587	Unpublished
EM 8253	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 4003
EM 9820	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3866
EM 4579	<i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 8335	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 171k. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 4544
EM 8343	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3893
EM 8347	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3983

The restorations are my own except for the following: ll. 1–2, Kirchner (*I. G.*, II², 3796); ll. 3, 4 and 6, Graindor (*B. C. H.*, LI [1927], p. 285); l. 19 fin., [*ιη*]*τηρος*(?), Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, 3845); l. 21, [*ι*]*τηρες*, Dittenberger *ibid.*; l. 25, [*ς*]*αωτηρς*, Dittenberger *ibid.*; l. 37, *Μαξι*[*μ*ov(?)], Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, 3866).

Only one previous attempt at assembling the inscription achieved important results. P. Graindor in the *Bull. Cor. Hell.*, LI (1927), pp. 284–286, put together lines 3–6 of the preamble and indicated the existence of thirteen published and five unpublished fragments of the rest of the inscription, but he made no attempt to restore or to discover the relationship to one another of these eighteen fragments. In *I. G.*, II², 3631 J. Kirchner republished lines 3–6 of the preamble without the eighteen unintelligible fragments, for which he referred the reader to Graindor's article. In his interpretation of the preamble Graindor fell into an error because he did not know that a cap with the name of Sarapion surmounted the monument. For this valuable advantage I am indebted to K. Kourouniotes, who himself discovered the cap in the Asclepieum years ago and who now called it to my attention with the correct suggestion that it fitted over the triangular base. It has been published through a curious error in *I. G.*, XII, 9, 40 as from Carystus,

but it has been published also in *I.G.*, II², 3796 by J. Kirchner, who recognized the name and identified the family.

The name of Sarapion in whose honor the monument was erected, appears at the beginning in the accusative. Sarapion, therefore, is the grandfather of Quintus Statius *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως*.¹ The base in the Asclepieum, moreover, *I.G.*, II², 3704, quoted above on p. 92, records in Quintus Statius Sarapion, *οἷ καὶ ὁ πλησίον οἷτος τρίπους*, the grandfather of Quintus Statius Glaucus, priest of Asclepius. It seems that Quintus Statius Glaucus and the *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως* are the same man, for the restoration *ἱερεὺς Σωτηρός* *θεοῦ* exactly fills the lacuna in line 4 of the inscription here published. He appears as ephebe in *I.G.*, II², 2226 (*ca.* 218/9 A.D.) and as *zacorus* in the two undated inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 3804 and 3805. The *ἱερεὺς πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως*, a priest unknown before the empire, was connected with the cult of *Ἑστία ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει* and used to bring the fire necessary for certain sacrifices.²

Since he was only an ephebe around 218/9 A.D., Quintus Statius Glaucus cannot possibly have been appointed life-long priest of Asclepius before 220 A.D., and probably not as soon even as that. We do not know when he came into office or how soon afterwards he erected the monument. On this point a potential clue will come to us from line 7 where the contemporary archon is named, but line 7 requires first a few words of explanation.

A Dionysodorus son of Eucarpus is cited as archon in *I.G.*, II², 3120, which cannot be dated earlier than the end of the second century. *I.G.*, II², 1826, moreover, a catalogue of about 210 A.D., records the name of the prytanis Eucarpus son of Dionysodorus. We may assume that the two officials are from the same family and probably father and son. The question arises, which is the father and which the son. Having no other evidence to guide him, P. Graindor³ felt that the lettering of *I.G.*, II², 3120 was more suitable for the end of the second century than for the middle of the third, and therefore he preferred to regard the archon Dionysodorus as the father of the prytanis Eucarpus. But the lettering of this eclectic period is a most uncertain guide, totally useless for chronological delimitation within very close limits. In fact, there has been a tendency among epigraphists to locate the good lettering of the third in the first or second century, until discoveries of other fragments have disclosed the date. The lettering of *I.G.*, II², 3120, as far as I can see, is equally suitable for the middle of the third century, and therefore the archon Dionysodorus, whom I regard as the son rather than the father of the prytanis Eucarpus, becomes available for the period of a base erected by Statius Glaucus sometime after 220 A.D.

¹ Graindor [*B.C.H.*, LI (1927), p. 285] recognized because of *I.G.*, II², 3704 that Sarapion was the man honored on our base, but through an error, natural enough at the time, he identified Sarapion with the *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως*, an error in which Kirchner followed him in the publication of *I.G.*, II², 3631.

² P. Graindor, *Recueil de travaux publiés par la faculté des lettres de l'université égyptienne: Premier fascicule, Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo 1927), p. 154.

³ *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, *Mém. Acad. Belg.*, 2nd ser., VIII, 2 (1922), p. 208.

I have ventured to restore the name Dionysodorus in line 7 on consideration of *I.G.*, II², 4718, which exists only in Pococke's defective copy:

ΙΧΕΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΔΟΝΥΣΟΔ . . ΟΥ ΣΙΣΕΘΕΘΕΑΙΣ
ΣΩΣΦΟΣΙ=ΛΛΤΕ . ΣΝ

The stone must have been badly worn. At the beginning of Pococke's transcription, the editors have recognized the phrase ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διονυσόδωρου. There was another archon by that name in the first century after Christ, and *I.G.*, II², 4718, otherwise undated, can be placed equally well in the archonship of Dionysodorus I or in the archonship of Dionysodorus II. The reader will notice, however, that between the word ἄρχοντος and the name Δ(ι)ονυσόδ[ω]ρου Pococke has recorded two other letters. These two letters ought to represent the abbreviation of some common *praenomen*, and a misreading Π for ΕΥ is not unlikely. Therefore, I suspect that the beginning of the inscription should be edited [Επ]ὶ ἄρχοντος Α(ευ) Δ(ι)ονυσόδ[ω]ρου. The same abbreviation occurs in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2160, line 21: Αεὺ Εὐλαρπίδης. Then if we measure the extent of the lacuna in line 7 on the base, we find that the restoration Αε[ύκ]ιος Διονυσόδ[ω]ρος ἦρχε fills it perfectly, and we recall that also *I.G.*, II², 3120 affects the archaic formula Διον[υσ]όδωρος (II) ἦρχε.

With the date in line 7 the preamble terminates. In line 9 begins a mutilated inscription of uncertain character, and in line 14 begins a prosaic philosophical poem in the dactylic hexameter. Since the preamble has mentioned only a paean by Sarapion, we must assign the philosophical poem to the grandson, Quintus Statius Glaucus, priest of Asclepius. As we know from *I.G.*, II², 3704, quoted above on p. 92, the latter was both son and grandson of professional philosophers (Stoic, as we learn from line 2 of our own monument). At the same time, the other priesthood and ministry which he had already occupied, indicate the religious inclination of his nature. A thank-offering dedicated in the sanctuary by his wife Agrippina in the priesthood of Onesicrates has been preserved in *I.G.*; II², 4532. His son too served the god,¹ and of course his grandfather had written the paean sung by a distinguished chorus on a great occasion. Apart from the poem this is all we know about the man and his background unless it be added that he reinforced the cultural advantages of his birth with the social advantages of a marriage into a well established family.²

The thought of the first seven lines of the poem runs, I think, somewhat as follows: *The tasks of physicians are forever these, first to diagnose and to heal the mind. Let — — attend them, and when they apply the mind, let also the laws and the oath of Hippocrates and the virtues be present to their thoughts. The — — implements would heal both maidens and lovely matrons except that the susceptible leader would feel his breast glowing with desire*

¹ See *I.G.*, II², 3704, quoted above on p. 92.

² Concerning the wife's family compare Groag, *Jahreshefte d. österr. arch. Inst. in Wien*, X (1907), pp. 287 and 290.

in a manner indecorous in a healer. (So it is said), but I deny that human frailties attach to the far-darting gods.

The imperative *προπαρήτω* is a Doric form (from *προπάρειμι*). I have no explanation for the symbol in line 15. When we make the obvious restoration *π]αρέξ* in line 16, the lacuna after the letter traces *ΘΙΓ* is reduced to the space of three letters representing a long and a short syllable. Since the form *θίγγ[ανε]* will not apparently fit in with the sense of the passage, I restore a subjunctive *θιγέ[ωσι]*. Just as a future *βαλέω* accompanies an aorist *ἔβαλον*, so a subjunctive *θιγέω metri causa* can accompany an aorist *ἔθιγον*.

For the *ἀρεταί* the reader may compare the account of the Stoic doctrines in Diogenes Laertius VII, 54: *Τῶν δὲ ἀρετῶν, τὰς μὲν πρώτας, τὰς δὲ ταύταις ὑποτεταγμένας. πρώτας μὲν τὰςδε, φρόνησιν ἀνδρείαν δικαιοσύνην σωφροσύνην· ἐν ἔδει δὲ τούτων, μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐγκράτειαν καρτερίαν ἀγχίνοιαν εὐβουλίαν.*

The "leader," who seems to be one of the far-darting gods, is Apollo rather than Asclepius. Greek mythology, moreover, ascribed to Apollo many amorous adventures that would offend a priest reared in the Stoic tradition, but no scandalous stories of this sort involve Asclepius. The phrase *ἐτέ[ρως τιθό]ς [ιη]τήρος* is to be understood as a reference to that passage in the oath of Hippocrates which enjoins upon the physician not to use his professional position as a wedge for seduction.

The mutilated condition of the rest of the poem renders an interpretation very difficult. In line 23 we can perhaps read the word *π[ρ]αῦτατοι*. The Doric adverb *ἔχθου* (line 28) meaning *outside* or *externally*, occurs in *I. G.*, IV², 102 (l. 66).

The connection and the motive behind the philosophical poem remain a matter of conjecture. I surmise that the priest recalled the duties of physicians according to the oath of Hippocrates because the monument commemorated a solemn religious ceremony at the time of the plague and because he had in mind a contrast in the medical quackery practiced at other sanctuaries of Asclepius. A most flagrant example of shameful and criminal exploitation was that of the sanctuary at Abonoteichos, which rose to great fame just before and during the plague, and which still continued in the time of Statius Glaucus, although Lucian in his essay, *Alexander the False Prophet*, had exposed the unscrupulous rascal who founded it.¹

The philosophical current of the poem is that in which Galen moved.² The latter believed in the miracles of the god, and for a while he practiced in the Asclepieum at Pergamum. More than anyone else it was Galen who brought Medicine back to Philo-

¹ For a discussion of the religious aspect consult F. Cumont, "Alexandre d'Abonoteichos," *Mémoires couronnées de l'Académie de Belgique*, XL (1887); O. Weinreich, "Alexander der Lügenprophet und seine Stellung in der Religiosität des II. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Neue Jahrbücher*, XLVII (1921), pp. 129–151; A. D. Nock, "Alexander of Abonoteichos," *Classical Quarterly*, XXII (1928), pp. 160–162.

² H. Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin und der epidemischen Krankheiten*, vol. I (Jena, 1875), pp. 347–357. Christ-Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, II, 2 (Munich, 1924), pp. 921–924.

sophy from which Hippocrates had separated it, and while he was an eclectic, he sympathized with the Stoics and repulsed the Epicureans. Since the brief essay "*Οτι δ' ἄριστος ἰατρός καὶ φιλόσοφος*" and other philosophical writings of Galen antedated the composition of the poem on the Sarapion monument, and since the writings of Galen achieved an immediate, great success, in them we may recognize an influence that colored the hexameters of the Sarapion monument.

In the second and third centuries after Christ it was a common practice at Athens to inscribe the date by the epimelete of the city at the bottom of documents, and also the date by the *ζαγόρος* in the case of inscriptions set up in the sanctuary. The two entries in lines 36–37 and 39 finish a chronological unit of the inscription, the part concerning the grandson. These two dates, therefore, are to be interpreted as contemporary with the archonship of [Dionysod]orus (line 7). The epimelete belongs to the prominent Athenian family of the Coponii Maximi from the deme Hagnus. One member of the family appears as prytanis in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1817 (ca. 200 A.D.). Shortly after 119/20 A.D. another member also had been epimelete of the city.¹

In line 41 begins at last the paean of Sarapion, announced in the preamble in line 5. The word *παιάν* appears in line 42, but even without it the character of the poem could be recognized from the opening word *ζάθεος*, which belongs properly to the vocabulary of sacred hymns.²

RIGHT SIDE

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *e* (= *I.G.*, II², 2012) can be accurately located through the help of the incised decoration which frames the inscription. Only the inscribed face is preserved. Height, 0.11 m.; Width, 0.175 m.; Thickness, 0.07 m. Inventory No., EM 8517.

The non-contiguous fragment *f* (= *I.G.*, II², 1948) preserves the right edge, but is broken away above, below and at the left. The back presents part of the inscribed area on the left side of the monument (see p. 112). Height, 0.42 m.; Width, 0.26 m.; Thickness, 0.20 m. Inventory No., EM 9660.

The non-contiguous fragment *g* (= *I.G.*, II², 2158) is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.14 m.; Width, 0.23 m.; Thickness, 0.165 m. Inventory No., EM 9658.

The non-contiguous fragment *h* (= *I.G.*, II², 3563) is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.11 m.; Width, 0.195 m.; Thickness, 0.15 m. Inventory No., EM 9589.

The non-contiguous fragment *i*, found July 1935 on the south slope of the Acropolis,³ is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.24 m.; Width, 0.26 m.; Thickness, 0.15 m. Inventory No., EM 12833.

The non-contiguous fragment *k* is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.19 m.; Width, 0.03 m.; Thickness, 0.09 m. Inventory No., EM 3693 + EM 3694.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 3798.

² Compare U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, Excursus I ΖΑΘΕΟΣ, pp. 108–115 (*Philologische Untersuchungen*, IX, 1886).

³ N. Kyprissēs, ephor of the antiquities of Attica and director of the Acropolis Museum, very kindly granted us permission to make a thorough examination of the Asclepieum and its neighborhood for other fragments of the monument which we were about to assemble.



Fig. 7. Right Side: The Main Piece of the Base and the Non-contiguous Fragment *e*



Fig. 8. Key to Photograph on Opposite Page



Fig. 9. Right Side: Fragment *f*

	Ἀγαθῆι	[Τύχηι]	
	Ἐπὶ ἔρχοντος Μου[νατίου Οὐπίσκου Ἀζην]ιέως,		e
	ἱερέ[ως δ]ιὰ βίου Φλ[αυίου Ὀνησικράτους --]αίεως,		
	ζακ[ορεύντιος ----- Βερην]εικίδου,		
5	κλε[ιδουχοῦντος ----- ο]υ ΝΕ,		
	καν[ηπορούσης -----]		
	Ὁ ὑπο[-----]		
	καὶ οἱ [-----]		
	ἀνέγ[ραψαν -----]		
10	[----- το]ῦς παιανιστῆς	<i>vacat</i>	
	[Ἐρε]χθεῖδος	[-----]	
	[ἱερεὺς Β]ουζύγης	Ο[-----]	
	[--]ος Πτολεμαῖος	Lacuna of at least two lines	
	[....]ος Κράτερος[ς]	[-----]εὺς	f
15	[-----]	[-----]εὺς	
	[-----]	[-----]	
	[-----]	[-----]	
	ἱερε[ὺς -----]	[-----]	
	[-----]	[-----]	
20	Φλα[-----]	[-----]ος	
	Φλα[-----]	[-----]ος ἱερεὺς Ἡφαίστου	
	Φλα[-----]	[-----]	
	Φλα[-----]	[-----]	
	Πι[-----]	[-----]	
25	[-----]	[-----]	
		[-----] Μαρκιῶ(ν)ιος	
		[-----]	
		[-----] Φίλιμος	
		[-----]	
	[Ἀκαμαντίδος]		
g	[-----]		
	[-----] Φιλῆ[-----]		
	[--- δ κ]αὶ Ζώσιμ[ος]		
	[---] Στράτωνος		
	[--]ν Διοφάντου		
	Ἀδριανίδος		
	[--]νιος Κε[-----]		
	[-----]		



Fig. 10. Right Side:
Fragment g

h [- -]τολαξ[- - - - -]
 [πυρ]φόρος ἐξ Ἀρο[πόλεως]
 Αικίνιος Φίρμος
 περιηγῆς καὶ ἱερῆ[ς]
 [Διὸς] Πολιέως - Αἰκίν Φ[ίρμος]
 [- - - - -]

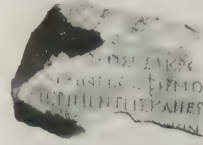


Fig. 11. Right Side: Fragment h

i [- - - - -]ς Διον[υσ - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]διος Ἐπιτυρ[χάνων]
 nine lines blank
 Σ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

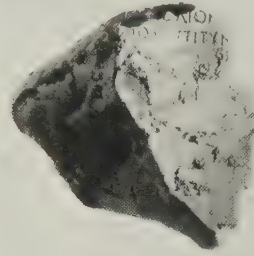


Fig. 12. Right Side: Fragment i

k - - - - ν - - - -
 - - - εφ - - - -
 - - - ον - - - -
 vacat
 ν Ε - - - -
 - - - οπ - - - -
 - - - κα - - - -
 - - - ,ν - - - -



Fig. 13. Right Side: Fragment k

A list of the inscribed fragments which belong to the right side of the monument:

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 8348	Unpublished
EM 4582	Unpublished
EM 9646	<i>I.G.</i> , III, Add. 1089 b. Graindor, <i>Chronologie</i> , 178. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2000
EM 8517	<i>I.G.</i> , III, Add. 1206 a. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2012
EM 4592	Unpublished
EM 8342	Unpublished
EM 9658	<i>I.G.</i> , III, Add. 1226 a. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2158
EM 9660	<i>I.G.</i> , III, Add. 1280 e. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1948

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 3693	Unpublished
EM 3694	Unpublished
EM 9589	<i>I.G.</i> , III, Add. 721 a. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 3563
EM 12833	Unpublished

The restorations are my own except for the following: l. 1, Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, Add. 1089 b); ll. 2 and 3, Graindor (*Chronologie*, 178); l. 4, [Βερεν]εικίδου, Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, Add. 1206 a). Frag. e, l. 4, Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, Add. 1226 a). Frag. f, ll. 2 and 4, Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, Add. 721 a); l. 5, [Αἰδς] Πολιέως Αἰκίν Φ[ίρμον], Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 3563).

Letters which were read by former editors and which have since disappeared are underlined in the text.

The inscription contains a catalogue of the chorus who chanted the paean¹ on the solemn occasion in the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus. The names are arranged by tribes according to the official order. The mutilated remains of the catalogue exhibit among other names those of important religious functionaries, i.e. the Bouzyges, the priest of Hephaestus, the πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀρχοπόλεως, the priest of Zeus Polieus. They are obviously not professional musicians, but men prominent in the social and religious life of Athens. Undoubtedly it was a great honor to be enrolled among the παιανισταί. One may compare the prestige enjoyed by the ὑμνοδοί in the cities of Asia Minor.²

Lines 2 and 3 of the fragment EM 9646 were published by Dittenberger³ as follows:

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχ]οντος Μου[- - - , παιδοτριβοῦν]
[τος δ]ὲ βίου Φλ[αβίου - - - - -]

Graindor,⁴ however, recognized the name of the archon Munatius Vopiscus who held office about 174/5 A.D. Furthermore, he rightly conjectured on the basis of the provenience of the fragment that the second line contained the name of the contemporary priest of Asclepius, and since the incumbent had been appointed for life and since the *nomen* Flavius limited the choice to Flavius Onesicrates, he restored the latter name. Kirchner, however, recognized that the lettering was not that usually found in the period of Munatius Vopiscus. The neatness and refinement of the lettering misled Kirchner

¹ An inscription at the Piraeus, *S.I.G.*³, 1110, from the early part of the third century after Christ, concerned the παιανισταὶ τοῦ Μουνυχίου Ἀσκληπιοῦ. Other references do not occur in the Attic inscriptions, but παιανισταί are mentioned in two documents at Rome, *I.G.*, XIV, 1059 (time of emperor Severus) and 1084 (146 A.D.).

² Compare F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, 1909), *passim*, and the same author's article "Griechische Sängervereinigungen im Altertum," *Wissenschaftliche Festschrift zur 700-Jahr-Feier der Kreuzschule zu Dresden 1926*, pp. 46-56. See also J. Keil, "Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia," *Jahreshefte d. österr. arch. Inst. in Wien*, XI (1908), pp. 101-110; E. Ziebarth, *Real-Encyclopädie*, IX, 2520; Ch. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 251-254.

³ *I.G.*, III, Add. 1089 b.

⁴ *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire* (1922), pp. 178-179.

into dating the inscription in the first century after Christ, and he therefore rejected Graindor's restoration and returned to Dittenberger's.¹ Now that the monument of Sarapion has been assembled it appears that the inscription was engraved in the third century but that Graindor's restoration is nevertheless the correct one.

The demotic of the priest Onesicrates is *Ἀλαιοῦς* or *Βησαιεύς*. In the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus he cannot long have been priest, because he was still in office at the beginning of the third century when the wife or future wife of Quintus Statius Glaucus set up the thank-offering *I.G.*, II², 4532.

The former publications of the non-contiguous fragment *h* (*= I.G.*, II², 3563) call for two corrections. The word *ἰερέως* is not to be restored at the end of line 1 because by measuring the letter space we can see that line 2 was not indented as it would have been if it bore the continuation of a title which began in the preceding line. In line 5, moreover, the name must be restored in the nominative. In the original publication of this fragment Dittenberger called attention to the epigram in the Planudean Anthology (322):

*Φύρμος με Φύρμον, πυρφόρος τὸν πυρφόρον,
ὁ παῖς ὁ ῥήτωρ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ῥήτορα.*

The *πυρφόρος* had been ephebe in 163/4 A.D.,² and the father who appears in our monument as *περιηγητής* and priest of Zeus Polieus had been *ὑποσωφροτιστής* in 154/5 A.D.³

The epigram clearly refers to the two dignitaries who appear in the list of *παιανισταί*, although in the epigram the name is spelt like the genuine Greek name Phyrmos known as early as the beginning of the fifth century B.C.,⁴ whereas the stone renders it as if it were the Roman name Firmus. Either the Greek or the Roman name would be suitable as a cognomen, but inasmuch as the inscription displays careful workmanship and no demonstrable errors, it is preferable to trust the first-hand evidence of the contemporary stonecutter before the doubtful authority of a remote scribe's version. The iotacism of Late Greek might easily have misled the scribe. Furthermore, the name *Φίρμος* (with iota) occurs frequently in the epigraphical records of Roman Athens, whereas the name *Φύρμος* (with upsilon) does not appear there.

LEFT SIDE

Height of letters: in line 1, 0.018 m.; in lines 2 ff., 0.013 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *f* (EM 9660) from the left edge of the inscription is broken away above, below and at the right. The back preserves part of the list of *παιανισταί* engraved on the right side of the monument (see p. 103 where also the measurements are given).

¹ *I.G.*, II², 2000.

² *I.G.*, II², 2086, line 50.

³ *I.G.*, II², 2067, line 111.

⁴ J. D. Beazley (*A.J.A.*, XXXIX [1935], p. 481) is presumably correct in explaining as the reveller's name the letters *φνρμος* on a red-figured cup of about 480 B.C., even though this epigram, which he cites as a parallel, does not support his explanation.



Fig. 14. Left Side: Main Piece of Base

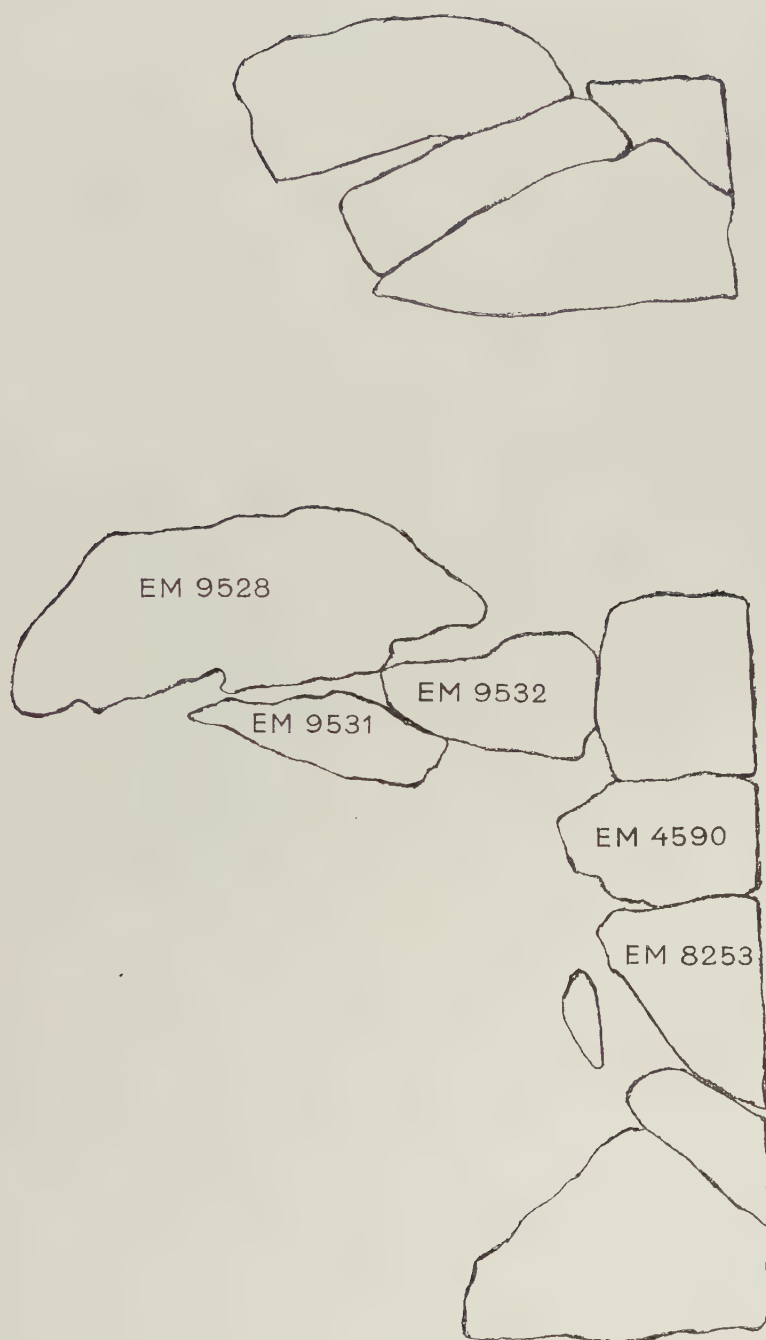
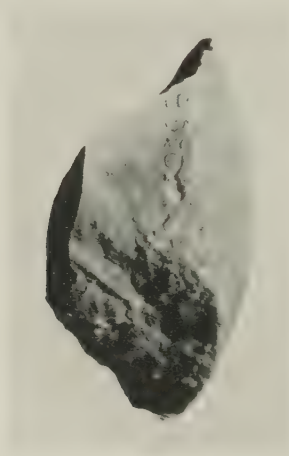


Fig. 15. Key to Photograph on Opposite Page

Σοφοκλέους ^ν [Παι]άν

[Φλεγία] κοίρα περιώννυμε, μᾶτερ ἀλεξιπό[ν]ο[ι]ο] θεοῦ,
 [. . . .] λς ἀχειρεκόμασ[.] εναρξομαι [ἔμ]ρον ἐγερσιβόαν
 [-⁵-⁶-⁶-] νεσι[ν] εἴεπ[¹[-⁵-⁴-] ∪[. . .] ε[.] αν[. . .] οβρα
 5 [- - - - -] σνρίγμασι μιγνύ[μεν]ον
 [- - - - -] σι Κεχροπιδῶν [ἐπ]ιτάρροθον
 [- - - - -] μόλοις τὸν [χρυσο]κόμα[ν] (?)
 [- - - - -] ν ἀντόν [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]
 10 [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] Ὀλέ[μ]πιον
 Gap of six lines
 18 [- - - - -] τερα

f ΛΙ[- - - -]
πο[- - - -]
εμ[- - - -]
λυρ[- - - -]
ειλ[- - - -]
κατ[- - - -]
δ[- - - -]
ε[- - - -]
 - - - - -

Fig. 16. Left Side: Fragment *f*

For the letters, here underlined, which have disappeared since the last publication of the three main fragments (*I. G.*, II², 4510), the reader may compare the earlier photograph published by A. Wilhelm in the *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), p. 103 and by O. Kern in the *Inscriptiones Graecae, Tabulae in usum scholarum* (1913), 45.

A list of the inscribed fragments which belong to the left side of the monument:

Inventory No.	Previous Publication	
EM 9528	Ἀθήραιος, V, 340. <i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 171g	} Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge</i> , 103. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 4510
EM 9531	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 1413	
EM 9532	-----	
EM 4590	Unpublished	
EM 8253	Unpublished	
EM 9660	Unpublished	

The restorations are my own except for the following: l. 2, [ᾠ Φλεγύα], Buecheler (*Rh. Mus.*, XXXII, 318); l. 6, [ἐπ]ιτάροθον, Wilhelm (*Beiträge*, 103). Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, 171g) suggested ἐπεπ[ίη(?)] in line 4, and Buecheler (*l.c.*) [Φοῖβο]ς in line 3. It is likely that the stone was cut with such accuracy that the three sides were of equal width. On this assumption I have estimated a loss of six rather than seven letters at the beginning of line 2, for we know the width of the margin preserved on fragment f. However, a variation of one or two centimetres is not impossible, and the reader who feels it essential to interpret the line as a dactylic octametre catalectic, may retain the initial Ὡ, suggested by Buecheler.

The hymn is an old paean of the tragic poet Sophocles, for it is so stated on the monument and no argument from the style would dispose us to reject the ancient testimony. Sophocles, however, wrote more than one paean, as is well known from a passage cited by Bergk, Suidas s.v. Σοφοκλῆς: καὶ ἔγραψεν ἐλεγίαν τε καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ λόγον καταλογάδην περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ. We should like to identify this paean as one to Asclepius because a Sophoclean παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν was used in the cult at Athens in the latter part of the second century and in the third century after Christ, and because line 3, if read

[. . .] ἄς ἀκείρεκόμα (genitive: Apollo), σέ[θ]εν ἄρξομαι [ἔμ]ρον ἐγερεσιβόαν,

would be possible only in a hymn to Asclepius, or if read

[. . .] ἄς ἀκείρεκόμας (nominative: Asclepius), ο[ἔ]ν ἄρξομαι [ἔμ]ρον ἐγερεσιβόαν,

is easily understood as referring to the very hymn in which it occurs. The references to the Sophoclean παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν are the following:

Philostratus, *Vita Ap. Tyan.*, III, 17: ὁ παιᾶν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ὃν Ἀθήνησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἄδουσιν.

Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines*, 415, 7 (describing a picture of Sophocles, who is addressed in the second person): Ἀσκληπιὸς δὲ οἶμαι οὗτος ἐγγὺς παιᾶνά που παρεγγὼν γράφειν καὶ κλυτόμητ(ι)ς οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, βλέμμα τε αὐτοῦ πρὸς δὲ φαιδρότητι μεμιγμένον τὰς (παρὰ) μικρὸν ὑστερον ἐπιξενώσεις αἰνίττεται. The important words are the first ones: "And this 'one nearby is, I think, Asclepius, bidding you compose a paean and graciously allowing you to call him κλυτόμητις." The younger Philostratus clearly implies that in the paean Sophocles called Asclepius κλυτόμητις.

Pseudo-Lucian, *Dem. Enc.*, 27: οὐδὲ γὰρ τ' Ἀσκληπιῷ μεῖόν τι γίνεται τῆς τιμῆς, εἰ μὴ τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῶν ποιησάντων ΟΠΛΑΑΝΑΛΙΣΟΔΗΜΟΥ τοῦ Τροίζηνιου καὶ Σοφοκλέους ἔδεται. The name of the Troezenian cannot be recovered with certainty, but G. Hermann¹ was presumably correct in recognizing the word παιᾶν among the letters ΟΠΛΑΑΝΑ. Of all the proposed emendations² that which requires the least departure from the manu-

¹ Cited in the edition of Jacobitz (Leipzig, 1837), III, p. 559.

² Cf. F. Albers, *De Luciani Samosatensi quae fertur Demosthenis laudatione* (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1910), p. 7; P. Bülow, *Xenia Bonnensia* (Bonn, 1929), p. 46. Th. Bergk in discussing references to the Sophoclean παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν in the *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*², II, p. 245 suggested the emendation εἰ μὴ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ποιησάντων παιᾶνα, τὰ Ἰσοδόμουν τοῦ Τροίζηνιου καὶ Σοφοκλέους ἔδεται. Bülow retains Hermann's reading ὁ παιᾶν and proposes a name Νικοδόμουν or Ἀριστοδόμουν to follow it.

script tradition is one suggested with reservations by A. M. Harmon (*per colloquium*): εἰ μὴ τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῶν ποιησάντων ὁ παιάν, ἀλλ' Ἰσοδῆμον τοῦ Τροϊζηνίου ἢ Σοφοκλέους ἔδεται. The letter η and the abbreviation for καί might easily be confused. This assumption relieves us of the embarrassment of explaining collaboration between Sophocles and some unknown Troezenian, if we restore the nominative singular ὁ παιάν in agreement with the preserved letters and the verb in the singular. The passage may be rendered in English accordingly, "No less honor accrues to Asclepius, if the paeon, not of his worshipers (themselves composing), but of Isodemus the Troezenian or of Sophocles is sung,"—i.e. Asclepius will be none the worse for it if his modern worshipers stop writing hymns and use the two famous old ones. The words of Pseudo-Lucian contain a note of sarcasm at the expense of the modern poetasters like Sarapion of Chollidae.

From these three references we gather the following information. Pseudo-Lucian's readers and hence the contemporary Greek world, were familiar with two early paeans, one by a Troezenian and the other by Sophocles. The latter, while mentioning or addressing Asclepius, applies to him the adjective κλυτόμητις. In the third century after Christ the paeon of Sophocles formed part of the ritual in Athens at least. For so much we have direct ancient testimony.

We cannot say that the paeon of Sophocles had continued in general use in the cult at Athens from the fifth century B.C. down into the Roman period. The archaistic taste of the second and early third century of the Christian era may have revived an old paeon of Sophocles that had fallen into disuse. It so happens that there is no reference to the Sophoclean hymn which is preserved on the left side of the Sarapion monument except perhaps in a passage of Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, 2, 14, written about 197 A.D. Tertullian is attacking paganism; he speaks of those who have led disreputable lives, have died, and have been regarded as gods afterwards by the superstitious. As an illustration he chooses Asclepius who was such a rascal that Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt. Coronis died in the same manner. *Et tamen Athenienses scient eiusmodi deis sacrificare. Nam Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant, quasi non et ipsi Thesea suum adorent.*¹

From all the literary and abundant epigraphical sources the only evidence of worship paid to Coronis at Athens is the ancient hymn, and the word *parentant* seems the exaggeration of a biased writer.

Furthermore, if the Sophoclean hymn preserved on the left side of the Sarapion monument is really the παιάν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν, as we presume, evidence from recent discoveries indicates that another famous paeon intruded upon or even usurped its place in the ritual at Athens as early as the fourth century B.C.

The epigraphical discovery of the last fifty years has acquainted us with an early paeon which continued to be sung down to the Roman period and which attained a

¹ The *mortui* are the dead rogues. The sentence might be paraphrased, "For Asclepius and his mother are among those who have died and then received worship, and they do not worship any as much as these, not even the native rascal Theseus."

wide diffusion throughout the Greek world. It is best known from the publication of the copy at Erythrae by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (with contributions from P. Jacobsthal), "Nordionische Steine" (pp. 42-48), *Abhandlungen d. königl. preuß. Akad. d. Wissensch.* (1909). It has more recently formed the subject of an important study by P. Bülow, "Ein vielgesungener Asklepiospaean," *Xenia Bonnensia, Festschrift zum fünfundsiebzigjährigen Bestehen des Philologischen Vereins und Bonner Kreises* (Bonn, 1929), pp. 35-49.¹

It now exists in four copies. The first was found at Ptolemais in Egypt² and can be dated in the year 97 A.D. through the accompanying reference to the prefect. The second copy, *I.G.*, II², 4509, undated, came to light at Athens and was recognized by E. Ziebarth.³ The lettering would admit a date anywhere between the first and third centuries after Christ, but I should prefer to locate it in the second century or in the first half of the third.⁴ The next copy appeared at Erythrae and was recognized by Wilamowitz, who dated it on epigraphical grounds between 380 and 360 B.C. The fourth copy (at Dium in Macedonia) was recognized by G. P. Oikonomos,⁵ who located it on paleographical grounds toward the end of the second century after Christ. The paean derives its denomination from the inscription at Erythrae, the oldest and most reliable text.

Wilamowitz believed that the word *ἱεπαιάν* wherever it occurred in the paean of Erythrae was treated as if it began with a consonant, hence that the paean was not composed at Erythrae or any other Ionian town. Other editors, however, such as Powell,⁶ have been content to read *ἱεπαιάν* with a smooth breathing, and the necessity of seeking a foreign origin does not exist for them, although with the reading *ἱεπαιάν* it might still be an imported hymn at Erythrae. Wilamowitz rightly pointed out that the mythological version excluded Epidaurus as a possible source, but his argument that the reference to Apollo in the opening lines indicates a joint cult of Apollo and Asclepius at the point of origin and that hence it excludes Athens as a possibility, fails to convince me, because, while Apollo is indeed praised as father of Asclepius, no prayer is addressed to him and hence no joint cult is indicated. On the contrary, if it were necessary to find a foreign source, a fair case could be made for an Athenian origin on the basis of the mythological version and of the influence of Athens in Erythrae.

Because of the copy at Erythrae the anonymous paean cannot be dated any later than about 360 B.C. On the other hand, the consensus of opinion among those who have studied the poem would admit a date of composition as early as the latter part of the fifth century.

¹ References to the modern literature on the subject are offered by Bülow, *op.cit.*, p. 47. Compare also W. Ax, *Hermes*, LXVII (1933), pp. 426-437; K. Keyssner, "Zum Asklepios hymnus von Erythrai," *Phil. Wochenschr.*, LIV (1934), 990-992; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, II (Berlin, 1935), pp. 309-311.

² J. Baillet, *Revue Archéologique*, XIII (1889), pp. 70-83.

³ "De novo paeane in honorem Aesculapii facto," *Commentationes Philologicae* (Munich, 1891), pp. 1-9.

⁴ Good parallels to the lettering of this inscription occur in a rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (*I.G.*, II², 1108 plus several new fragments from the American excavations in the Athenian Agora) and in an epistle of Commodus, *I.G.*, II², 1112.

⁵ *Επιγραφὰὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Athens, 1915), no. 4, pp. 8-12.

⁶ *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 135-138.

His investigation led Bülow to the important discovery that between the date of the introduction of the paeon into Erythrae and the time of Trajan, to which the next earliest copy, that at Ptolemais, belongs, the hymn had been revised at Athens, for the name of a local Athenian deity, Aceso, had been interpolated. Bülow has, furthermore, made it altogether probable that the revision took place about the middle of the fourth century B.C., when Aceso, newly inserted among the daughters of Asclepius, began to win a recognition which she had not previously enjoyed. Therefore, we have proof of its use at Athens probably in the middle of the fourth century B.C. This interpolated version is the one that we find later in Egypt and Macedonia. Athens would seem to have been a focus from which the paeon radiated. Likewise we meet it again at Athens in the first century B.C., when it served as a model to a certain Macedonius, who composed the paeon of *I.G.*, II², 4473. It appears a third time at Athens on an inscription of the imperial Age, *I.G.*, II², 4509.

For the reader's convenience I here republish the anonymous hymn. Early version (Erythrae):

[Παιᾶνα κλυτό]μητιν αἰίσατε
κοῦροι [Λατοῖδαν Ἑκ]ατον, ἱεπαιάν,
ὃς μέγα χάρ[μα βροτοῖσιν] ἐγείνατο
μυθεῖς ἐμ φι[λότῃτι Κ]ορωνίδι ἐν γαῖ τᾷ Φλεγυαίαι,
[ἱηπαι]άν, Ἀσκληπιόν,
δαίμονα κλεινό[τατ]ον, ἱεπαιάν.

[το]ῦ δὲ καὶ ἐξεγένοντο Μαχάων
καὶ Πο[δα]λείριος ἡδὲ Ἰασώ, ἱεπαιάν,
Ἀ[λ]γλα[ί]α [τ'] ἐδῶπις Πανάκειά τε,
Ἡπίονας παῖδες σὺν ἀγκαλντῶι εὐαγεῖ Ὑγυαίαι.
ἱηπαιάν Ἀσκληπιόν,
δαίμονα κλεινότατον, ἱεπαιάν.

χαῖρέ μοι, Ἰλαος δ' ἐπινίσεο
τὴν ἀμὲν πόλιν εὐρύχορον, ἱεπαιάν,
δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας δρᾶν φάος
ἀελίου δόκιμον σὺν ἀγκαλντῶι εὐαγεῖ Ὑγυαίαι.
ἱηπαιάν Ἀσκληπιόν,
δαίμονα κλεινότατον, ἱεπαιάν.

"Sing, oh youths, the far-darting son
of Leto, the cunning Paián, ie Paián, who when
he mingled in love with Coronis in the land of
the Phlegyians, brought forth a great boon to
mortals, ie Paián, Asclepius renowned spirit,
ie Paián.

"From him were born Machaon and Podaleirius and Iaso, ie Paián, and fair-eyed Aegle and Panacea, the children of Epione, together with glorious, bright Hygieia, ie Paián Asclepius renowned spirit, ie Paián.

"Hail, and come thou graciously visit our spacious town, ie Paián, and grant us rejoicing to behold the sunlight acceptable with glorious, bright Hygieia, ie Paián Asclepius renowned spirit, ie Paián."

Later version (Ptolemais, Dium, Athens):

*Παιᾶνα κλειτόμητιν αἰείσατε
 κοῦροι Ἀητοῖδην Ἑκατον, ἰὲ ὦ ἰὲ παιάν,
 ὃς μέγα χάσμα βροτοῖσιν ἐγείνατο
 μυχθεῖς ἐν φιλότῃ Κορωνίδι τᾷ Φλεγυεῖαι,
 ἱηπαιάν, Ἀσκληπιόν,
 δαίμονα κλεινότατον, ἱεπαιάν.*

*τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐξεγένοντο Μαχάων
 καὶ Ποδαλείριος ἡδ' Ἰασὼ Ἀκесώ τε πολύλλιτος ὦ ἰὲ παιάν,
 Αἴγλη τε εὐώπις Πανάκειά τε,
 Ἡπιόνης παῖδες σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ εὐανγεῖ Ὑγίειαι.
 ἱηπαιάν, Ἀσκληπιέ,
 δαῖμον κλεινότατε, ἱεπαιάν.*

*χαῖρέ μοι, Ἰλαος δ' ἐπινείσεο
 ἐμετέραν πόλιν εὐρύχορον, ἰὲ ὦ ἰὲ παιάν,
 ὃς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας δρᾶν φάος
 ἀελίου δοκίμους σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ εὐανγεῖ Ὑγίειαι.
 ἱηπαιάν, Ἀσκληπιέ.
 δαῖμον σεμνότατε, ἱεπαιάν.¹*

¹ The inscription at Ptolemais contains a fourth verse by some local poet:

*Νεῖλον δὲ θοᾶς δώτης μάκαρ αἰδίου
 καὶ τᾷδε πόλει βάλος ἀμβρόσιον
 πάσῃ τε ἀγανὸν κλέος Αἰγύπτῳ.
 χαῖρέ μοι ὦ Παιᾶν ἐπ' ἐμαῖς εὐχοῖσι ταῖσδ' αἰοδαῖς,
 χαῖρ' ὦ Πύθι' Ἀπολλων.*

In regard to the fourth verse and its significance for the religious history of Egypt see O. Weinreich, *Aegyptus*, XI (1931), pp. 15-17.

The paean achieved an extraordinary popularity, for we find copies of it in all the three continents of the Greek world and the copies span a period perhaps of six hundred years. Still we know that for the Greeks of the third century after Christ the famous hymn which the Athenians chanted to Asclepius was a paean attributed to Sophocles. This is the paean which modern scholars believe they have found in the inscription from the left side of the Sarapion monument.

The main fragment (EM 9528), which preserves the name of Sophocles, was first published in *Ἀθήναιον*, V (1876), p. 340, by S. A. Koumanoudes, who identified it as a fragment of the hymn to Asclepius, the old paean, hitherto lost, which on into the Roman period continued to be sung publicly at Athens. The discovery awakened immediate interest. *Sophoclis παιὼν εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν coepit redire ab inferis*, wrote F. Buecheler (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXXII [1877], p. 318). The identification, however, in the following year met with the opposition of W. Dittenberger, who in publishing the piece in *I. G.*, III, Add. 171 g (p. 490) pointed out that the lettering belonged in the Roman period and that other paeans, composed in the time of the Roman Empire, were recognizable among the Attic inscriptions. The Sophocles of the inscription according to Dittenberger was not the tragic poet but one of the many who in the time of the Roman Empire bore his name at Athens. G. Kaibel in the *Rhein. Mus.*, XXXIV (1879), p. 207 replied to Dittenberger's objection. He pointed out that the absence of both patronymic and demotic indicated the famous Sophocles. In the fourth edition of the *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, vol. II (1882), pp. 248–249, Th. Bergk, while accepting the identification of Sophocles with the tragic poet, doubted that the fragment belonged to the famous *παιὼν εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν* rather than to some less famous paean of Sophocles in honor of Coronis, the mother of Asclepius. The latter theory, however, has never won any support. Already in 1890 in the second edition of W. Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (p. 194) the fragment received recognition as part of the *παιὼν εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν* and the identification which the first editor Koumanoudes has made has never been seriously disputed by anyone else.

The paean assumed greater importance when Adolf Wilhelm discovered in the Epigraphical Museum and published in the *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), pp. 102–104, two other fragments, EM 9531, previously published less carefully as *I. G.*, III, 1413, and EM 9532, previously unpublished. The next advance in its study occurred when W. Peek reexamined the stones for Kirchner before the recent publication of the three main fragments as *I. G.*, II², 4510. Peek read the letters *ἐναρξομαι* in the very difficult third line, and my own examination has shown me that his improved reading is obviously correct.

That is the history of the inscription up to the time that we assembled the Sarapion monument and found also three minor fragments of the paean of Sophocles, unpublished, EM 4590 and EM 8253 from the right edge, and EM 9660, the non-contiguous fragment *f* from the left edge.¹ While the monument was being assembled, it appeared that the

¹ In each of the three cases, however, another face had enjoyed previous publication (see pp. 99 and 107), but the existence of letters on this face was not recorded.

three major fragments of the paean of Sophocles, which Wilhelm and following him Kirchner had published as three separate pieces, actually join and supply us with a continuous text.

In reviewing the discussions of previous editors and commentators I am surprised to observe that no one has refuted the suggestion of Bergk that the paean on the left side of the Sarapion monument might have been a Sophoclean hymn to Coronis. The suggestion seemed to me reasonable enough not to be ignored. Line 3 might be read even

[. . . .] *ας ἀχειροκόμῃ* (genitive: Apollo), *σφ[ῶ] ἐνάρξομαι [ἔμ]νον ἐγερσιβόαν*.

The adjective *ἐγερσιβόας* probably militates against this interpretation, because shouts are scarcely called for in a hymn to Coronis. However, the reading

[. . . .] *ας ἀχειροκόμης* (nominative: Asclepius), *σ[δ] ἐνάρξομαι [ἔμ]νον ἐγερσιβόαν*

admits of an interpretation that alleviates this difficulty and is intelligible in a hymn to Coronis, as we shall see. The term *παιάν*, moreover, is used not only in the case of hymns to Apollo and to Asclepius but also in the case of hymns to other heroes or divinities in the circle of Asclepius. Thus Athenaeus XV, 702a refers to the old *παιάν εἰς τὴν Ὑγίειαν* by Ariphron of Sicyon.

The proper way to approach the hymn is to divest ourselves of the prejudice that a paean by Sophocles must be the most famous paean of Sophocles. We should look into the content itself and we should also ask ourselves why Statius Glaucus caused the hymn to be engraved on the same monument with his grandfather's paean (to Asclepius, as the wording of the preamble would lead us to believe). He erected the monument to do his grandfather honor. Did he wish merely to invite a comparison which he hoped would be favorable to his grandfather's literary gifts? I scarcely think so, for the situation must be examined in comparison with *I.G.*, II², 4533, the inscription on another Athenian monument of the third century after Christ. The latter contains a hymn to Asclepius followed by one to Hygieia and by one to Telesphorus. The three hymns are addressed to three separate spirits of the holy family. That to Asclepius may be recorded first because he is the most important spirit. The occasion also for this monument was a plague, perhaps the plague of Cyprian, and it reflects a religious ceremony to avert the pestilence just as the Sarapion monument reflects a religious ceremony at the time of the Plague of Antoninus. An accidental resemblance to the Sarapion monument lies in the combination of old and new elements. The hymns to Asclepius and to Telesphorus are late, but that to Hygieia is the same *παιάν εἰς τὴν Ὑγίειαν* from the fourth century B.C. by Ariphron of Sicyon, a well known paean which Athenaeus (*l.c.*) quoted in full.¹ The same hymn has been found at Epidaurus. The

¹ For this monument consult the annotated and critical edition of P. Maas, "Epidaurische Hymnen," pp. 148-149 and 151-154 (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse*, IX [1933], Heft 5). See also K. Keyssner, "Die Hygieiahymnen des Ariphron und des Likymnios," *Phil. Wochenschr.*, LIII (1933), 1289-1296; O. Schroeder, "Ariphron," *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 450-452.

author is not mentioned either in the Athenian inscription or in that at Epidaurus, perhaps because it would have been superfluous in the case of a hymn so familiar to everyone. Similarly with the early paean of Erythrae, in the three cases where an inscription preserves the beginning no indication of the authorship appears.¹

Having in mind the example of *I.G.*, II², 4533, we might be disposed to find the paean to Asclepius on the front of the Sarapion monument and on the left side a paean to another spirit. Similarly the monuments at Epidaurus contain hymns to separate deities rather than several hymns to the same. And indeed the hymn on the left side begins not merely with the mention of Coronis as the paean of Erythrae begins with the praises of Apollo, but with the direct address to her, with vocatives that would suggest a hymn for Coronis to anyone who had not already drawn contrary conclusions from the heading *Σοφοκλέους [Παι]άν* and from a merely possible interpretation of line 3.

Moreover, the letters at the end of line 7 work out well in a restoration as containing a reference to the union of Apollo and Coronis: *μόλοις τὸν [χρυσό]κόμα[ν]*. Since, however, another way of separating the letters (*μόλοι στόν[ο -]*) is indeed possible, we cannot argue from it.

It is difficult to place with certainty the non-joining fragment from the left side. The line, however, which contains the letters *λυρ - -* furnishes a point from which to work, for these letters must belong to some form or derivative of the word *λύρα*. The subject may have been mentioned in the part now lost. It could conceivably occur also in the partly preserved lines of the hymn. For example the word *σνρίγμασι* in line 5 refers to the notes of the flute, and it is easy to understand the passage in the light of Archilochus, fragment 76:

αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Αἰσβιον παίηονα

and in the light of the Delphic paean, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, p. 161 (= J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 149):

μελίπποον δὲ Αἴβυς αὐδὰν χέω[ν λωωτὸς ἀνέμελ]πεν [ᾠ]
δειεῖαν ὅλα μειγνύμενος Αἰειόλ[οις κιθάριος μέλεσιν].

[The music of the Libyan lotus (a flute) is mingled with the old Aeolic music (of the cithara or lyre).] But if the letters *λυρ - -* belonged in this passage, the fragment would give us help also for the restoration at the beginning of lines 2 or 3. Yet, I think, the beginning of lines 2 or 3 will not accommodate the letters which are preserved at the top of the non-joining fragment. However, it is tempting to connect the letters *λυρ - -*

¹ From Diogenes Laertius (V, 5, 76) we know that other early hymns which continued in use down into the Roman period, were the paeans which Demetrius of Phaleron composed in honor of Sarapis, for which see F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th edition (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1929), pp. 71 and 232, note 5.

devotion and hospitality to the god,¹ Sophocles would seem a likely person to whom to attribute an anonymous ancient paean used in the cult at Athens, and the *Παιᾶνα κλυτόμητιν* is indeed the hymn which the Athenians sang to Asclepius, sang to Asclepius for more than five hundred years.²

¹ *Etymologicon Magnum*: *Δεξιῶν** οὕτως ὠνομάσθη Σοφοκλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. φασὶν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τελευτήσαντι Σοφοκλεῖ, βουλόμενοι τιμὰς αὐτῷ περιποιῆσαι, ἡρώϊον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαντες, ὠνόμασαν αὐτὸν Δεξιῶνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεξιώσεως. καὶ γὰρ ὑπεδέξατο τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο. ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας οὖν ταύτης Δεξιῶν ἐκλήθη. See F. Kutsch, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XII, 3; "Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen" (Gießen, 1913), pp. 22–23; Blumenthal, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2^{te} Reihe, III (1929), 1044–1045; F. R. Walton, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, XLVI (1935), pp. 170–176.

² Bülow felt that the anonymous paean of Erythrae ought to be one of the two famous old paeans mentioned by Pseudo-Lucian, hence the paean of the obscure Troezenian. However, Keyssner (*Phil. Wochenschr.*, LIV [1934], 992) quite rightly objected to this attribution because a Troezenian would probably have followed the mythological version current at Epidaurus.

JAMES H. OLIVER

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF COINS

The following analysis of 10,479 coins from the Agora Excavations, that had been identified and catalogued by July 1, 1935, has been compiled from the work of various members of the Coin Department. Special acknowledgment is made to Miss Katharine Edwards for suggestions and assistance in the accumulation of the data.

ATHENIAN COINAGE ¹			
Sixth Century —"Wappenmünzen"			3
AR	Didrachma. Short-horned bull's head		1
AR	Obol. Alcmaeonid wheel		2
Fifth Century			19
AR	Tetradrachma (431-421 B.C.)	Pl. 12, no. 13, 16	1
AR	Drachma (to 431 B.C.)	Pl. 10, no. 19-27	1
AR	Triobol (Periclean Age to 415 B.C.)		4
AR	Trihemibol (429-415 B.C.)	Pl. 13, no. 39-41	1
AR	Obol (431-421 B.C.)		2
AR	Hemibol (to 431 B.C.)	Pl. 10, no. 48-56	2
AR-plated	tetradrachma (407-393 B.C.)	Pl. 15, no. 12-18	1
Æ	Kolluboi		5
Æ	$\overset{A}{\theta} \overset{H}{\theta}$ Owl facing, pellet on either side	Pl. 22, no. 93-96	2
Fourth Century			208
AR	Tetradrachma (393-365 B.C.)	Pl. 16, no. 1-2	1
AR-plated	tetradrachma (3rd quarter of 4th Cent.) Ancient forgeries?		14
Æ	(330-307 B.C.) Triple-crested Corinthian helmet; ² cf. <i>A</i> Alexander.		
	$\overset{A}{H\theta}$ Owl l., in wreath	Pl. 22, no. 85-88	23
	$\overset{A\theta}{H}$ Owl r., in wreath	Pl. 22, no. 80-84	9

¹ The chronological arrangement of the Athenian bronze coins up to the period of the New Style is based on a careful study of the style and peculiarities of the coins themselves combined with valuable evidence from closed deposits of coins which the excavations have furnished. I am especially indebted to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson of the British Museum for his valuable assistance in the study of the particular chronology. All references are to Svoronos, *Trésor des Monnaies d'Athènes*, unless otherwise stated.

² Loose die positions.

Æ (330–300 B.C. or later) Attic helmet. ¹ Θ ^A E	double bodied owl.		
	No symbol	Pl. 22, no. 41–45	38
	Kalathos symbol	Pl. 22, no. 35–40	61
	Symbol uncertain		62
Third Century			486
AR Tetradrachma (339–297 B.C.)		Pl. 20, no. 31–37	1
AR Tetrobol (255–229 B.C.?)		Pl. 23, no. 45; Pl. 24, no. 18	2
AR Triobol (297–255 B.C.)		Pl. 21, no. 49	1
Æ (307–283 B.C.) Crested Corinthian helmet; ² cf. Æ Demetrios Poliorketes.			
ΑΘ Owl r., in wheat wreath		Pl. 22, no. 64–70	41
ΑΘ Owl r., field r., branch		Pl. 22, no. 71–72	8
Θ ^A E Owl r., in field r., various symbols.			
	Cornucopiae	Pl. 22, no. 73–74	7
	Kalathos	Pl. 22, no. 75	6
	Wreath	Pl. 22, no. 76–77	18
	Spear of wheat	Pl. 22, no. 78–79	5
	Illegible		39
	Type uncertain		123
Æ (307–283 B.C.) Crested Corinthian helmet. 2 owls in wreath.			
ΑΘ between legs of owls		Pl. 24, no. 58–59	6
Æ (307–283 B.C.) Crested Attic helmet. ¹ 2 owls in wreath.			
ΑΘ between legs of owls		Pl. 24, no. 51–57	43
ΑΘ between legs of owls; symbol kerchnos		Pl. 24, no. 34–39	9
ΑΘΕ beneath owls; symbol kalathos		Pl. 24, no. 42–50	7
	Type uncertain		34
Æ (307–283 B.C.) Crested Attic helmet. Owl facing		Pl. 24, no. 28	2
Æ (283–261 B.C.) Θ ^A E Owl spread wing—r. amphora ² (Restruck over coins of Antigonos Gonatas)		Pl. 24, no. 10–16	8
Æ (after 261 B.C.) cf. coins of Antigonos Gonatas. ³			
	Zeus head—Athena Polias	Pl. 22, no. 53–58	17
	Zeus head—Eagle	Pl. 22, no. 59–61	3
	ΑΘΕ r. large owl, symbols boukranion and amphora.		
	Unpublished		1

¹ Loose die positions.² Toward the end this series has a tendency to fixed die positions.³ Fixed die positions.

Æ Triple-crested Attic helmet. ¹ Owl l., amphora	Pl. 22, no. 89-92	3	
Æ Attic helmet. ¹ $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A}\Theta \\ \text{E} \end{smallmatrix}$ Owl r., on thunderbolt	Pl. 23, no. 47-49	39	
Æ Attic helmet. Same (smaller denomination).	Unpublished	1	
Æ Corinthian helmet. Same as above.	Unpublished	6	
Æ Corinthian helmet. $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A}\Theta \\ \Theta \end{smallmatrix}$ Owl r., on rudder	Pl. 23, no. 50-52	11	
Æ Type uncertain		6	
Æ Unclassified		39	
New Style ¹ (229-30 B.C.).....			902
Æ Tetradrachma. $\Delta\Omega\Sigma\text{I}\Theta\text{E}\text{O}\Sigma\text{-XAPIAS}$		1	
Æ Drachma. $\text{TIMAPXOY-NIKAI}\Theta$		1	
Æ Parthenos head. AΘE 2 owls in wreath (Fractional issue)	Pl. 24, no. 60-68	62	
Æ Zeus standing—thunderbolt in lowered hand.			
Owl symbol r.	Pl. 81, no. 4	1	
Prow symbol r.	Pl. 81, no. 9-16	5	
Uncertain symbol		2	
Æ Zeus hurling thunderbolt, various symbols.			
Spear of wheat l., and eagle r.	Pl. 81, no. 28-29	9	
Star above eagle r.	Pl. 81, no. 17-18	2	
Cornucopiae and eagle r. <i>B.M.C. (Attica)</i> , p. 80, no. 543		1	
Kerchnos l., eagle and cornucopiae r.	Pl. 81, no. 22-24	13	
Amphora l., eagle and cornucopiae r.	Pl. 81, no. 20-21	3	
Amphora l., eagle r.	Pl. 81, no. 25-27	4	
1 pileus l., eagle r.	Pl. 81, no. 30-31	2	
Pilei of Dioscouri, above stars r. and l.	Pl. 81, no. 33-39	24	
Star between crescents r.	Pl. 81, no. 45-48	29	
Filletted Thyrsos l.	Pl. 81, no. 40-44	3	
Spear of wheat l.	Pl. 80, no. 25-28	7	
Bakchos l.	Pl. 81, no. 49-52	5	
Uncertain symbol		46	
Æ Owl r., on prostrate amphora, various symbols r.			
Tripod	Pl. 79, no. 32-33	8	
Pilei of Dioscouri	Pl. 79, no. 8-14	5	
No symbol	Pl. 79, no. 1-7	23	
2 spears of wheat	Pl. 79, no. 22-24	5	
Serpent	Pl. 79, no. 36-37	9	

¹ Fixed die positions.

Poppyhead between wheat spears	Pl. 79, no. 15-17	8	
Bakchos	Pl. 79, no. 18-21	6	
Filleted thyrsos	Pl. 70, no. 25	4	
Cicade	Pl. 79, no. 38-42	38	
Caduceus	Pl. 79, no. 25-28	23	
Uncertain symbol		92	
Æ Nike flying r., with wreath	Pl. 80, no. 15-17	10	
Æ Tripod, symbols poppyhead l., thunderbolt r.	Pl. 80, no. 1-7	23	
Æ Delian Apollo with 3 Graces and strung bow	Pl. 80, no. 8-14	19	
Æ Artemis with torches	Pl. 81, no. 53-56	1	
Æ Sphinx seated wearing modius	Pl. 80, no. 18-21	41	
Æ Athena armed advancing r.—symbols r.			
Owl	Pl. 80, no. 29-32	63	
Serpent	Pl. 80, no. 33-34	19	
Uncertain symbol		12	
Æ Owl r., on prow; all in wreath	Pl. 80, no. 37-40	102	
Æ ^A Θ _E 2 owls in wreath	Pl. 80, no. 45-47	4	
Æ Owl r. in wreath (type uncertain) either	Pl. 79 group or Pl. 80, no. 37-43	20	
Æ Unclassified, New Style		147	
Æ Unclassified Athenian			146
Athenian Imperial			
Copies of Statues.....			207
Athena Parthenos	Pl. 82 and 83, no. 1-19	76	
Athena Nicephorus	Pl. 83, no. 20-28	2	
Athena fighting	Pl. 84, no. 36	2	
Athena standing armed	Pl. 84, no. 24	1	
Athena Archegetis	Pl. 83, no. 39-42; Pl. 84, no. 1-14	6	
Athena from E. pediment of Parthenon	Pl. 85, no. 8-37	19	
Athena Promachos	Pl. 86, no. 1-39	53	
Athena Medicis?	Pl. 86, no. 41	1	
Athena Velletri	Pl. 83, no. 29-34	4	
Demeter Chloe	Pl. 89, no. 35-40	4	
Zeus Olympios	Pl. 92, no. 1-2	1	
Zeus standing	Pl. 92, no. 5-7	1	
Dionysos of Alcamenes	Pl. 92, no. 19	3	
Herakles Farnese	Pl. 95, no. 1-5	4	

Asklepios	Pl. 98, no. 1-10	6	
Praxitelean group:			
Demeter seated	Pl. 93, no. 36-42	7	
Kore	Pl. 93, no. 43-47	4	
Iakchos	Pl. 93, no. 32-35	3	
Apollo with Lyre	Pl. 93, no. 1-4	3	
Apollo with Bow	Pl. 93, no. 8	1	
Hermes	Pl. 92, no. 27-29 and 35; Pl. 95, no. 10	4	
Unclassified		2	
Ancient Monuments			7
Altar of Zeus Polias	Pl. 87, no. 42-43	1	
Fountain of the Erechtheum	Pl. 87, no. 38-41	2	
Acropolis	Pl. 98, no. 19-36	3	
Polygonal structure (possibly altar)	Unpublished	1	
Mythological Subjects			32
Contest of Athena and Poseidon	Pl. 89, no. 1-18	4	
Athena and Marsyas	Pl. 89, no. 34	1	
Demeter in chariot between Kore and Hecate	Pl. 94, no. 2-6	1	
Demeter in chariot	Pl. 94, no. 19-26, 28-29, 37-43	10	
Triptolemos in chariot	Pl. 94, no. 27, 30, 31	1	
Theseus and Minotaur	Pl. 96, no. 8-14	4	
Theseus alone wielding club	Pl. 96, no. 20-29	10	
Theseus with club and serpent	Pl. 95, no. 38-40	1	
Historical Events			27
Agonistic table	Pl. 88, no. 55-61, and Pl. 91	17	
Themistokles on galley	Pl. 97, no. 1-31	10	
Symbolical Representations			91
Athena and Olive Tree	Pl. 87, no. 15-32	7	
Athena seated	Pl. 87, no. 33-37	2	
Athena in chariot	Pl. 88, no. 8-22	8	
Apollo Lykios	Pl. 93, no. 27	1	
Herakles (or Theseus) with patera	Pl. 95, no. 8-15	3	
Olive tree between owl and amphora	Pl. 90, no. 1-31	15	
Owl in olive tree, large amphora r.	Pl. 90, no. 32-34	2	
Owl on upright amphora	Pl. 90, no. 35-40	8	
Upright amphora	Pl. 90, no. 41-42	1	
Boukranion	Pl. 99, no. 1-38	34	
Nike with wreath	Pl. 96, no. 41-45	10	

Small Fractional Issues		309
Asklepios	Pl. 98, no. 11-14	7
Nike	Pl. 96, no. 46-49	6
Caduceus	Pl. 92, no. 30-34	6
Owl in olive tree	Pl. 89, no. 19-25	13
Owl on prow } Prow }	Pl. 97, no. 37-44	15
Serpent	Pl. 98, no. 17	3
Boukranion	Pl. 99, no. 39-42	20
Tripod	Pl. 93, no. 21-23, 29-31	16
Pig	Pl. 94, no. 15	9
Club	Pl. 96, no. 38	1
Amphora	Pl. 90, no. 45-47	6
Cista Mystica	Pl. 94, no. 32-35	7
Two Torches	Pl. 94, no. 49-51	4
Four spears of wheat	Pl. 94, no. 53-54	1
Kalathos with wheat	Pl. 94, no. 36	1
Owl types—various obverses: Attic helmet	Pl. 88, no. 23-30	36
Corinthian helmet	Pl. 88, no. 31-54	158
Unclassified Athenian Imperial		
Large denominations		94
Fractional issues		47
Tessera—Theatre of Lycurgus		2
 ATHENIAN CLERUCHIES ¹		
Unknown		1
A ΘΕ Race torch bound with fillet. <i>B.M.C. (Attica)</i> , p. 83; cf. no. 577		1
Aegina (255-229 B.C.)		1
AΘE Demeter with torch	Pl. 25, no. 14	1
Methana (255-229 B.C.)		1
Athena with patera	Pl. 25, no. 10	1
Peparethos (255-229 B.C.)		37
Head of young Dionysos—Athena advancing	Pl. 25, no. 29-32	2
Head of young Dionysos—Kantharos	Pl. 25, no. 33-35	4
Heads of Zeus—Dionysos	Pl. 25, no. 36-42	19
Head of Dionysos—Athena bust	Pl. 25, no. 43-50	12

¹ All references to Syvornos, *Trésor*, unless otherwise stated.

Skiathos? (255–229 B.C.)			16
Gorgon head—Athena armed	Pl. 25, no. 22–28	16	
Delos (after 166 B.C.)			118
Uncertain head—Kerchnos	Pl. 107, no. 11	1	
Head of Artemis—Kerchnos	Pl. 106, no. 76–81	12	
Head of Athena—Lyre	Pl. 106, no. 32	1	
Head of Athena—Quiver	Pl. 106, no. 29	1	
Head of Athena—Tripod	Pl. 106, no. 44	2	
Head of Artemis—Quiver	Pl. 106, no. 33–41	5	
Dolphin and Trident—Kerchnos	Pl. 107, no. 1–8	6	
Head of Artemis—2 crossed spears of wheat	Pl. 106, no. 72–75; Pl. 107, no. 18–23	13	
Head of Artemis—Poppyhead and 2 spears of wheat	Pl. 107, no. 15–17	1	
Head of Artemis—Cicade	Pl. 107, no. 28–35	11	
Head of Artemis—Amphora	Pl. 106, no. 12–16; Pl. 107, no. 36–41	11	
Head of Artemis—Lyre	Pl. 106, no. 24	1	
Head of Artemis—Owl on amphora	Pl. 106, no. 56–62	2	
Head of Artemis—Owl on Bakchos	Pl. 107, no. 47	1	
Cicade—Owl on thunderbolt	Pl. 107, no. 50–54	3	
Cicade—Amphora	Pl. 107, no. 55–69	42	
Head of Apollo—Owl in wreath	Pl. 107, no. 49	1	
Head of Apollo—Owl r., lyre in field	Pl. 106, no. 1, 6	2	
Unclassified		2	
ELEUSIS			
Money struck in name of Athens			73
Triptolemos—Pig on Bakchos	Pl. 103, no. 33–39	22	
Head of Demeter—Pig on Bakchos	Pl. 103, no. 50–56	1	
Head of Demeter—Pig on Bakchos	Pl. 103, no. 57–64	11	
Head of Demeter with wreath—Kerchnos	Pl. 104, no. 5–7, 14	2	
Kerchnos—Kalathos in wreath	Pl. 104, no. 21–23	7	
Head of Demeter veiled—Triptolemos in chariot	Pl. 104, no. 31–37	6	
Head of D. veiled—Poppyhead and spears of wheat	Pl. 104, no. 38–45	12	
Triptolemos—palm and sheaf of wheat crossed	Pl. 104, no. 46–50	8	
Triptolemos—Nike holding garland	Pl. 104, no. 51–53	4	
Money struck in name of Eleusis			46
Triptolemos in chariot—Pig on Bakchos	Pl. 103, no. 1–28	46	
Unclassified striking			22

OTHER GREEK STATES			Central Greece		
Sicily	2		Locri Opuntii	13	13
Mamertini	1		Phocis	5	5
Siculo—Punic	1		Boeotia		25
Macedonia	25		Federal (mint uncertain)	21	
Kings:			Thebes	3	
Antigonos Gonatas	10		Thespieae	1	
Antigonos Gonatas or Doson	3		Euboea		21
Cassander	1		Carystus	2	
Alexander III, the Great	4		Chalcis	7	
Philip V	2		Eretria	7	
Acanthus	2		Histiaea	5	
Scione	1		Megara	25	25
Thessalonica (Under Rome 1)	2		Aegina	2	2
Thrace	13		Salamis	4	4
Abdera	1		Peloponnesus		
Samothrace	1		Corinthia		27
Thasos	1		Corinth (Under Rome 10)	26	
Imbros	4		Tenea (Under Rome)	1	
Lemnos	6		Phlius	1	1
Thessaly	21		Sicyon (Under Rome 2)	12	12
Aenianes	1		Achaea		7
Eurymenae (Magnesia)	1		Patras (Under Rome)	4	
Magnetes	4		Pellene	1	
Malienses (Lamia)	1		Achaean League	2	
Phalanna	2		Elis..... (Under Rome)	1	1
Pharsalus	4		Messenia	1	1
Thessalian League	6		Laconia		3
Thessaly? (general)			Lacedaemon (Under Rome)	3	
(Under Rome)	2		Argolis		8
Northwest Greece			Argos	1	
Illyria—Dyrrachium	1	1	Cleonae (Under Rome 1)	2	
Epirus		2	Epidaurus	2	
Republic	1		Hermione	1	
Elea	1		Nemea (Under Rome)	1	
Coreyra (Under Rome 1)	6	6	Troezen (Under Rome)	1	
Aetolian League	3	3	Arcadia		3
			Federal	1	

Heraea	1		Egypt	4
Orchomenos	1		Ptolemy XI, King of Cyprus	1
Aegean Islands	4		Alexandria (Under Rome)	3
Andros	2		Greek—Unclassified	454
Ceos	1		Roman Provincial—Unclassified	7
Delos (Autonomous)	1			
Asia Minor			ROMAN REPUBLICAN	
Mysia	1		COINAGE	
Parium (Under Rome)	1		Caius Norbanus 84 B.C.	1
Troas	3		Gn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcel-	
Gergis	1		linus 74 B.C.	1
Alexandria (Under Rome)	1		M. Aemilius Scaurus ca. 58 B.C.	1
Cyme	1		Marcus Antonius—struck 31 B.C.	1
Aeolis	2			
Aegae	1		ROMAN IMPERIAL	
Elea (Under Rome)	1		COINAGE	
Lesbos	1		Augustus 27 B.C.—14 A.D.	3
Mytilene	1		M · SANQVINIVS III VIR	1
Ionia	9		CL · CAESARES	1
Clazomenae	1		MAX(IM · TRI)BVN ·	1
Ephesus	2		Tiberius 14 A.D.—37 A.D.	1
Erythrae	1		PONTIF MAXIM ·	1
Magnesia ad Maeandrum	1		Otho 69 A.D.	1
Teos	1		SECVRITAS PR ·	1
Chios (Under Rome)	2		Vespasian 69–79 A.D.	1
Samos	1		VICTORI AVGVSTI S · C ·	1
Caria	2		Domitian 81–96 A.D.	1
Rhodes	2		TR · P · COS · VII DES · VIII P · P ·	1
Lycia	1		Trajan 98–117 A.D.	3
Limyra	1		COS · V · P · P · S · P · Q · R ·	
Pisidia	2		OPTIMO PRINC ·	1
Antioch	2		SENATVS POPVLVSQVE RO-	
Cilicia	1		MANVS S · C ·	1
Soli	1		Boar	1
Syria	1		Hadrian 117–138 A.D.	9
Antiochus II	1		AEGYPTOS S · C ·	1
			(COS ·) III (S) · C ·	1

FIDES PVBLICA	1		Commodus 176-192 A.D.	2
HISPANIA S.C.	1		TR.P.VII IMP.V COS.III	
P.M.TR.COS.III S.C.	1		P.P.	1
P.M.TR.P.COS.III	1		VICTORIAE FELICI.	1
SALVS AVG.	1			
Unclassified	2		Septimius Severus 193-211 A.D.	5
Antoninus Pius 138-161 A.D.	7		LIBERALITAS AVG.VI	1
FELICITAS AVG.S.C.	1		P.M.TR.P.XVIII COS.III	
GENIO SENATVS S.C.	1		P.P.S.C.	1
HONORI AVG.COS.III S.C.	1		P.M.TR.P.XIII COS.III	
TR.POT.XX (COS.III) S.C.	1		P.P.	1
(T)R.POT.(X)XI COS.III	1		Unclassified	2
Unclassified	2		Julia Domna 193-211 A.D., d.	
Faustina I 138-140 A.D.	5		217 A.D.	1
AVGVSTA ¹	1		Unclassified	1
AVGVSTA ²	1		Rome, Second Century—	
IVNONI REGINAE	1		Unclassified	5
IVNO S.C.	1		Rome Second or Third Cent.—	
Unclassified	1		Unclassified	7
Lucius Verus 161-169 A.D....	1		Julia Mamaea 222-235 A.D...	2
FEL.TEMP.COS.II S.C.	1		FECVNDITASAVGVSTAES.C.	1
Marcus Aurelius 161-180 A.D.	2		VESTA	1
FELICITAS AVG.IMP.VIII			Severus Alexander 222-235 A.D.	5
COS.III P.P.S.C.	1		AEQVITAS AVGVSTI S.C.	1
T.R.P.XX IMP.III COS.III	1		ANNOA AVGVSTI S.C.	1
Faustina II 161-175 A.D.	8		P.M.TR.P.XI COS.III P.P.S.C.	1
FECVNDITAS	1		VICTORIA AVGVSTI S.C.	1
IVNONI REGINAE S.C.	1		VENVS CEL.	1
SALVS	1		Maximinus I 235-238 A.D.	3
SALVTI AVGVSTAE S.C.	1		FIDES MILITVM S.C.	3
TEMPOR.FELIC.	1		Gordianus Pius 238-.....	5
VENVS S.C.	2		AETERNITATI AVG.	2
Unclassified	1		MARS PROPVGNAT.S.C.	1
Crispina 177-182 A.D.	1		P.M.TR.P.II COS.P.P.	1
IVNO REGINA S.C.	1		VIRTVS AVG.S.C.	1

¹ Cohen, II, p. 422, no. 119.² R.I.C., III, p. 70, no. 356.

Pupienus 238 A.D.	1	Gallienus 253-268 A.D.	54
CONCORDIA AVGG. S. C.	1	<i>Rome</i>	13
Philippus I 244-249 A.D.	8	ABUNDANT. AVG.	1
AEQVITAS AVGG.	1	AEQVITAS AVG.	1
FELICITAS TEMP.	1	CONCORDIA AVG.	1
LIBERALITAS AVGG. II	1	FIDES MILITVM	1
LIBERALITAS AVGG. III	1	FORTVNA REDVX	1
P. M. TR. P. VI COS. P. P. ¹	2	INDVLGENTIA AVG.	1
P. M. TR. P. VI COS. P. P. ²	1	MARTI PACIFERO	2
SAECVLVM NOVVM	1	PAX AVG.	1
Otacilia Severa 244-249 A.D.	2	PROVIDENTIA AVGG.	1
CONCORDIA AVGG.	1	SECVRIT. ORBIS	1
PVDICITIA AVG.	1	VICTORIA AET.	1
Herennia Etruscilla 248-251 A.D.	1	VIRTVS AVG.	1
PVDICITIA AVG.	1	<i>Mediolanum-Ticinum</i>	4
Trebonianus Gallus 251-253 A.D.	4	AETERNITAS AVG.	1
AEQVITAS AVG.	1	APOLLO CONSER.	1
ANNOA AVGG.	1	ORIENS AVG.	1
LIBERTAS AVGG.	1	. A . . O . . . ENS AVG.	1
PROVIDENTIA AVGG.	1	<i>Moesia</i>	1
Volusianus 251-253 A.D.	2	FELICITAS SAECVLI	1
CONCORDIA AVGG.	1	<i>Siscia</i>	3
Uncertain	1	AETERNITATI AVG.	1
Aemilianus 253 A.D.	1	CONCORDIA AVG.	1
SPES PVBLICA	1	VBERITAS AVG.	1
Valerianus I 253-259 A.D.	6	<i>Lugdunum</i>	1
<i>Asia</i>	2	ROMAE AETERNAE	1
VIRTVS AVGG.	2	<i>Asia</i>	15
<i>Uncertain</i>	4	AETERNITATI AVG.	2
FIDES MILITVM	1	IOVI CONSERVATORI	2
FELICITAS AVGG.	1	IOVIS STATOR	1
RESTITVT. ORIENTIS	1	IOVI STATORI	1
SECVRIT. PERPET.	1	MINERVA AVG.	1
		P. M. TR. P. XIII C. VI P. P.	1
		VICTORIA AVG.	3
		VIRTVS AVG.	4

¹ Cohen, V, p. 110, no. 156.² *Ibid.*, no. 155.

<i>Uncertain</i>	17	<i>Mediolanum-Ticinum</i>	1
FORTVNA REDVX	1	RESTITVT · ORIENTIS	1
ORIENS AVG ·	1	<i>Siscia</i>	2
.....II COS	1	CONCORDIA MILITVM	2
SALVS AVG ·	1	<i>Serdica</i>	2
SECVRITAS AVG ·	1	RESTITVT · ORBIS	2
VICTORIA AVG ·	3	<i>Cyzicus</i>	8
Uncertain	9	CONCORDIA MILITVM	1
Salonina 253-268 A.D.	7	IOVI CONSER ·	1
<i>Rome</i>	2	ORIENS AVG ·	2
CONCORD · AET ·	1	RESTITVTOR ORBIS	4
PIETAS AVG ·	1	<i>Uncertain</i>	7
<i>Asia</i>	4	IOVI CONSER ·	2
CERERI AVG ·	1	ORIENS AVG ·	1
SALVS AVG ·	1	VICTORIA AVG ·	1
VENVS VICTRIX	2	Unclassified	3
<i>Uncertain</i>	1	Severina 270-275 A.D.	1
IVNO REGINA	1	<i>Rome</i>	1
Valerianus II 255-258 A.D. ...	1	VENVS FELIX	1
<i>Antioch</i>	1	Tacitus 275-276 A.D.	2
VICTORIA PART ·	1	<i>Siscia</i>	1
Macrianus II 261-262 A.D. ...	1	PAX AVGVSTI	1
<i>Uncertain</i>	1	<i>Uncertain</i>	1
SOL · INVICTO	1	SPES PVBLICA	1
Claudius II 268-270 A.D.	4	Florianus 276 A.D.	5
<i>Uncertain</i>	4	<i>Mediolanum-Ticinum</i>	3
CONSECRATIO	2	FELICITAS AVG ·	2
LAETITIA AVG ·	1	PROVIDE AVG ·	1
.....T AVG ·	1	<i>Cyzicus(?)</i>	1
Aurelianus 270-275 A.D.	29	CONCORDIA MILITVM	1
<i>Rome</i>	4	<i>Uncertain</i>	1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	1	CONCORDIA MILITVM	1
ORIENS AVG ·	2	Probus 276-282 A.D.	24
RESTITVT · ORBIS	1	<i>Rome</i>	5
<i>Rome(?) (or Siscia)</i>	5	PROVIDENTIA AVG ·	1
IOVI CONSER ·	4	ROMAE AETER ·	1
IOVI CONSERVATORI	1	SOLI INVICTO	3

<i>Mediolanum-Ticinum</i>		2	<i>Cyzicus</i>		2
CONCORDIA MILIT.	1		CONCORDIA MILITVM	2	
VIRTVS AVG.	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		2
<i>Siscia</i>		4	Unclassified	2	
ORIGINI AVG.	1		Maximianus Herculius 286—		
PAX AVGVSTI	1		305 A.D.		27
SOLI INVICTO	2		<i>Rome</i>		1
<i>Serdica</i>		2	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG.	1	
SOLI INVICTO	1		<i>Siscia</i>		1
VIRTVS PROBI AVG.	1		VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM	1	
<i>Lugdunum</i>		1	<i>Thessalonica</i>		2
TEMPOR. FELIC.	1		GENIO POPVLI ROMANI	2	
<i>Cyzicus</i>		5	<i>Heraclea</i>		4
CONCORDIA MILITVM	1		CONCORDIA MILITVM	4	
MARTI PACIF.	1		<i>Cyzicus</i>		17
SOLI INVICTO	3		CONCORDIA MILITVM	17	
<i>Uncertain</i>		5	<i>Antioch</i>		1
CONCORD. MILIT.	1		IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG.	1	
SALVS AVG.	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		1
SOLI INVICTO	2		CONCORDIA MILITVM	1	
Unclassified	1		Constantius Chlorus 293–306		
Numerianus 283–284 A.D.		2	A.D.		5
<i>Siscia</i>		1	<i>Cyzicus</i>		4
VOTA PVBLICA	1		CONCORDIA MILITVM	3	
<i>Antioch</i>		1	IOVI CONSERVATORI	1	
VIRTVS AVGG.	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		1
Carinus 283–285 A.D.		1	CONCORDIA MILITVM	1	
<i>Rome</i>		1	Helena 306–328 A.D. (Augusta)		3
AETERNIT. AVG.	1		<i>Constantinople</i>		3
Magna Urbica 283–284 A.D. .		1	PAX PVBLICA	3	
<i>Rome</i>		1	Theodora 293–306 A.D.		1
VENVS VICTRIX	1		<i>Constantinople</i>		1
Diocletianus 284–305 A.D.		13	PIETAS ROMANA	1	
<i>Rome</i>		1			
PROVIDENTIA	1				
<i>Heraclea</i>		8			
CONCORDIA MILITVM	8				

Galerius Valerius Maximianus 293-311 A.D.		9	<i>Nicomedia</i> PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1	1
<i>Thessalonica</i> GENIO CAESARIS	1	1	<i>Antioch</i> PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1	1
<i>Cyzicus</i> CONCORDIA MILITVM	4	4	Constantinus I 306-337 A.D. ..		130
<i>Cyzicus(?)</i> CONCORDIA MILITVM	3	3	<i>Rome</i> SOLI INVICTO COMITI	3	3
<i>Carthage</i> FELIX ADVENT·AVGG·N·N·	1	1	<i>Mediolanum-Ticinum</i> VIRTVS EXERCIT·	1	1
Third Century —Unclassified ..	15	15	<i>Siscia</i> GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	2
Severus II 305-307 A.D.		1	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG· N·N·	1	
<i>Heraclea</i> GENIO POPVLI ROMANI	1	1	<i>Thessalonica</i> D·N·CONSTANTINI AVG·	1	11
Maximinus II 305-313 A.D. ...		2	D·N·CONSTANTINI MAX· AVG·	4	
<i>Nicomedia</i> GENIO AVGVSTI CMH (<i>sic</i>)	1	1	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG·	1	
<i>Uncertain</i> CONCORDIA MILITVM	1	1	PROVIDENTIAE AVGG·	2	
Licinius I 307-323 A.D.		6	VIRTVS EXERCIT·	2	
<i>Rome</i> SOLI INVICTO COMITI	1	1	VN·MR·	1	
<i>Thessalonica</i> GENIO AVGVST·	1	1	<i>Treviri</i> VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC· PERP·	2	2
<i>Nicomedia</i> IOVI CONSERVATORI	1	2	<i>Lugdunum</i> SOLI INVICTO COMITI	1	1
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG·	1		<i>Arelate</i> GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	1
<i>Uncertain</i> IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG·	1	2	<i>Constantinople</i> GLORIA EXERCITVS	4	13
Unclassified	1		PROVIDENTIAE AVGG·	1	
Licinius II d. 326 A.D.		3	VN·MR·	2	
<i>Cyzicus</i> IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS·	1	1	No legend—Quadriga	6	
			<i>Heraclea</i> GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	3
			D·N·CONSTANTINI MAX· AVG·	1	
			VN·MR·	1	

<i>Cyzicus</i>		10	<i>Arelate</i>		1
GLORIA EXERCITVS	3		No legend—Victory	1	
IOVI CONSERVATORI	1		<i>Constantinople</i>		3
PROVIDENTIAE AVGG.	2		GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	
VN · MR.	4		No legend—Victory	2	
<i>Nicomedia</i>		10	<i>Heraclea</i>		3
GLORIA EXERCITVS	4		GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG.	1		No legend—Victory	2	
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1		<i>Cyzicus</i>		1
VN · MR.	1		No legend—Victory	1	
No legend—Quadriga	3		<i>Nicomedia</i>		2
<i>Antioch</i>		11	No legend—Victory	2	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	5		<i>Alexandria</i>		1
PROVIDENTIAE AVGG.	1		No legend—Victory	1	
SOLI INVICTO COMITI	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		2
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC.	1		VOT · XX MVL · XXX	2	
PERP.	1		Rome (Constantinus I)		
VN · MR.	2		<i>Thessalonica</i>		1
No legend—Quadriga	1		No legend—Wolf	1	
<i>Alexandria</i>		2	<i>Cyzicus</i>		1
VN · MR.	2		No legend—Wolf	1	
<i>Barbarous copy</i>		1	<i>Nicomedia</i>		4
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC.	1		VOT · XX MVL · XXX	2	
PERP.	1		No legend—Wolf	2	
<i>Uncertain</i>		37	<i>Uncertain</i>		1
CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE	1		VOT · XX MVL · XXX	1	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	10		Crispus 317–326 A.D		7
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG.	1		<i>Aquileia</i>		1
IVST · VEN · MEM.	2		PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS	1	
PROVIDENTIAE AVGG.	1		<i>Siscia</i>		1
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1		CAESARVM NOSTRORVM	1	
S · P · Q · R · OPTIMO PRINCIPI	1		<i>Thessalonica</i>		1
VIRTVS EXERCIT.	1		VIRTVS EXERCIT.	1	
VN · MR.	14		<i>Heraclea</i>		1
No legend—Quadriga	5		PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1	
<i>Unclassified</i>		1			
Constantinople (Constantinus I)					
<i>Thessalonica</i>		1			
No legend—Victory	1				

<i>Uncertain</i>		3	<i>Siscia</i>		1
CAESARVM NOSTRORVM	1		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1	
IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS.	1		<i>Thessalonica</i>		15
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	4	
Dalmatius 335-337 A.D.		2	GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	
<i>Arelate</i>		1	VICTORIAE DD · AVGG · Q ·	9	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	1		N · N ·	1	
<i>Uncertain</i>		1	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX		
GLORIA EXERCITVS	1		<i>Arelate</i>		2
Constantinus II 337-340 A.D.		16	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	2	
<i>Siscia</i>		2	<i>Constantinople</i>		17
CAESARVM NOSTRORVM	1		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ²	2	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	1		GLORIA EXERCITVS	12	
<i>Thessalonica</i>		2	VICTORIAE DD · AVGG · Q ·	1	
CAESARVM NOSTRORVM	1		N · N ·	2	
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX		
<i>Treviri</i>		1	<i>Heraclea</i>		4
GLORIA EXERCITVS	1		GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	
<i>Heraclea</i>		2	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	3	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	1		<i>Cyzicus</i>		12
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.	1		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ³	1	
<i>Cyzicus</i>		2	GLORIA EXERCITVS	9	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	2		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	2	
<i>Nicomedia</i>		2	<i>Nicomedia</i>		9
GLORIA EXERCITVS	2		GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	
<i>Antioch</i>		2	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	8	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	2		<i>Antioch</i>		3
<i>Alexandria</i>		1	VOT · XX MVLT · XX	1	
GLORIA EXERCITVS	1		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	2	
<i>Uncertain</i>		2	<i>Alexandria</i>		2
GLORIA EXERCITVS	2		GLORIA EXERCITVS	1	
Constans I 333-350 A.D.		121	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1	
<i>Rome</i>		1	<i>Uncertain</i>		41
SECVRITAS REIP ·	1		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ⁴	2	
			SPES REIPVBLICE	8	
			VICTORIAE DD · AVGG · Q ·	7	
			N · N ·		
			VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	24	

¹ Cohen, VII, p. 406, no. 10 (3); no. 16 (1).² *Ibid.*, no. 18 (1); no. 16 (1).³ *Ibid.*, no. 18.⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 10 (1); no. 16 (1).

<i>Illegible</i>		4	<i>Heraclea</i>		24
GLORIA EXERCITVS	4		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	8	
<i>Unclassified</i>		10	GLORIA EXERCITVS		
			(1 standard)	5	
Constantius II 323–361 A.D...		503	GLORIA EXERCITVS		
			(2 standards)	1	
<i>Rome</i>		2	PROVIDENTIAE CAESS · ³	1	
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	1		SPES REIPVBLICE	3	
VICTORIAE DD · AVGG · Q ·			VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	6	
N · N ·	1				
<i>Aquileia</i>		2	<i>Cyzicus</i>		39
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	2		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ⁴	20	
<i>Sirmium</i>		4	GLORIA EXERCITVS		
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	3		(1 standard)	2	
SPES REIPVBLICE	1		GLORIA EXERCITVS		
			(2 standards)	3	
<i>Siscia</i>		3	SPES REIPVBLICE	5	
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	2		VICTORIA AVGG ·	1	
SPES REIPVBLICE	1		VICT · AVG ·	1	
			VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	7	
<i>Thessalonica</i>		45	<i>Nicomedia</i>		27
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ²	24		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ⁵	14	
GLORIA EXERCITVS			GLORIA EXERCITVS	2	
(1 standard)	1		PROVIDENTIAE CAES ·	1	
GLORIA EXERCITVS			SPES REIPVBLICE	3	
(2 standards)	1		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	7	
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS · ³	1		<i>Antioch</i>		25
SPES REIPVBLICE	12		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	10	
VICTORIAE DD · AVGG · Q ·			GLORIA EXERCITVS		
N · N ·	5		(1 standard)	1	
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1		GLORIA EXERCITVS		
			(2 standards)	1	
<i>Constantinople</i>		53	SPES REIPVBLICE	2	
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	35		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	10	
GLORIA EXERCITVS			Unclassified	1	
(1 standard)	3				
GLORIA EXERCITVS			<i>Alexandria</i>		3
(2 standards)	3		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO ¹	2	
SPES REIPVBLICE	8		SPES REIPVBLICE	1	
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	3				
Unclassified	1				

¹ Cohen, VII, pp. 446–7, no. 44 ff.² Cohen, VII, p. 445, no. 31 (2); pp. 446–7, no. 44 ff. (22).³ Not in Cohen with double S.⁴ Cohen, VII, p. 448, no. 57 (1); pp. 446–7, no. 44 ff. (19).⁵ Cohen, VII, p. 445, no. 41 (1); pp. 446–7, no. 44 ff. (13).

<i>Uncertain</i>	276	<i>Uncertain</i>	22
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	157	FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	14
GLORIA EXERCITVS		SPES REIPVBLICE	3
(1 standard)	9	Unclassified	5
GLORIA ROMANORVM ¹	2		
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1	House of Constantine	62
SPES REIPVBLICE	54	<i>Rome</i>	1
VICTORIA AVGG ·	1	VOT · XX MVLT · XX	1
VICT · AVG ·	1	<i>Aquileia</i>	1
VICTORIAE DD · AVGG · Q ·		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1
N · N ·	2	<i>Constantinople</i>	1
VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM	1	FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	36	<i>Heraclea</i>	2
No legend—Quadriga	1	FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1
Unclassified	11	? Victory	1
Magnentius 350–353 A.D.	1	<i>Uncertain</i>	57
<i>Uncertain</i>	1	FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	9
Unclassified	1	GLORIA EXERCITVS	11
Constantius Gallus 351–354 A.D.	42	SALVS	1
<i>Rome</i>	1	SPES REIPVBLIC ·	14
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1	? Victory	2
<i>Thessalonica</i>	2	VICTORIAE DD · AVGG · Q ·	
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	2	N · N ·	2
<i>Constantinople</i>	7	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	7
CONCORDIA MILITVM	1	Unclassified	11
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	5		
SPES REIPVBLICE	1	Julianus II 355–363 A.D.	57
<i>Heraclea</i>	2	<i>Rome</i>	2
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	2	FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1
<i>Cyzicus</i>	5	SPES REIPVBLICE	1
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	5	<i>Aquileia</i>	1
<i>Nicomedia</i>	2	FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	2	<i>Sirmium</i>	2
<i>Alexandria</i>	1	SPES REIPVBLICE	2
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1	<i>Thessalonica</i>	4
		FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1
		VOT · X MVLT · XX	3

¹ Cohen, VII, p. 459, no. 127 (1); p. 461, no. 138 (1).

<i>Lugdunum</i>		1	<i>Antioch</i>		2
SPES REIPVBLICE	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM	1	
<i>Constantinople</i>		4	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1	
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	2		<i>Uncertain</i>		21
SECVRITAS REIPVB ·	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM	8	
VOT · X MVLT · XX	1		RESTITVTOR REIP ·	1	
<i>Cyzicus</i>		5	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	12	
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	3		Procopius 365–366 A.D.		1
SPES REIPVBLICE	1		<i>Constantinople</i>		1
Unclassified	1		Cross in wreath	1	
<i>Nicomedia</i>		6	Valens 364–378 A.D.		79
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	3		<i>Rome</i>		1
SPES REIPVBLICE	3		SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1	
<i>Antioch</i>		1	<i>Siscia</i>		3
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	1		SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	3	
<i>Uncertain</i>		31	<i>Thessalonica</i>		20
FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO	13		GLORIA ROMANORVM	12	
SPES REIPVBLICE	11		SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	8	
VICTORIA AVGG ·	3		<i>Treviri</i>		1
VOT · X MVLT · XX	1		SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1	
Unclassified	3		<i>Constantinople</i>		5
Valentinianus I 364–375 A.D.		40	GLORIA ROMANORVM	3	
<i>Siscia</i>		1	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	2	
GLORIA ROMANORVM	1		<i>Heraclea</i>		1
<i>Thessalonica</i>		9	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1	
GLORIA ROMANORVM	2		<i>Cyzicus</i>		4
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	7		SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	4	
<i>Constantinople</i>		3	<i>Nicomedia</i>		3
RESTITVTOR REIP ·	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM	1	
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	2		SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	2	
<i>Heraclea</i>		1	<i>Antioch</i>		3
GLORIA ROMANORVM	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM	1	
<i>Cyzicus</i>		1	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	2	
GLORIA ROMANORVM	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		38
<i>Nicomedia</i>		2	GLORIA ROMANORVM	13	
GLORIA ROMANORVM	1		RESTITVTOR REIP ·	1	
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1				

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	18		<i>Uncertain</i>	18
SPES REIPVBLICAE	1		CONCORDIA AVGG ·	1
VICTORIA AVGGG ·	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	4
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	2		SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	7
Unclassified	2		VOT · V	1
Gratianus 375–383 A.D.		45	VOT · XV MVLT · XX	1
<i>Rome</i>		1	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	2
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1		VOT · XXX MVLT · XXX	2
<i>Aquileia</i>		2	Valentinianus II 375–392 A.D.	80
GLORIA ROMANORVM ¹	1		<i>Rome</i>	1
REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1		REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1
<i>Siscia</i>		2	<i>Aquileia</i>	1
GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	1		REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1		<i>Siscia</i>	1
<i>Thessalonica</i>		6	VICTORIA AVGGG ·	1
GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	1		<i>Thessalonica</i>	15
REPARATIO REIPVB ·	4		GLORIA REIPVBLICAE	4
VICTORIA AVGG ·	1		REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1
<i>Arelate</i>		1	SALVS REIPVBLICAE	6
REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1		VICTORIA AVG ·	1
<i>Constantinople</i>		6	VIRTVS AVGGG ·	3
GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	4		Constantinople	20
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1		REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	14
<i>Heraclea</i>		2	VICTORIA AVGGG ·	1
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1		VOT · V	1
VOT · XXX MVLT · XXX	1		VOT · X MVLT · XX	2
<i>Cyzicus</i>		2	VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1
REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1		<i>Heraclea</i>	1
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1
<i>Nicomedia</i>		4	<i>Cyzicus</i>	5
REPARATIO REIPVB ·	2		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	3
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1		VOT · X MVLT · XX	1
VOT · V	1		VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1
<i>Antioch</i>		1	<i>Nicomedia</i>	2
REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	2

¹ Cf. Cohen, VIII, pp. 127–128, no. 17.² Cohen, VIII, p. 129, no. 23.

<i>Antioch</i>		1	<i>Heraclea</i>		10
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	6	
<i>Uncertain</i>		33	VOT · X MVLT · XX	4	
GLORIA REIPVBLICAE	1		<i>Cyzicus</i>		29
GLORIA ROMANORVM	3		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	20	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	15		VOT · X MVLT · XX	9	
SPES REIPVBLICAE	3		<i>Nicomedia</i>		9
VIRTVS AVGGG ·	2		GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	1	
VOT · X MVLT · XX	3		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	6	
VOT · XX MVLT · XXX	1		VOT · X MVLT · XX	2	
Unclassified	5		<i>Antioch</i>		3
House of Valentinian		20	SALVS REIPVBLICAE	2	
<i>Heraclea</i>		1	VOT · X MVLT · XX	1	
VOT · XV MVLT · XX	1		<i>Alexandria</i>		1
<i>Cyzicus</i>		1	SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		79
<i>Uncertain</i>		18	GLORIA REIPVBLICE	3	
GLORIA ROMANORVM	4		GLORIA ROMANORVM ³	2	
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	7		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	63	
VICTORIA AVG ·	1		VICTORIA AVG ·	1	
VOT · XX MVLT · ?	6		VICTORIA AVGGG ·	5	
Theodosius I 379–395 A.D.		200	VIRTVS AVGGG ·	4	
<i>Siscia</i>		2	VOT · V MVLT · X	1	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ¹	1		<i>Illegible</i>		12
VOT · V MVLT · X	1		VOT · X MVLT · XX	12	
<i>Thessalonica</i>		25	Flacilla 379–381 A.D.		2
GLORIA REIPVBLICE	8		<i>Nicomedia</i>		1
GLORIA ROMANORVM ¹	3		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1		<i>Antioch</i>		1
VICTORIA AVG ·	2		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1	
VICTORIA AVGGG ·	6		Maximus 383–388 A.D.		1
VIRTVS AVGGG ·	5		<i>Aquileia</i>		1
<i>Constantinople</i>		30	SPES ROMANORVM	1	
REPARATIO REIPVB ·	1		Flavius Victor 383–388 A.D.		1
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	26		<i>Aquileia</i>		1
VOT · X MVLT · XX	3		SPES ROMANORVM	1	

¹ Cohen, VIII, p. 156, no. 23.² Cohen, VIII, p. 157, no. 25.³ Cohen, VIII, pp. 156, 157, no. 19, 25.

Eugenius 392-394 A.D.		2	<i>Nicomedia</i>		12
<i>Cyzicus</i>		1	CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	3	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	9	
<i>Uncertain</i>		1	<i>Antioch</i>		8
GLORIA ROMANORVM	1		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1	
			VOT · X MVLT · XX	7	
Roman, Fourth Century		488	<i>Uncertain</i>		128
<i>Unclassified</i>		488	CONCORDIA AVG ·	13	
Roman, late Fourth or Fifth Century		323	GLORIA REIPVBLICAE	3	
<i>Unclassified</i>		323	GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	2	
			GLORIA ROMANORVM ³	1	
Arcadius 395-408 A.D.		235	SALVS REIPVBLICAE	71	
<i>Rome</i>		1	VICTORIA AVG ·	1	
VICTORIA AVGGG ·	1		VICTORIA AVGGG ·	1	
<i>Thessalonica</i>		23	VIRTVS EXERCITI	3	
GLORIA REIPVBLICAE	7		VOT · V	9	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ¹	1		VOT · X MVLT · XX	4	
SALVS AVGGG ·	1		Unclassified	20	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	4				
VICTORIA AVG ·	5		Eudoxia 395-404 A.D.		2
VIRTVS AVGGG ·	5		<i>Constantinople</i>		1
<i>Constantinople</i>		35	SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1	
CONCORDIA AVG ·	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		1
CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	3		GLORIA ROMANORVM	1	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	23		Honorius 395-423 A.D.		87
VIRTVS EXERCITI	1		<i>Rome</i>		1
VOT · V	7		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁴	1	
<i>Heraclea</i>		4	<i>Constantinople</i>		9
CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁵	3	
VOT · V	3		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁶	1	
<i>Cyzicus</i>		24	GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁷	1	
CONCORDIA AVG ·	1		SALVS REIPVBLICAE	3	
CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	7		SPES ROMANORVM	1	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	1		<i>Heraclea</i>		6
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	10		CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	1	
VOT · V	5		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁵	4	
			GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁸	1	

¹ Sabatier, I, pp. 105-6, no. 36.² *Ibid.*, no. 38.³ *Ibid.*, no. 37.⁴ Cohen, VIII, p. 181, no. 21.⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 26.⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 28.⁷ Rome seated with globe and spear.⁸ Cohen, VIII, p. 181, no. 27.

<i>Cyzicus</i>		4	<i>Cyzicus</i>		4
CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	2		CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	1	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ¹	1		VOT · XX MVL · XXX	1	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1		Cross in wreath	2	
<i>Nicomedia</i>		6	<i>Nicomedia</i>		9
CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	2		CONCORDIA AVG ·	1	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	1		CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	3	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ³	1		VICTORIA AVGG ·	1	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1		Cross in wreath	4	
VIRTVS EXERCITI	1		<i>Antioch</i>		5
<i>Antioch</i>		4	CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	2	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ³	2		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁹	3	
VIRTVS EXERCITI	2		<i>Uncertain</i>		78
<i>Uncertain</i>		57	CONCORDIA AVG ·	2	
CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	1		CONCORDIA AVGGG ·	16	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁴	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁷	4	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁵	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁸	2	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ²	1		GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁹	5	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ³	5		VOT · XX MVL · XXX	2	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ¹	13		Cross in wreath	43	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁶	5		Unclassified	4	
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	13		House of Theodosius.....		27
SPES ROMANORVM	1		<i>Uncertain</i>		27
VICTORIA AVGGG ·	1		VOT · — MVL ·	8	
VIRTVS EXERCITI	4		Unclassified	19	
Unclassified	11		Galla Placidia d. 450 A.D.		1
Theodosius II 408–450 A.D. . .		109	<i>Uncertain</i>		1
<i>Thessalonica</i>		3	SALVS REIPVBLICAE	1	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁷	2		Valentinianus III 425–455 A.D.		18
Cross in wreath	1		<i>Rome</i>		1
<i>Constantinople</i>		10	VICTORIA AVGG ·	1	
GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁷	1				
GLORIA ROMANORVM ⁸	1				
Cross in wreath	8				

¹ Cohen, VIII, p. 181, no. 27.² *Ibid.*, no. 25.³ Cohen, VIII, p. 182, no. 28.⁴ Cohen, VIII, p. 181, no. 21.⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 24.⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 26.⁷ Two emperors.⁸ Two emperors and globe.⁹ Three emperors.

BYZANTINE COINAGE		Constantine VII and family	48
		Nicephorus II	15
		Unclassified	1
Sixth Century		ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE AND ALLIED COINAGES¹	
Anastasius I	17	Class I	125
Anastasius I or Justin I	1	a. John Zimisce 969-976	20
Anastasius I or Justinian I	5	b. Basil I and Constantine VIII	
Justin I	2	976-1025	
Justin I or Justinian I	2	Constantine VIII (alone)	
Justinian I	39	1025-1028	
Justin II	47	Romanus III 1028-1034	105
Justin II or Tiberius II	1	Class II	
Tiberius II	3	Michael IV 1034-1041	39
Maurice Tiberius	7	Class III	
Seventh Century		Constantine IX 1042-1055	36
Phocas	12	Class IV	
Heraclius	34	Theodora 1055-1056	1
Constans II	148	Class V	
Anastasius to Constans, unclassified	8	Isaac I 1057-1059	14
Constantine IV	5	Class VI	
Eighth Century		Constantine X (?) 1059-1067	22
Philippicus	5	Constantine X (named coinage)	4
Anastasius II	3	Class VII	
Philippicus or Anastasius II	5	Romanus IV (?) 1067-1071	18
Constantine V	1	Romanus IV (initialed coinage)	1
Leo IV	1	Class VIII	
Ninth Century		Michael VII (?) 1071-1078	34
Basil I and son Constantine	2	Michael VII (named coinage)	2
Tenth Century			
Leo VI	18		
Leo VI and Alexander	2		

¹ From the Anonymous Byzantine and Allied Coinages, numbering 542, found in the excavations, a careful study of the striking and restriking has necessitated the following rearrangement of Bellinger's classes (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 35). The cumulative evidence derived from this reexamination will be published in *Hesperia* in the near future.

Class IX		Regency of Hugues de Brienne	
Nicephorus III (?) 1078-1081	84	1291-1294	20
Nicephorus III (initialed coinage)	109	Thomas III, Duke of Salona	
Class X		1294-1311	1
Alexius I 1081-1118	14	Isabel of Villehardouin 1297-1301	1
Mule of Class X and Class XI		Philip of Tarentum 1244-1331	7
1081-1118	1	Philip of Savoy 1301-1307	2
Class XI 1081-1118	32	Gautier de Brienne 1308-1311	6
Class XII 1081-1118	0	Mahaut de Hainaut 1316-1318	1
Class XIII 1081-1118	1	John of Gravina 1318-1333	2
Class uncertain	5	John II of Grande Vlaquie (?)	
Alexius I	114	1303-1318	1
Eleventh Century, unclassified	3	Princes of Achaia or Dukes of	
John II	20	Athens, unclassified	19
Manuel I	917	Frankish, unclassified	22
Alexius or Manuel	1		
Andronicus I	8	ITALIAN COINAGE	
Isaac II	27	Nicolas II, Count of Campobasso	
Twelfth Century and late Byzantine,		1450-1462	1
unclassified	63		
Byzantine, unclassified	54	VENETIAN COINAGE	
		Giovanni Dandolo 1280-1289	1
FRANKISH COINAGE			
		VENETIAN COLONIAL COINAGE	
Raymond II, Count of Tripoli			
1152-1187	1	Lorenzo Celso 1361-1365	1
Louis IX 1226-	1	Marco Cornaro 1365-1367	3
Thomas II, Prince of Salona 1258	1	Andrea Contarini 1367-1382	20
Guy I 1225-1263	16	Michele Morosini 1382	3
Wm. Villehardouin 1245-1278	84	Antonio Venerio 1382-1400	31
Charles I of Anjou 1278-1285	1	Michele Steno 1400-1413	11
Charles II of Anjou 1285-1287	1	Tomaso Mocenigo 1413-1423	2
William I 1280-1287	20	Agostino Barbarigo 1486-1501	4
Guy II 1294-1308	18	Doge uncertain	16

AGORA EXCAVATIONS			
Summary of Coins Identified to July 1, 1935			
GREEK COINS			3,618
Athens		2,580	
6th Century	3		
5th Century	19		
Æ	11		
Æ-Kolluboi	5		
Silver-plated	1		
Æ	2		
4th Century	208		
Æ	1		
Silver-plated	14		
Æ	193		
3rd Century	486		
Æ	4		
Æ	482		
New Style (229-30 B.C.)	902		
Æ	2		
Æ	900		
Athens Unclassified	146		
Athenian Imperial	814		
Tessera—Theatre of Lyeurgus	2		
Coinages Allied to Athens		315	
Cleruchies	174		
Coins from Eleusis	141		
Other Greek States		269	
Greek Unclassified		454	
ROMAN REPUBLICAN			4
ROMAN IMPERIAL			3,197
BARBARIAN			1,161
BYZANTINE			2,181
FRANKISH			225
VENETIAN			92
ITALIAN			1
TOTAL COINS STUDIED TO DATE			10,479

JOSEPHINE P. SHEAR

PNYX AND THESMOPHORION

PLATE I

I

WORK OF CONSERVATION IN THE ASSEMBLY PLACE¹

In the summers of 1932 and 1934, further work was carried on in the Assembly Place proper in order to assure the preservation of the existing remains and to make them as intelligible as possible to the interested visitor.

The auditorium of the first period has benefited most from these activities. From the upper, dressed-rock part of its cavea has been stripped the shallow coating of earth that remained from the filling of the Third Period and this rock-hewn part has been found to be, as conjectured, like a segment of a saucer, sloping gently inward from the sides and downward from back to front, following closely the natural contours of the hillside (Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable irregularities exist in its surface; some of them caused by natural depressions too deep to have been completely dressed away, others left by the cuttings of the ancient quarrymen. No trace has been found of seats whether of stone or of wood. Toward the front of the earliest auditorium, immediately behind the line of its retaining wall, a mass of earth has been left by us, suggesting the earth terrace which must once have formed a semicircular orchestra in the lower part of this auditorium.

The earth that was removed from the earliest seating floor has been utilized in building up a restoration section of the latest seating floor in either wing of the auditorium (Figs. 2 and 14). These sections start from close by the great bema, where they have the width of its side, *ca.* 6.00 m., and broaden to 12.00 m. at the periphery of the auditorium. Their gradient was determined from the two fixed points suggested in our original study, *viz.* the rock-cut steps of the southern entrance in the vertical scarp of the western wing (than which the seating floor could not be higher) and the mass of unquarried rock in the eastern wing (which had to be concealed by the earth filling). The surface of this rock has now been left exposed as one of the most instructive illustrations of ancient quarry work to be seen in Greece (Fig. 3). One may still trace the outlines of the great blocks that were

¹ For the report on the earlier exploration, see *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 90 ff.; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 180 ff., 652 ff. As before, the work has been conducted under the joint auspices of the American School of Classical Studies and the Greek Archaeological Service. To the latter, and especially to Dr. K. Kourouniotes, best thanks are due for the privilege of sharing the exploration of a site in Athens and for the provision of every facility for conducting the excavation. The plans are by John Traylos, the photographs by Hermann Wagner. The discussion of the terracotta figurines and of the bronze plaque I owe to my wife.



Fig. 1. Central Pnyx Hill from Areopagus, July, 1934. Arrows indicate ends of Long Stoa



Fig. 2. Assembly Place, restored section of Third Period. July, 1934

laboriously chiselled around and then wedged free to be used in the building of the curved retaining wall of the latest auditorium.¹

No certain trace has been found of the bema of the Second Period and it may be supposed that that structure, in keeping with the shoddy character of the reconstruction to which it belonged, was of a nature too flimsy to survive the ages.



Fig. 3. Quarry cuttings in southeast corner of Assembly Place

Of the remains of the earlier periods that lie within the area of the latest auditorium, one may still see all that originally had been cleared of the bedding for the earliest retaining wall, *i.e.* about two-thirds of its length and both its extremities. One may trace, too, the curved retaining wall of the Second Period, for one will find exposed the dressed-rock beddings at its ends and all that remains of the eastern of the two stairs that were set

¹ The wedges used appear to have been of wood, not of metal as we suggested in our earlier report (*Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 142), for in many cases the channels in which the wedges were set are too narrow to have permitted of the hammering necessary with metal wedges. The swelling of the wood when soaked provided the necessary pressure.

against its outer face. The top and outer face of the great retaining wall of the Third Period have been completely cleared and a deep pit has been left behind the wall to show a typical section of the associated filling where it is preserved to the greatest height. To the north of that wall the visitor may still make out the traces of the rock-cut approach of the Second Period, of the monumental stairway of the Third and the beginning of the broad avenue which in antiquity joined the Assembly Place and the Market Square.

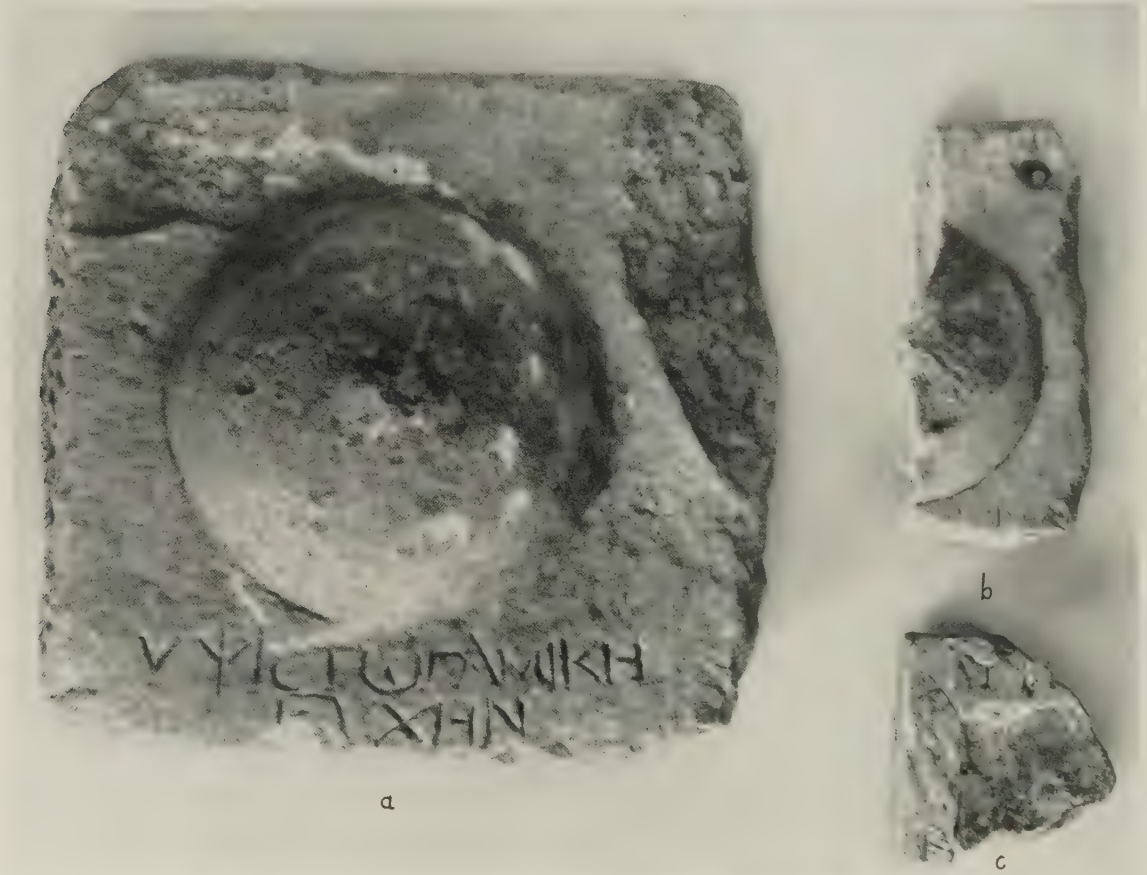


Fig. 4. Votive plaques of Zeus Hypsistos

II

SANCTUARY OF ZEUS HYP SISTOS

The recent exploration brought to light more evidence of the little sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos that is best known from the niches cut in the scarp to the east of the bema and intended to receive the votive plaques which were offered to the deity.¹

¹ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 193 ff.

To the eighteen or more plaques already known must now be added the three illustrated in Figure 4.

- a. Found in disturbed earth on the hilltop to the south of the Assembly Place. H. 0.195 m., W. 0.215 m., T. 0.09 m. Of Pentelic marble rough picked on edges and back. On the face, a woman's breast in high relief, the nipple broken away. Beneath it the inscription:

$\epsilon\psi\iota\sigma\tau\omega(\iota) \text{ Ταυιχῆ } | \text{ ἐὶ } \chi\acute{\iota}\nu$

- b. From the same place as the preceding. Preserved H. 0.12 m., W. 0.055 m., T. 0.048 m. Broken away to the left and below. In the upper right corner a hole for attachment. Of Pentelic marble roughly worked. On the face, a woman's breast in high relief; beneath it traces of the dedicatory inscription.

- c. Found on the surface of the Assembly Place. Preserved H. 0.065 m., W. 0.06 m., T. 0.016 m. Only the upper left corner remains. Pentelic marble. The field for the representation was cut back, leaving a raised border around the outside. Across the top the dedicatory inscription:

$\epsilon\psi\iota\sigma\tau\omega \dots$

The removal of the earth filling of the Third Period revealed a small natural depression in the rock-cut floor of the First Period, 21 m. to the northwest of the great bema. In this pit, where apparently it had been deliberately buried, lay a small altar of Pentelic marble and of a familiar shape, much broken (Fig. 5). The sides, which incline slightly inwards, are finished above and below with a simple moulding. The fireplace proper, of which the top is broken away, was cylindrical and surrounded by four horns. The total preserved height is 0.59 m., the original width at the bottom

0.365 m., the diameter of the cylindrical fireplace, 0.21 m. Lying in the same pit were several scraps of marble inscribed in letters 0.02 m. high. They obviously come from one of the broken sides of the altar though they do not effect a join with it. They do, however, join with one another as illustrated in Figure 6, *a* and may be restored to read:

$\dots] \iota\alpha \text{ ἐὶ } \chi\acute{\iota}\nu$
 $\epsilon\psi\iota\sigma\tau\omega] \iota . \theta [\epsilon\omega\iota$

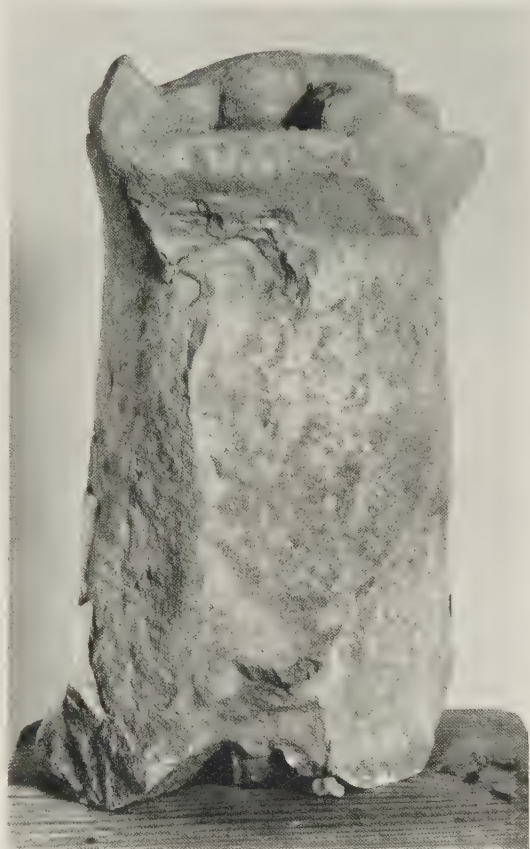


Fig. 5. Marble Altar

The surviving traces in the second letter space of the first line clearly suggest *alpha*, i. e. a woman's name in the nominative. The formula, as thus restored, is familiar from the votive plaques dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos¹ and without doubt the altar, too, once stood in

the same sanctuary. It was damaged, conceivably, when the sanctuary was disturbed during the final reconstruction of the Assembly Place and was carefully laid away.

In the loose earth overlying the hilltop to the south of the sanctuary of Zeus was found another bit of an inscription that certainly comes from the same shrine (Fig. 6, *b*). The fragment is of Pentelic marble, broken all around and behind, 0.06 m. high, 0.077 m. wide, 0.019 m. thick, inscribed in letters 0.01 m. high. One might restore it thus:

Αὐτὸ Ὑψ]ίστω(ι)
 . . .]r Ζωσί-
 μων θε]εραπεν-
 θεῖ]σα



Fig. 6. Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos

III

THESMOPHORION

1. STRUCTURAL REMAINS

To the south of the ancient Assembly Place the central Pnyx Hill rises gently to a sickle-shaped crest that opens toward the northeast, its top fairly level but slightly higher toward the east end (Figs. 1, 7). The western end of the ridge is now crowned by the telescope of the Athens observatory. Its eastern end is covered by a shallow coating of soil with a maximum depth of *ca.* 1.50 m., sufficient to support a grove of young pine trees. Peeping out from the soil among the trees were traces of a city wall which had often been observed before and which appear on most plans of the ancient city. Then, while working in the Assembly Place in 1930–1931, we had noted and cleared the line of a short length of retaining wall along the northeastern shoulder of the hill.² Since this wall had no connection with the Assembly Place, its affinities were clearly to be sought behind, *i. e.* to the south. A little further digging in the summer of 1932 gave a hint of what might be expected, *viz.* the foundations for a large building underlying the city

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197. For a similar altar to the same deity on Delos see *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 447, fig. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96, note 1.

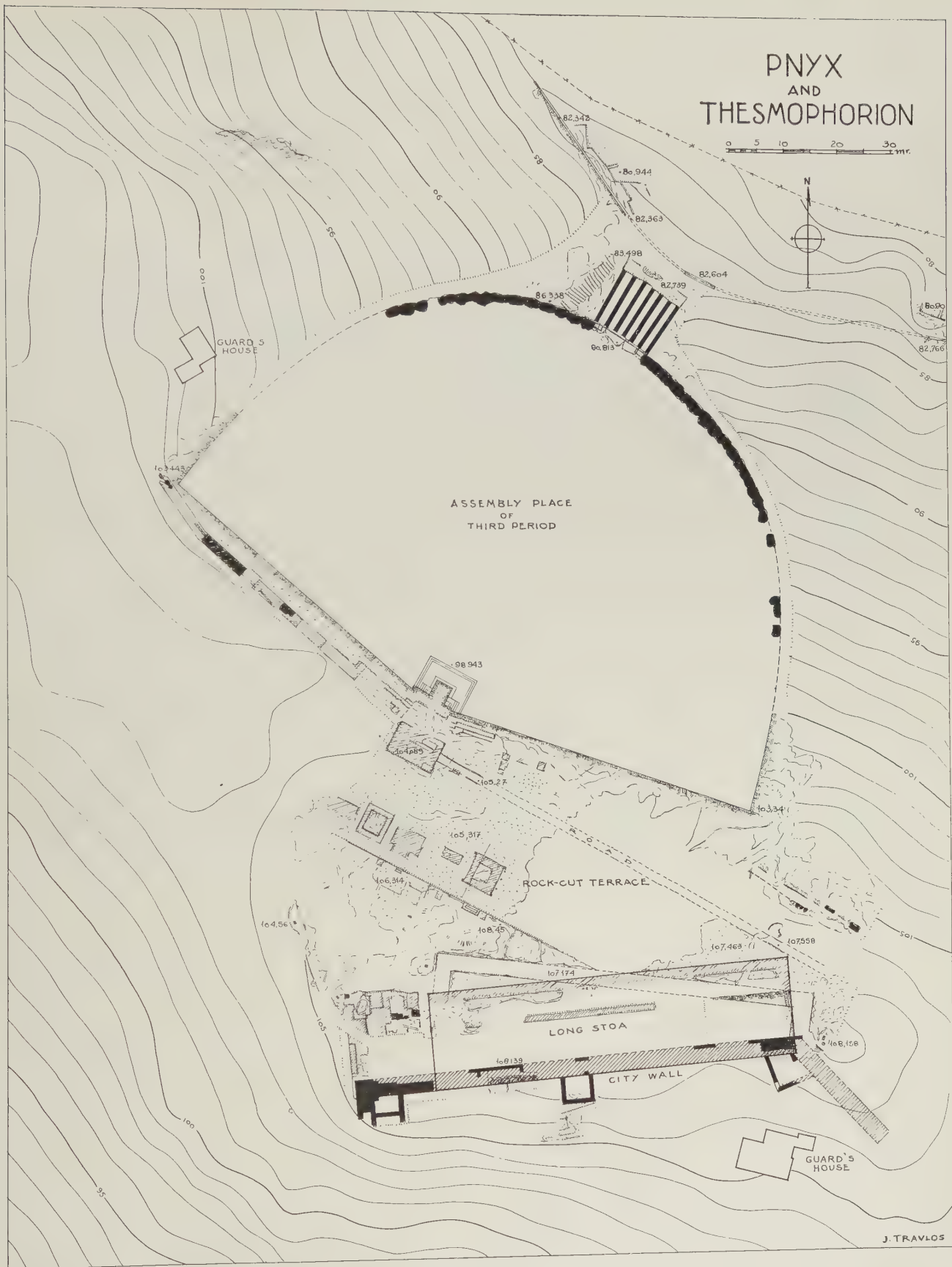


Fig. 7

wall. A few weeks' work in the summer of 1934 sufficed to clear the remains enough for drafting.

The foundations of the building (the only part of it, as we shall see, to have been completed) lie in an almost east-west line crowning the hilltop (Pl. I). They enclose one long continuous room measuring outside 66 m. in length and 11.50 m. in width. Along its



Fig. 8. East end of Long Stoa and City Wall, from the east

front or north side was to be erected a colonnade that would have increased the overall width of the building to 17.50 m. For lack of a better name we shall refer to the building as the "Long Stoa."

The euthynteria beneath the colonnade was to be laid for most of its length on a bedding dressed from the hard gray limestone. Toward its eastern end, where alone the bedding is delimited by the rising rock on both sides, it measures 1.90 m. to 2.00 m. in width. Toward the western end, the bedrock is dressed down smooth and level for a width of several metres in front of the line of the foundation. For a distance of some 14 m. in its

midpart the bedding consisted of a filling of fine quarry chips mixed with the red soil of the hilltop, a measure necessitated by the depression left by an earlier foundation bedding that cut diagonally across the front line of the later building. Such a filling provided a satisfactory bedding, for it packed extremely hard, so hard, indeed, that it could only with difficulty be broken with the pick.



Fig. 9. East end of Long Stoa and City Wall from north

The same diagonal cutting caused the later builders more trouble at the eastern end of the new structure (Figs. 8, 9). For the bedding of the eastern end wall of the building and for the eastern 14 m. of its northern wall they felt obliged to fill in the old depression with stone slabs. Many of these slabs were re-used material, doubtless removed from a small older building lying within the limits of the new, towards its eastern end (see p. 163). The blocks agree in dimensions and workmanship with the surviving traces of that earlier building from the euthynteria of which they probably came. They are of the local gray or reddish-gray limestone, of random length (0.90-1.72 m.) and of irregular width

(0.50–0.80 m.). For their original use their tops were dressed only over the bearing surface, the remaining part of the top surface being left quite rough. When first laid, the blocks had been jointed to one another by means of hook clamps, 0.24 m. long, the sides of the cuttings of which are quite parallel. From their second usage they show no trace of dowels, clamps, or even pry-holes. Two rows of blocks, big and little, make up a mean width of 1.20 m. The front wall of the building over the greater part of its remaining length was to have rested on the dressed bedrock. A bedding was prepared with an average width of 1.00 m., although at one point an irregularity in the cutting reduces the possible thickness of the first wall course to *ca.* 0.75 m. The wall in the upper part might



Fig. 10. South foundation of Long Stoa and inner face of City Wall

indeed have been considerably thinner. The dressed-rock bedding for the front wall of the building is lacking for a distance of *ca.* 9.00 m. in the middle part of the building, leaving an interval over which the wall must have been carried on an earth filling, unless, to be sure, with the completion of the building the rock dressing was to have been continued. The same is true of much of the western end of the building.

The back or south wall of the structure was well founded throughout its length. We exposed it in trial cuts at several points and found that it rested invariably on the dressed bedrock. In each of these trial trenches one course of limestone blocks was found in position. Farther west, where the hill falls away more sharply to the south, the sub-foundation was originally deeper and is still preserved to a greater height. We exposed its southern face to bottom for a length of 6.00 m. and found the wall standing in one place to a height of 2.50 m. (Fig. 10). Here too it was well bedded on dressed rock and built of

the same local gray limestone in blocks of quite irregular size.¹ The joints are for the most part horizontal and vertical but the coursing is quite irregular, following as it does the contour of the ground, the natural ruggedness of which was further aggravated by earlier cuttings. Since here, in its lower preserved part, the foundation served as a retaining wall, its blocks are jointed only along their outer edges and here with a roughly worked anathyrosis. The bulging faces of the blocks give a heavily rusticated effect. Behind the single row of outer blocks other, re-used, blocks were set at irregular intervals to assist in supporting the upper wall. The foundation continued in the same style to the southwestern corner of the building, which has also been exposed (Fig. 11). The corner was finished



Fig. 11. Southwest corner of Long Stoa overlaid by City Wall

with drafting 0.05 m. wide on either face. The face of the western wall shows a marked batter.

Not a single block has been found that can be assigned to the superstructure of the building and it is doubtful whether even the euthynteria was ever laid.

A considerable mass of filling was required at the eastern end of the Stoa to raise the floor level to the height that would be indicated by the restoration of an euthynteria and three steps along the front (Fig. 12). These might have had a combined height of *ca.* 1.15 m. Actually there remains a depth of 0.80 m. of artificial filling above the level of the foundation bedding in the eastern part of the building and such a quantity of filling on the otherwise

¹ One of them measures $0.80 \times 1.00 \times 2.00$ m., another $0.90 \times 1.10 \times 1.60$ m., a third only 0.30×0.60 m. on the exposed face.

bare hilltop can be accounted for only by supposing that it was brought there by the builders of the Long Stoa. It consists of the working chips from the cutting of the foundation beddings and from the dressing of the blocks, supplemented with earth.

Several considerations taken together indicate that the building never was finished. Thus the bedrock in the line of the western wall of the building seems impossibly rough and irregular considering the pains that were taken with the foundation bedding for the corresponding eastern wall. We may best suppose that at the western end not even the bedding had been completely prepared. In the second place, some fifteen metres of the eastern end of the Stoa have been cleared and yet no trace has been found of interior supports, neither blocks in position nor beddings for column bases. The width of the

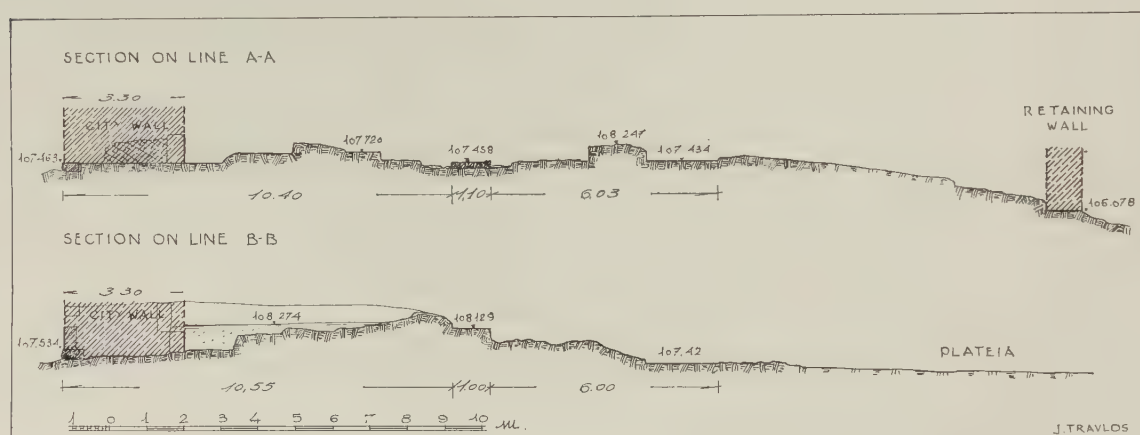


Fig. 12. East-west cross-sections through Long Stoa

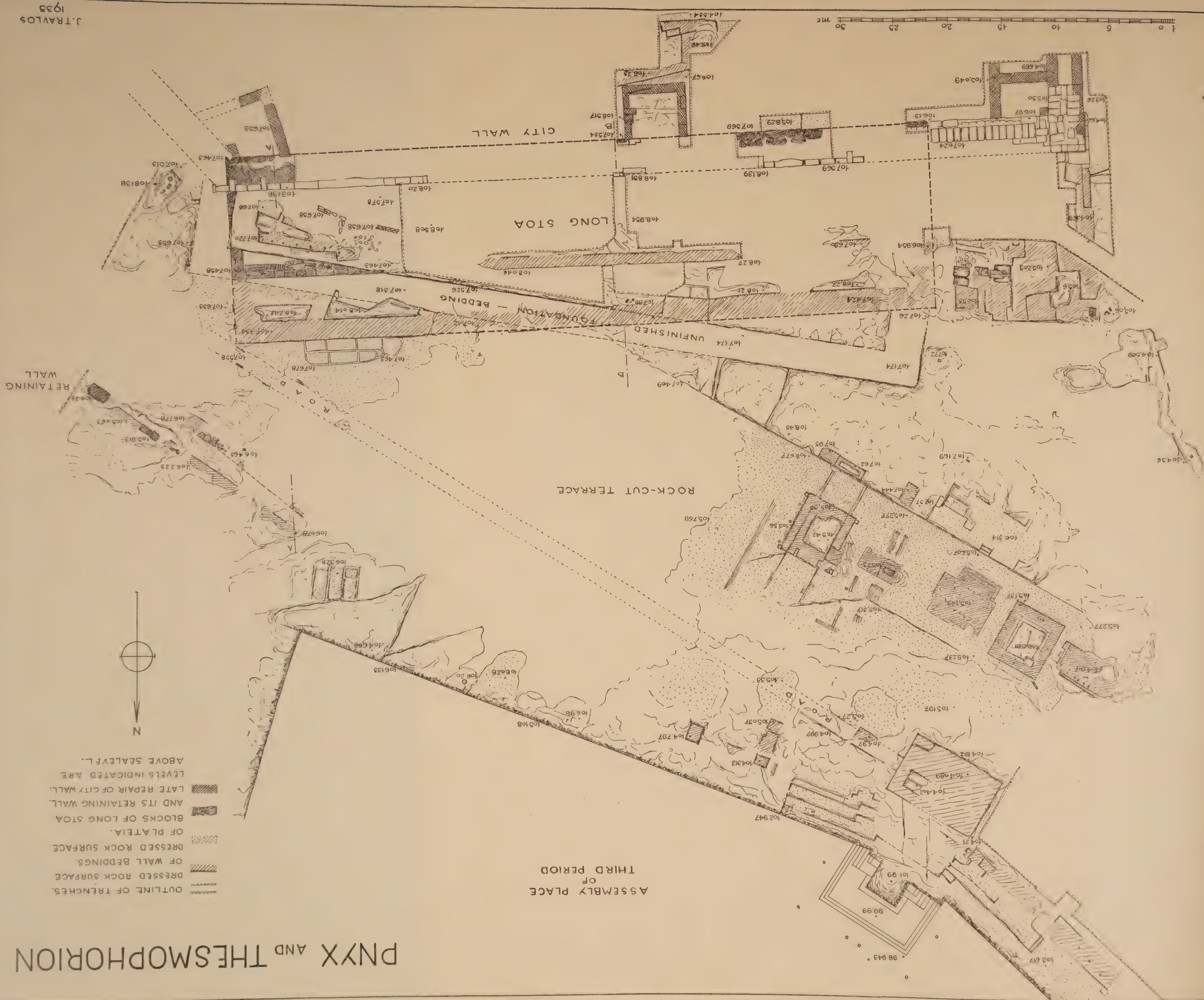
building clearly calls for a row of columns down the middle of the long room. Had such actually been placed they must have left some trace. We shall find, moreover, that a line of city wall was subsequently carried above the southern foundations of the Long Stoa, an operation which would certainly have involved the demolition of any building then standing on the site. The material of the earlier building must, then, naturally have been re-used in the fortification wall. Much of this wall remains, and yet it includes not a single piece which could be associated with the superstructure of the Long Stoa. We must suppose either that the Long Stoa was never carried above its foundations or that some time before the construction of the city wall the Stoa was razed and its material completely removed. But the interval of time between the construction of the Stoa and of the city wall was not great and in that period there would seem to be no satisfactory historical occasion for the destruction of the earlier building. We are left with the first alternative, *viz.* that the Long Stoa was never completed.

We have already had occasion to refer to traces of earlier construction within the area of the Long Stoa. The plan (Pl. I) shows the full extent of the great cutting in bedrock

PNYX AND THE SMOPHORIION

OUTLINE OF TRANCHES, DRESSED ROCK SURFACE, OF WALL BEDDINGS, DRESSED ROCK SURFACE, OF PLATEIA, BLOCKS OF LONG STOA AND ITS RETAINING WALL, LATE REPAIR OF CITY WALL, LEVELS INDICATED ARE ABOVE SEALEVEL.

ASSEMBLY PLACE
OF
THIRD PERIOD



beneath the front of the later building. The two cuttings intersect at an angle of *ca.* 12°. The earlier cutting is 69.20 m. long and returns toward the south at either end. Its breadth in the east-west part is 3.08 m., in the returns 3.30 m. The return at the western end can be traced a distance of nine metres and that it was not carried farther is proved by the rising unworked bedrock beyond. The return at the eastern end has been followed only to the southern edge of the Long Stoa. No trace has been found of a bedding farther south to correspond with the great east-west cutting. The width of the bedding would be appropriate for a city wall, but that it was intended for this purpose is made altogether improbable by the rising ground to the south, *i.e.* outside the line of the wall. We may better suppose that the cutting was made rather for the colonnade of a large building which, from the close correspondence in site, orientation, and length, may well be regarded as an unfinished predecessor of the Long Stoa. The earlier enterprise was carried perhaps even less far than the Long Stoa, for irregularities toward the east end of the great bedding show that it never received blocks.

There would, however, appear to have been a building erected on the site between these two unsuccessful ventures. Part of the northern foundation of this intermediate building may be traced running parallel to the broad early cutting just within the foundation for the front wall of the Long Stoa near its eastern end (Fig. 9, Pl. I). All that remains is a rock-cut bedding with an average width of 0.80 m., pierced by a series of seven dowel-holes.¹ The pry-holes show that the dowels were set in the middle of the blocks. This northern foundation can be followed a distance of 9.25 m., though neither end has been found. The disturbance caused by the later building on the site makes it impossible to fix with certainty the lines of the other walls so that we do not know the shape or dimensions of the building. The precise place and orientation of the northern foundation of this structure were clearly fixed by the great pre-Stoa foundation bedding, which must therefore be earlier. The intermediate building was certainly either demolished or found in ruins by the builders of the Long Stoa, and the earth filling of the Stoa was carried unbroken across the earlier foundation beddings. Some blocks of the early building, as noted above, were re-used in the foundations of the Long Stoa.

Within the area of the Long Stoa, toward its eastern end, there came to light fragmentary foundations of still earlier buildings (Pl. I, Figs. 8, 9). The plan of the eastern of the two buildings represented by the remains would seem to be completed by the rock cuttings to the east. If this be so, the building had an interior width of *ca.* 2.40 m. and a length of more than 8.00 m. One room occupied 5.40 m. of its western end. Of the western of the two small buildings one can now make out only the southeastern corner. The

¹ The dowel-holes are 0.06 m. square, 0.05 m. deep and were leaded through pour-channels *ca.* 0.14 m. long. In the three western holes of the series the lead remains. In two of them are impressions of dowels which were square in section, 0.03 m. to the side. In the third the dowel projected so little beneath the bottom of the upper block and so little lead was poured that lead and dowel failed to make contact.

foundations are of rubble stone laid dry and are only 0.40 m. thick. These were undoubtedly intended as socles for mud-brick walls.

In order to provide a level terrace of some width in front of the Long Stoa toward its eastern end, the builders were obliged to erect a retaining wall over 23 m. long. The bedding for this wall may be traced throughout its length running in a northwest-southeast direction across the shoulder of the hill (Pl. I, Fig. 13). Only three of its blocks remain in position. Of these the easternmost formed the eastern end of the wall. There is no trace



Fig. 13. Terrace walls from southwest. Arrows from left to right indicate second wall, first wall, north-west corner of Long Stoa

of a southward return. The wall need not have risen more than 2.50 m. high at the most to support a terrace level with the euthynteria of the Long Stoa. The blocks of the retaining wall were of the same material and were worked and set and coursed in precisely the same manner as those in the southern wall of the Stoa. This indicates clearly enough that the retaining wall belongs to the same building program as the Stoa. The contemporaneity of the two is further confirmed by the identity of the fillings associated with them.

About three metres to the south of the retaining wall just described are traces of an earlier wall with an orientation very slightly different. Its course can now be followed a distance of 14.50 m., though originally it may have extended considerably farther toward the east. In places the bedrock was worked down to receive the first course of blocks; elsewhere the blocks were laid on the firm earth or on a packing of broken stone. Three

blocks remain in position: roughly worked masses of the local limestone and to the northwest of them 1.50 m. of the packing of broken stone. The width of the bedding is *ca.* 0.90 m. This older retaining wall was obviously intended to serve one of the earlier buildings on the hilltop behind, though which we cannot say.

Between the Assembly Place proper and the Long Stoa a large area of the hilltop was levelled down at some time in antiquity so as to form a broad, smooth terrace on which various monuments were subsequently set (Figs. 8, 14, Pl. I). The association of this area and its monuments with the Long Stoa and its terrace is by no means certain, but the ancient remains may most conveniently be described at this point.



Fig. 14. Front of Assembly Place and Rock-cut Terrace from northwest

The area of actual rock-cutting measures *ca.* 50 m. from east to west, 28 m. from north to south and is bounded toward the south by a scarp of the living rock which rises to a maximum height of *ca.* 2.75 m. A flight of three steps cut in the shoulder of this scarp toward its western end provided ready communication between the terrace and the area in front of the Long Stoa (Fig. 15). In the face of the scarp at its highest point there is a niche with arched top (1.10 m. high, 0.60 m. wide, 0.50 m. deep from front to back) with cuttings along the sides for pilasters and across the top for an epistyle and probably a pediment (Fig. 16, Pl. I). The cutting reminds one of the large central niche in the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and it was undoubtedly intended, like that one, to receive a statue.

In the western part of the rock-cut terrace is the rectangular foundation bedding which in our earlier report was tentatively associated with Meton's heliotropion.¹ This bedding

¹ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 207 ff.

undoubtedly antedates the cutting of the terrace inasmuch as the core of the bedrock left inside it rises well above the floor level of the terrace. To the west of "Meton's Heliotropion" and separated from it by an interval of 1.60 m. is another rectangular bedding, designed to receive a monument that measured in its first course *ca.* 5.00 m. east to west and 2.52 m. north to south (Pl. I). In the middle of its north side is a series of four small dowel-holes with pour-channels.¹ Elsewhere there are only pry-holes for the setting of the blocks of the first course.

To the east of "Meton's Heliotropion" are three other large rectangular beddings which require a word of description. The first of these (*i.e.* the most westerly) measures



Fig. 15. Third bedding from east on Rock-cut Terrace

ca. 3.30×5.10 m. and has a southern, probably contemporary, extension asymmetrically placed and measuring on its setting line *ca.* 1.50×3.22 m. (Fig. 15, Pl. I). The entire surface of the bedrock is smooth dressed to the same level save around the southward extension where a bearing surface was left 0.10–0.30 m. wide and 0.005 m. high. Dowels were probably not used in the first course of the original construction. But that the bedding was used more than once is shown by the multiplicity of pry-holes on its surface and by the presence, toward its northern edge, of two isolated dowel-holes with pour-channels.

The second bedding (Pl. I) is likewise a good piece of rock-cutting measuring overall *ca.* 1.92×3.90 m. The blocks of the first course were secured by dowels leaded through

¹ The dowel-holes measure 0.04 m. square and 0.04 m. deep; the pour-channels are 0.15 m. long and rounded on the bottom.

pour-channels, three on the north side and three on the south side.¹ These cuttings show that the monument was *ca.* 1.50 m. wide. Its length, as given by the pry-holes at either end, was *ca.* 3.70 m. The similarity in dowelling between the first period of use of this bedding and the second period of its neighbor to the west suggests that those usages were approximately contemporary. At some time subsequent to the destruction of the original



Fig. 16. Easternmost bedding on Rock-cut Terrace. Arrow indicates bedding for colonnade of Long Stoa

monument on this second bedding the northwestern corner of the area was cut deeper to receive a smaller erection. For it no dowels were used.

The easternmost of the series of beddings is rather more carelessly worked (Pl. I, Fig. 16). It has maximum outside dimensions of *ca.* 5.22×5.80 m. This bedding was obviously not intended like the preceding to support a solid foundation, for it consists of a dressed channel surrounding an unworked rectangular core. The channel on the eastern

¹ The dowel-holes measure $0.03 \times 0.06 \times 0.05$ m. deep. The dowels themselves, as proven by the impressions in the surviving lead, were 0.015×0.03 m. in section. The pour-channels are 0.15 m. long and rounded on the bottom.

side is exceptionally wide, conceivably to carry steps. Irregularities in the bedrock required that the western channel should be cut much deeper than the others, and indeed the northwest corner had to be built up with a small block of *poros*. There are pry-holes but no trace of dowels in the bedding. At each corner is a deep rectangular socket apparently intended to receive a post. A row of three round post holes (0.12–0.15 m. in diameter, 0.20–0.23 m. deep) along the eastern edge of the bedding is not parallel to it and is probably earlier.

We have not cleared the rock-cut terrace farther to the east, but a couple of trenches opened by earlier excavators show that the surface here, though artificially cut, is much rougher than that farther west and in all probability has no more individually worked beddings. Farther toward the north, between the line of beddings here described and the scarp of the Assembly Place, are several smaller rectangular beddings and on the higher rock to the south of the southern scarp of the rock-cut terrace are numerous cuttings of which the purpose must remain equally obscure.

An ancient carriage road may be traced along the hilltop, joining, apparently, the two roads that crossed the range of the Pnyx hills through the saddles, one at either extremity of the central hill. Traces of the road have been exposed between the Long Stoa and the retaining wall to the north of it, on the unworked hilltop to the southeast of the great bema of the Assembly Place and again on the unworked rock to the north of the modern telescope (Pl. I). The wheel marks were left by vehicles with a gauge of 1.50 m. The scanty traces of wear suggest that the road was in use for no great length of time. A clue to its date is given by the fact that it appears to have been cut through by the rectangular bedding to the south of the great bema of the Assembly Place. This bedding is undoubtedly to be associated with the final reconstruction of the Assembly Place that occurred in the first half of the second century A.D.¹

For the dating of the Long Stoa and the other structures described above, the evidence is not abundant. A handful of black-glazed sherds found beneath the floor packing of the earliest rubble walls under the eastern end of the Long Stoa need not be later than the fifth century B.C. The filling of the great pre-Stoa foundation bedding yielded pottery as late as of the late second century B.C. It may be supposed that this trench was filled in when the building, of which the northern foundation with its dowel-holes remains, was to be erected. The style of the dowel used in that foundation is in itself scarcely earlier than the second century B.C. For the Long Stoa we have the mass of filling in its eastern end which, as noted above, would seem certainly to have been brought in by the builders of the Stoa. This filling contained much broken Hellenistic pottery, waste from Hellenistic pottery works and moulds for the making of Megarian bowls.² The bulk of this material

¹ Parts of this roadway had been detected previously and appear, for instance, on Curtius' plans in *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, Berlin, 1891, fig. 7, pl. VI.

² Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 451 ff.

is of the third and second centuries B.C. The fragments of moulds for Megarian bowls illustrated in Figure 17, *d*, *e*, need not be later than the second century.¹ The few coins found in the filling are Athenian pieces of the New Style, dated from 229 to 30 B.C. There is, however, a certain amount of later pottery and lamps. In Figure 17, *a*, *b*, *c*, are shown fragments from the handle attachment, the nozzle, and the shoulder of lamps of the latest type represented in the filling. These are of Broneer's Type XXI.² They are large and covered usually with thin brown glaze. One may judge of their date from the fact that

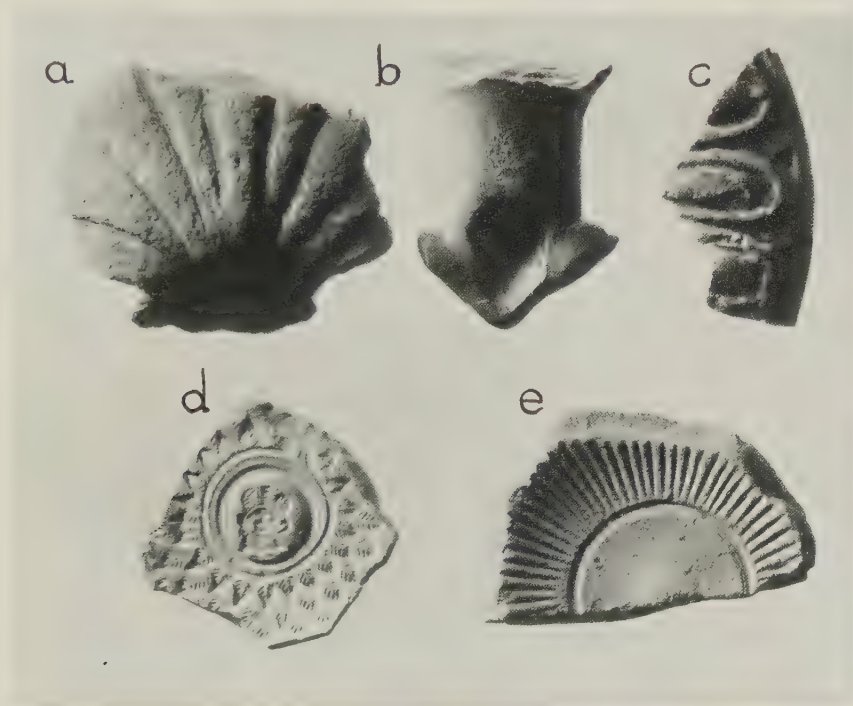


Fig. 17. Fragments of lamps and moulds from filling of Long Stoa

they were one of the more popular varieties in use in the newly founded Corinth (44 B.C.). They may have continued in use down somewhat into the first century A.D. Since not a few fragments of such lamps were found in the filling of the Long Stoa and in that behind the associated terrace wall, we must conclude that the Stoa and wall are as late as that time; since nothing later has been found in significant association with them we have no reason to believe that the buildings date from after, say, the middle of the first century of our era.

¹ For the dating of the bowls, see *ibid.*, pp. 456 ff.

² O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 73 ff.

2. VOTIVE OBJECTS

At various points around the walls and buildings described above a number of objects of a votive character were found, sufficient in quantity, indeed, to show that we have to do with a sanctuary. Since the objects are of interest both for the identification and the character of the cult, they may be described in some detail.

When the blocks of the later terrace wall were removed, the earth filling behind them slipped down over the wall bedding. At one point near the eastern end of the wall this filling consisted largely of ashes and charcoal among which were found many small votive cups, lamps and terracotta figurines. Most of the objects themselves were blackened and cracked by burning.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

Of the forty-four figurines from the deposit, the majority are in fragmentary condition. In technique, they form a consistent group. Almost all are mould-made and hollow; exceptions will be noted. In all cases, the clay is fine, buff, and slightly micaceous, presumably Attic; on most examples it has been turned to ash-gray by burning. The white, limey slip adheres to a number of pieces; over this occasional traces of color are preserved; these will be noted individually. Since the figurines are all small, an opening in the back is usually unnecessary or replaced by an open bottom. The backs of most of the figurines are roughly made by hand.

The types represented are limited and are frequently repeated in several examples from one mould. They fall into three groups: seated figures, including those of women, girls, and boys; standing figures, including those of girls, two boys, and one warrior; reliefs; and miscellanies, including a few heads and a fragment of a mask. These will be briefly described.¹

1. *Seated Figures*

a. Fig. 18.

A female figure, wearing a close-fitting chiton, sits stiffly on a high-backed throne. Her hands rest on her knees. A long lock of hair falls down on her right shoulder. There are two examples from one mould: 1) lacking head and base. P.H. 0.068 m. 2) broken away above the mid-thighs. P.H. 0.045 m.

b. Fig. 18.

Similar type; the chiton has an overfold and the folds of drapery are lightly indicated. The feet rest on a foot-stool. Curls hang on the shoulders. Two identical, complete examples survive: H. 0.093 m.

c. Fig. 18.

Similar type. The folds of drapery are not indicated. The hair is rolled above the forehead in front of a low polos. There are three other examples from one mould: 1) Complete H. 0.087 m.

¹ The following abbreviations will be used: H. = Height; W. = Width; T. = Thickness; preceded by P. = Preserved Height, etc. TK. = F. Winter, *Die Typen der figuralen Terrakotten*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903.

d. Fig. 18.

Similar type, with a more youthful face. She wears a high-girt chiton with short sleeves; the folds are indicated. Rectangular vent in the flat back. Broken away below the knees. P.H. 0.065 m.



Fig. 18. Votive Figurines

These four specimens are of a type common in all parts of the Greek world. It was most popular in archaic times, but it occurs as a survival much later.¹ The type presumably represented a goddess, but the numerous examples from the Acropolis, Eleusis, and the Argive Heraion indicate that it was not restricted to one goddess alone. We cannot, therefore, assert that our pieces actually represent, as a contemporary statue would, the artistic type of any goddess.

¹ *TK.*, I, pp. 48 ff.; J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines ... d'Athènes*, p. IV; there is much unpublished material of this sort from the Athenian Agora and Corinth.

e. Fig. 18.

A childish figure sits, resting her left hand on her thigh, her right bent up slightly against her body. She wears a long, loose garment, girt high. There are two examples from one mould: 1) The rough back was pierced by a rectangular vent. Broken above the waist. P.H. 0.057 m. 2) Preserved from neck to thigh. P.H. 0.043 m.

For the type, cf. *TK.*, II, p. 123, 3, 6 and a Boeotian example, J. Sieveking, *Terrakotten und Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, München, 1930, pl. 12, 2, p. 13.

f. Fig. 18.

Similar type, with a fold of drapery hanging over the knees. Preserved only from waist to mid-thigh on the right side. P.H. 0.05 m.

g. Fig. 20.

A nude boy sits on a seat or coffer upon which lies his chlamys. His right arm is bent upward against his body, his left is buried in the drapery at his side. The flesh was covered with a thin yellow slip. The back is flat, with a circular vent. The head is missing. P.H. 0.067 m. Three other fragments from this mould survive.

For the type, cf. *TK.*, II, p. 259, 8 d and p. 260.

2. *Standing Figures*

h. Fig. 19.

A female figure stands with her right leg slightly flexed. She is wrapped in an himation of which the rolled upper edge is held up to her right shoulder by her enveloped right hand, and hangs loosely down her left side. 1) Plinth-like base; large rectangular vent. Head missing. P.H. 0.08 m. 2) From the same mould. Head and base missing. P.H. 0.074 m. There are also two other fragments from this mould.

The pose is very popular; its prototype occurs on a Muse on the Mantinea Basis. Cf. an Italian example, *TK.*, II, p. 41, 10.

i. Fig. 19.

A girlish head and shoulders, presumably from a piece similar to the foregoing. The surface is much rubbed. P.H. 0.045 m.

j. Fig. 19.

A female figure stands, wearing a chiton, over which is wrapped an himation drawn across the chest from the right shoulder in a broad fold. The right hand lifts the lower edge; the left is covered by the drapery. The hair is worn in "melon-frisur." Two examples from one mould: 1) The features are rubbed. Broken away below the waist. P.H. 0.064 m. 2) Head missing, the front much flaked. P.H. 0.075 m. One other small fragment was found.

A crisper example of this type is said to come from Tanagra, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, C 308, pl. XXX.

k. Fig. 19.

A youthful female figure stands with her left foot slightly outthrust. She wears a chiton under an himation that is tightly drawn around the shoulders and over the pendent right arm. Its free end falls loosely over the slightly raised left hand. The hair was drawn back to a knot at the back of the head. Possibly traces of red paint on the hair. The back is roughly modelled. The knot of hair and a fragment from the bottom behind are missing. H. 0.105 m.

For this popular pose and the arrangement of the drapery, see *TK.*, II, p. 54, 6, 7.

l. Fig. 19.

A youthful figure, presumably female, stands with the right knee flexed. An himation envelops the right arm and hand which clasps it at the neck and also the left hand which lifts it slightly from the left leg. The hair is worn in masses over the ears and in a plait down the centre of the head. The back is roughly modelled. Complete save for a chip from the bottom. H. 0.097 m. There are also three other fragments surely from the same mould, two others probably from the same, and one from a mould at least once removed from that mould.

Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 210, fig. 14*d*, an example from the North Slope of the Acropolis.

m. Fig. 19.

Similar type. The folds of drapery are less carefully rendered and the head is different. The hair is arranged in curls over the forehead under a thick wreath. Low plinth base. Solid back laid on as a heavy strip and then modelled. Complete but mended at the knees. H. 0.104 m.



Fig. 19. Votive Figurines

n. Fig. 19.

Similar type. The drapery is rolled at the neck. 1) Solid, with a lozenge-shaped hole gouged in the back. Head and legs missing. P.H. 0.06 m. 2) Head and shoulders from the same mould. Hollow in the upper part. The hair is loosely rolled around the face. P.H. 0.045 m.

On the type represented by Nos. *l-n*, two garments are usually worn. See *TK.*, II, p. 40, 2; cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, pl. XXX, C 334, representing a "boy."



Fig. 20. Votive Figurines

o. Fig. 20.

A youthful male figure stands with the right knee flexed. Only the lower part of the body is covered by an himation of which the upper rolled edge is drawn diagonally across the abdomen, its loose ends passing behind to be wrapped round the left forearm. The right arm hangs loosely by the side. Traces of dark red paint on the flesh. Head and feet missing. P.H. 0.076 m.

For the type, see *TK.*, II, p. 242, particularly 3, 7, from Tanagra. Usually an object was held in the hand.

p. Fig. 20.

A boyish figure clasps a round shield against his body, its rim running under his chin. He wears a chlamys, ending on his right side just above the break, and on his head a pointed cap with flaps hanging along the shoulders. Traces of dark red paint on flesh and shield. Broken away below the hips. P.H. 0.075 m.

This little warrior, holding the Greek shield, but wearing the Asiatic cap, has a parallel from Myrina (Pottier and Reinach, *Nécropole de Myrina*, Catalogue no. 282, which is drawn in *TK.*, II, p. 384, 5). Such warriors appear first in the third century B.C. presumably following the invasions of the Gauls and the closer relations between mainland Greece and Asia Minor. Many small terracotta shields were found in the tomb at Eretria (K. Kourouniotes, *Eph. Arch.*, 1899, pp. 228 f.) which presumably date after the Gallic invasions of 279 B.C. Cf. also the figures of combats with Gauls on Alexandrian pottery (E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Le Caire, 1912, pl. LXXX, 273, p. 187) and figurines from Asia Minor (*TK.*, II, pp. 384 ff.).

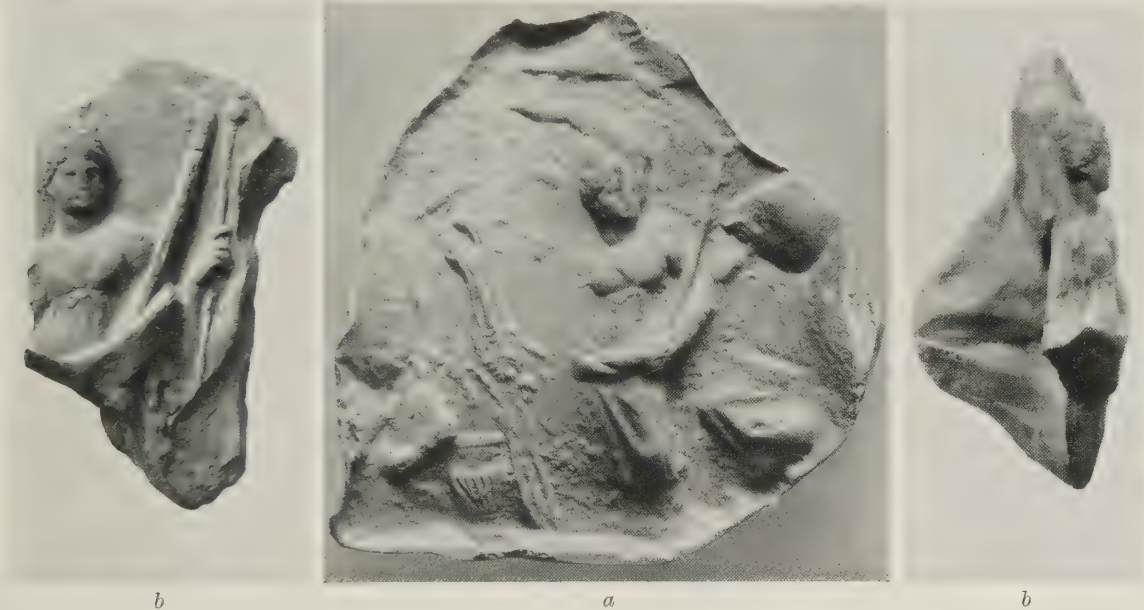


Fig. 21. Mould (photograph from a cast) and ancient impression

q. Fig. 20.

A youthful figure, probably male, advances forward to the right. He wears a short chiton, falling only to the knees, and a chlamys hanging diagonally from the right shoulder, covering the bent left arm. Figure solid below, slightly hollow above. Traces of red paint on the chiton, of yellow on the chlamys. Head, right side and feet missing. P.H. 0.053 m.

3. *Reliefs*

r. Fig. 21.

(a) Terracotta mould and (b) impression from a similar mould. From the same filling as the preceding but probably not from the "votive deposit."

Both pieces show in the middle a standing female figure wearing a high-girt chiton and an himation. She carries a short torch in the crook of her l. arm. (On the mould alone) a stag springs away from the r. side of her head and a long torch rests in her r. hand. On the ground beyond the torch stands a fluted amphora of a type commonly found on Megarian bowls. To her l. are traces of a seated female figure: the edge of a veil, a r. arm bent upwards and holding a sceptre tipped with a pomegranate, and (on the mould alone) the draped knees. (a) P.H. 0.067 m., P.W. 0.038 m. Shallow impression, doubly struck. (b) H. 0.085 m., P.W. 0.078 m. Pyramidal grip attached to the back. No trace of paint or of burning.

The seated figure with her sceptre and the standing figure with torches may plausibly be identified as Demeter and Kore. Similar groups occur on earlier Attic relief vases that show an Eleusinian assembly of the gods (F. Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, p. 140 [no. 15], 198 ff.). The impression (*b*) is not from the mould (*a*) but from another (lost) mould derived from the same original, probably a metal bowl. The practice of selecting groups from metal vessels for application to terracotta vases was common in the Hellenistic period (Courby, *B.C.H.*, 1913, pp. 418 ff.; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 426). This double-struck mould is presumably a waster. The ancient impression, supplied with a grip like the stamp for an Arretine mould (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 426, fig. 7), was probably discarded after the selection of the group and the elimination of the filling ornaments, which were common on bowls but superfluous for a single group. The presence of the stag on the mould need not, therefore, confuse the identification, especially as the original surface by the head of Kore on the impression shows that in this case the animal was deliberately cut out. The composition as presented here centres on a group evidently intended to be Eleusinian. These wasters, together with numerous moulds for figurines, Megarian bowls and lamps of the period also found nearby, may be taken as evidence for the existence, in the vicinity, of a potter's shop which supplied offerings for a sanctuary.

Stylistically, the relief figures of queens of the later third century found on Alexandrian vases afford dated parallels for the Pnyx terracottas.¹ The pose, the out-thrust hip, the small bosom, the high girding and the deep-cut, triangular neck all resemble those on our pieces.²

A figurine from the Eretrian tomb, dateable probably to the latter part of the third century, also shows the same characteristics (J. Beazley, *Ancient Gems in Lewes House*, Oxford, 1920, p. 85, no. 102, fig. 4). Analogy with comparable Megarian bowls would suggest a slightly later date, the early part of the second century (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 352, no. C 18 ff.).

Another small fragment of a plaque was found, showing folds of drapery.

4. *Miscellanies*

s. Fig. 20.

The head of a female of mature years wearing a polos. Moulded hollow in two parts. Broken below and behind. P.H. 0.046 m.

The type suggests a goddess, probably Demeter.

t. Fig. 20.

The head of a Pan or satyr. From the back rises a short column depressed at the top. Traces of red paint on the front. P.H. 0.033 m.

Probably this is the head of a herm against which a figure leaned.

¹ The following names appear: Arsinoe Philadelphos, 276–270 B.C., Berenike, 246–221 B.C., Ptolemy IV, 221–203 B.C.

² Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXX, 267–269; R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen*, pl. 10 and particularly pl. 11, 3; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Roman Pottery*, pl. V, K 77; *Exped. Ernst von Sieglin*, Leipzig, 1913, II, pp. 119 ff., figs. 129 f., pls. XXXI f.

A much rubbed small female head and a fragment of rolled hair, probably from a female mask, complete the terracotta objects from the deposit.

This small deposit was probably thrown out from the sanctuary at one time. Many of the figurines, such as the figures of seated women, cannot themselves be dated without external evidence. Certain pieces suggest a date for the deposit. The figure of a warrior (*p*) belongs to a group of figurines that may be dated after the first quarter of the third century. Comparison of the draped figures of children with those from Chatby and Pagasai,¹ both dating at the turn of the fourth into the third century, places our group in that general period. The crisply modelled examples from the Pnyx (e.g. Fig. 19, *j*, *k*, *l*; Fig. 20, *o*) also resemble Tanagra types, many of which may be dated in the early third century, whereas others of the Pnyxian group (e.g. Fig. 19, *h*, *m*, *n*) present a simpler style in which the folds of drapery have degenerated into a few ridges on an almost untreated surface. This simpler style may be assigned to the latter half of that century. The round face, the hair drawn tightly back in "melon-frisur" or worn in a central plait, the thick wreath, and the very high girding are earmarks of well-developed third century style. The technique and fabric of the whole group is sufficiently similar as to suggest no extended period of manufacture. In point of fact, the use of moulds makes it perfectly possible for a group of terracottas of diverse styles to have been made actually within a year. In a period of confused traditions and slow stylistic development it is impossible to assign a more definite date to the deposit than the third century B.C.

BRONZE PLAQUE

Athens, Nat. Mus. No. 15,185. Fig. 22.

Found lying on bedrock between the two retaining walls just north of the surviving blocks of the earlier wall. The associated filling included fragments of late red-figure and also bits of Megarian bowls. H. 0.196 m., T. 0.002 m. A fragment from the top of the head and the left toes are missing.

The drawing has been lightly engraved on the sheet of bronze and then trimmed around the outline. It represents a woman standing in three quarters view to the right, her face in profile. Her hair hangs down her back. Her chiton has a short overfold that covers her arms to the elbows. She lifts her chiton from the left shoulder with the left hand; in the right she carries a ring-like wreath hanging by her side.

This plaque is a rare survivor of a class of figures cut out of bronze, a class that was once probably extremely common for cheap dedications in sanctuaries. Miss Lamb has likened such pieces to the offerings of metal that crowd the eikons of modern Greek churches.² They were often pierced for suspension; possibly the break in the top of the head of our piece was occasioned by such a hole.

¹ A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπταὶ Στῆλαι Δημητριάδος Παγασῶν*, Athens, 1928, pp. 45 ff., figs. 48-57; Stahlin, Meyer, Heidner, *Pagasai und Demetrias*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, p. 165; Breccia, *Sciatibi*, pl. LXXII, 214 ff.; pl. LXXIII, 221, and Catalogue nos. 456 ff.

² *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London, 1929, pp. 124 f.



Fig. 22. Bronze Plaque

Most of the surviving examples of this class are earlier and finer than the Pnyx specimen. They have been found at Olympia, in Crete, on the Athenian Acropolis, and elsewhere.¹ Archaic examples from Arezzo are not dissimilar.² A fine piece from Tegea represents a woman in profile, holding a phiale and sceptre; it dates from the mid-fifth century.³ Clumsier specimens from Bassae, Berekla, and Stratos⁴ may be compared with ours, though few seem so late in date.

The context in which the Pnyx plaque was found suggests a date in the late fourth century. This dating is confirmed by examination of the style. The technique may be compared with that on Etruscan mirrors and cistae of the fourth century, particularly those on which short broken lines are etched as brief diagonals to indicate the folds of drapery.⁵ The pose, especially the gesture of lifting the chiton from the shoulder, and the drawing of the clumsy features, large hands, and coarse fingers belong to the phase of Attic style exemplified on the later vases from

¹ *Ibid.* and an excellent list in P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1931, p. 105.

² G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, 1915, pp. 15 ff., nos. 33 f.

³ Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, pl. 73, p. 105, Athens, National Museum, 13087.

⁴ K. Kourouniotes, *Eph. Arch.*, 1910, pp. 307 ff., figs. 23 f., Bassae and Berekla; F. Courby and C. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Arcarnanie*, Paris, 1924, p. 101, fig. 62.

⁵ Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

South Russia.¹ Since the draughtsmanship on these vases is necessarily more careful than on a cheap offering of bronze, it is difficult to date our piece closely by analogy with vase-painting. The carelessness of such details as the loose way in which the chiton hangs over the arms and the treatment of the bottom of the drapery, indicates a breaking-down of tradition and formula. The last quarter of the fourth century seems the most plausible upper date. No third century material is at hand for comparison in order to set a lower limit.



Fig. 23. Votive bowls and lamps

MINIATURE VASES

Many miniature vases were found, not a few in the same filling that yielded the terracotta figurines, others in the earth that still remained in position behind the retaining wall, and many more above the ancient ground level around the eastern end of the Stoa. Here, fragments of hundreds had been tramped in the earth and had gotten lodged in the fissures and crannies of the rugged limestone. Four shapes may be recognized, and a representative specimen of each is illustrated in Figure 23. All were carelessly made on the wheel. Vases

¹ K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, dating on p. 139 for: pl. 43, no. 214 (ca. 340–330 B.C.); pl. 46, no. 205 (ca. 330–320 B.C.); pl. 47, no. 201.

a and *b* have the shape of a simple kantharos; *c* of a shallow bowl with two strap handles pinched on the rim; *d* is a miniature krater. The various types are quite constant in size: *a* with a height of 0.028 m., *b* of 0.021 m., *c* of 0.021 m., *d* of 0.031 m. The first three types are never painted; the little kraters are covered inside and out with a thin brown glaze. Many of them have suffered from fire, notably those found together with the figurines.

The circumstances of finding provide little evidence for the dating of these vases. They agree closely, however, in shape and fabric and in range of types with a quantity of similar vases found in the Agora in a closed deposit of the late fourth century B.C.¹ A more marked degeneration of shape and an inferior glaze on many of the Pnyxian specimens suggest that they may well run down into the following century.²

LAMPS

Along with the terracottas in the mass of filling which had originally been supported by the later terrace wall, were found a few fragmentary lamps with single nozzles of the ordinary type in use in the fourth century and early Hellenistic times. In the same place lay a number of other lamps so similar to one another in shape and fabric as to form a closed group. The best preserved are illustrated in Figure 23. In all, the *infundibulum* is low and open, the lip slightly incurved. Of *h* the rim is decorated with a wheel-run groove. Each of the first three had three nozzles; the fourth at least as many, but probably more. The first three retain traces of horizontal strap handles. All have been damaged by fire, which has turned the clay to an ash-gray color. The glaze is lustreless, brown or black in color and in most cases flaked. Although the open *infundibula* and the short nozzles lend an archaic appearance to the lamps, the quality of their fabric and glaze and the carelessness of workmanship suggest a date in the third century B.C. These multi-nozzled lamps are undoubtedly votive, for they are not ordinarily found among remains of houses but they do occur in quantities in sanctuaries both of Greece and Italy.³

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 128.

² Such miniature vases, varying according to period and locality, are found commonly in ancient sanctuaries both in Greece and Italy. For the bibliography of the type see Van Ingen, *C.V.A.*, University of Michigan, I, 1933, p. 68.

³ Many have been found on the acropolis at Athens where they still lie unpublished. Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 346. Others, now in the Candia Museum, come from a sanctuary, probably of Demeter, outside ancient Gortyn (*Arch. Anz.*, 1909, col. 102; Xanthoudides, *Guide to the Candia Museum*, p. 34). Newton found many in the sanctuary of Demeter, Persephone and Pluto at Knidos, others in a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Budrum near Halikarnassos (C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, London, 1862, pp. 327, 378, 387, 393 ff., 402, 405). In the sanctuary of the Malophoros, a cult of Demeter, at Selinunte, many hundreds of various sizes and schemes were found (Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII, 1927, cols. 369 ff., figs. 163 ff.). They were equally popular as votive offerings in the sanctuary of Demeter at Agrigento (Marconi, *Not. Scav.*, 1926, pp. 142–145, fig. 33; *Agrigento Arcaica*, Rome, 1933, pp. 69, 74, pl. XVI).

For lamps of simpler forms found in sanctuaries and for the practice of dedicating lamps see A. Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, Athens, 1912, pp. 100 f.; C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Berlin, 1931, cols. 31 ff.; Pappadakis, *Arch. Delt.*, I, 1915, 141 ff.

DEFIXIONIS TABELLA

Found in a cranny of the rock *ca.* 4.00 m. east of the southeast corner of the Long Stoa, near the round stele bedding (p. 182). H. 0.04 m., W. 0.115 m., unrolled. A strip of lead, irregular in outline and in thickness, inscribed on both sides, rolled and transfixed with an iron nail (Fig. 24).

Though the damage caused by the nail and by corrosion has made the reading difficult, enough remains to show that the document is a curse of the sort familiar from Attica. For more complete specimens one may refer to *I. G.*, III, 3, *Defixionum Tabellae*, ed. R. Wünsch, 1897, especially nos. 47 ff., and for an introduction to the subject one may consult the preface to the same work. In l. 3 appears to lurk the verb *καταδέω* "I bind with a magic spell," which occurs commonly in the Attic formulae. One Lysias is the object of the curse, he together with his "house and works." For the joint inclusion of *ἐργα* and *οἰκία* or *οἶκος* cf. Wünsch, *op. cit.*, nos. 53 and 69. The letter forms would suggest a date in the late fourth or the third century B.C.

Overlying the bedrock around the eastern end of the Long Stoa and behind the retaining walls to the northeast of the Stoa, possibly a dozen more scraps of sheet lead were found, the majority of them doubtless from similar documents. The fragments, however, have so suffered from exposure that only an occasional letter is visible.

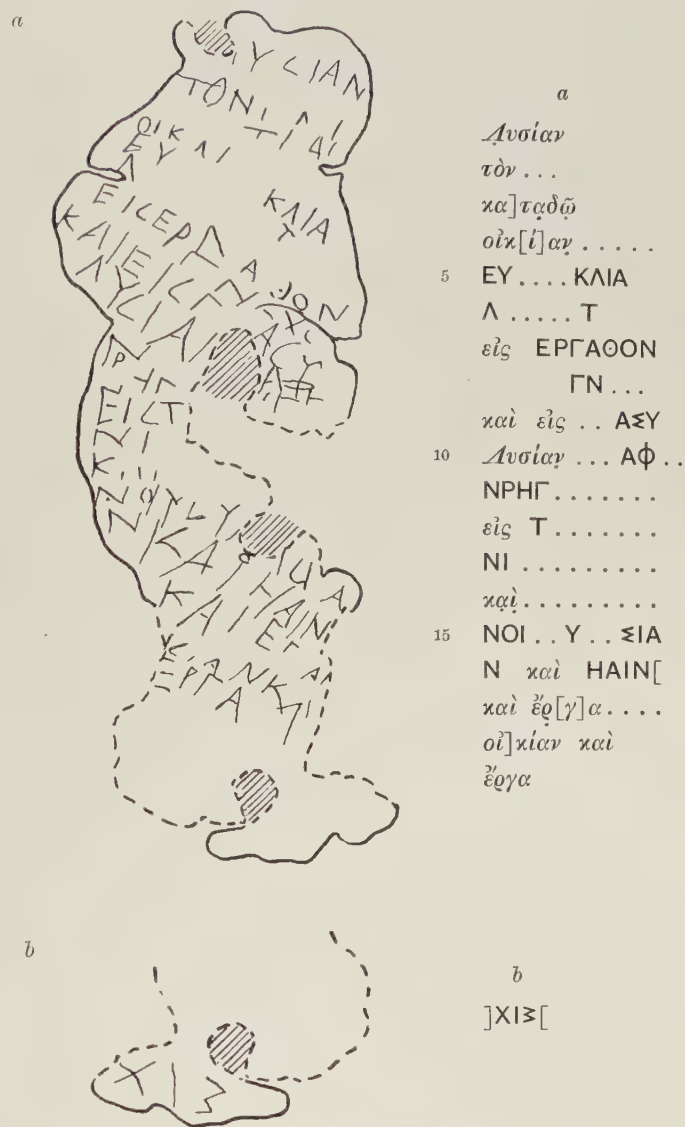


Fig. 24. Defixionis Tabella

STELE BEDDINGS

In the surface of the rising mass of bedrock just to the east of the southeast corner of the Long Stoa are three stele beddings, two rectangular ($0.13 \times 0.15 \times 0.10$ m. deep; $0.24 \times 0.40 \times 0.13$ m. deep) and one round (0.36 m. in diameter; 0.20 m. deep) (Pl. I). In the round bedding remains a bit of the stele of Hymettian marble. Back of the earlier retaining wall and covered over by the filling thrown in behind it are two more rectangular sinkings in the bedrock ($0.14 \times 0.15 \times 0.12$ m. deep; $0.14 \times 0.16 \times 0.15$ m. deep). These too may have held dedications or, conceivably, boundary stones of the sanctuary.

The number and variety of the votive objects and the circumstances in which they were found leave no doubt that there was an ancient sanctuary nearby. This is made especially clear by the votive cups, for these were found in hundreds both in the filling associated with the later terrace wall and scattered over the earlier ground level in the region between the retaining wall and the Long Stoa. That area may accordingly be regarded as a part of the sanctuary. The fact that the Stoa and retaining wall were thrown about the area shows clearly that they belonged to the sanctuary. Relying on the well-known conservatism of Greek religious practice, we may safely argue that the earlier buildings represented by the foundations within the area of the Long Stoa likewise formed part of the same sanctuary.

3. THE IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARY

In the absence of any inscription definitely establishing the identity of the site, we must consider the possibility first, of associating the ruins with one or other of the sanctuaries already identified in the region, and secondly, of assigning them to one of the several sanctuaries known from literary sources to have existed in the area but not hitherto discovered.

One might think first of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos. But his worship would seem definitely to have centred about the cult statue which we may suppose to have occupied the large niche in the face of the scarp to the east of the bema of the latest auditorium. Nor is there anything to indicate that the worship of Zeus on this spot goes back to the time suggested by our votive offerings.

Near the top of the Hill of the Nymphs, to which it has given a name, a rock-cut inscription marks the Sanctuary of the Nymphs and the People: *ἱερὸν Νυμφ[ῶν] δέμω* . . . (I. G., I², 854; Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 398). On the northern slopes of the same hill the boundaries of a sanctuary of Zeus were fixed by rock-cut inscriptions: *ἥρος; Αἰός* and *ἥρος* (I. G., I², 863; Judeich, *ibidem*). Another inscription (*ἱερὸν μητρόος*) cut in the rock on the northwestern slope of the Hill of the Muses suggests that the Mother (of the Gods) had, if not a sanctuary, at any rate property in the neighborhood.¹

¹ Skias, *Eph. Arch.*, 1899, pp. 239 f.

Melanippos, a son of Theseus, was worshipped at a sanctuary, the Melanippeion; in the district of Melite which must have included also the new-found sanctuary.¹ Chrysa on the Pnyx, where the left wing of the Amazons rested in their battle against Theseus, would seem to have been a sanctuary of Chrysa, a goddess of light.² But the remains under discussion are too substantial to have belonged to either of these apparently insignificant sanctuaries.

Plutarch tells us that Themistokles founded a sanctuary to Artemis of Best Counsel (Aristoboule) near his home in Melite and in Plutarch's day a statue of Themistokles still stood in the temple.³ But in the new sanctuary nothing has been found of a temple, certainly nothing going back to the time of Themistokles. We know that Herakles with the epithet "Averter of Evil" (*Ἀλεξίκακος*) or "Of the Apples" (*Μήλειος*) was worshipped in a famous sanctuary in this district,⁴ but no festival is recorded in connection with his cult to account for such a building as the Long Stoa. Nor are our votive objects suitable to the hero, for to him were offered only apples.

Pausanias (I. 14. 1) saw two temples, one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos, above the Enneakrounos (*ὑπὲρ τὴν κορήνην*). It has been proposed to assign these buildings to the Thesmophorion and to place them on the Pnyx Hill above the site of Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos.⁵ But the two temples cannot be separated from the Eleusinion which Pausanias mentions by name a few lines below (I. 14. 3). Now Pausanias' account of fountain and temples is inextricably imbedded in his description of the Agora and it follows that both must lie in or immediately adjoin the Agora. Significant evidence is already available for placing both the Eleusinion and the fountain at the southern edge of the market square, *i.e.* at the northern foot of the Areopagus, so that the temples seen by Pausanias do not concern us here.⁶ The same is true of the temple of Eukleia, a memorial of Marathon, which Pausanias noted after the two temples (I. 14. 5).

Having eliminated the other known candidates we have left to consider a sanctuary which was undoubtedly the most famous of those in this part of the city, *viz.* the Thesmophorion or Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros.⁷ This was the meeting place of the women of Athens during their autumn festival, the Thesmophoria, celebrated on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of the month Pyanopsion, and here it was, and on the occasion of this festival, that Aristophanes laid the scene of his *Thesmophoriazousai*, presented in 410 B.C.

¹ Harpokration, *Lexikon*, s. v. *Μελανίπειον*.

² Plut., *Theseus*, XXVII, 3; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 422 ff.

³ Plut., *Themistokles*, XXII.

⁴ Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 396 f.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 226 f.

⁵ Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 398 f.

⁶ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447; IV, 1935, p. 360. Pausanias did not pass around the south side of the Areopagus, as his failure to mention the Pnyx would sufficiently show. The further excavation of the Agora will make this abundantly clear.

⁷ Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 398 f., and for the cult and festival see Deubner, *Attische Feste* pp. 50 ff.

From the play itself we gather not a few hints about the site. A half dozen passages prove clearly enough that the sanctuary occupied a lofty position:

l. 280 (Kinsman)

ὦ Θορέντα, θέασαι, καομένων τῶν λαμπάδων
 ὅσον τὸ χρῆμ' ἀνέρχεθ' ὑπὸ τῆς λιγνύος

l. 584 (Kleisthenes)

Εὐριπίδην φάσ' ἄνδρα κηδεστὴν τινα
 αὐτοῦ γέροντα δεῦρ' ἀναπέμψαι τήμερον

l. 623 (Kleisthenes)

ἀνὴλθες ἤδη δεῦρο πρότερον;

l. 657 (Chorus)

... ζητεῖν, εἴ που κἄλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἀνελήλυθε

l. 893 (Woman)

οἷτος πανουργῶν δεῦρ' ἀνῆλθεν

l. 1045 (Kinsman)

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσδ' (ἐς) τόδ' ἀνέπεμψεν
 ἱερόν, ἔνθα γυναῖκες

The general impression as to the loftiness of the site is confirmed, perhaps echoed, by the scholiasts who add, however, the interesting information that the first day of the festival, the *ἄνοδος*, took its name from the "going up" to the sanctuary.¹

From Aristophanes' play we gather further that the sanctuary was very intimately connected with the Pnyx. That it was situated on the Pnyx Hill is made perfectly clear by the passage in which the chorus prepares to track down any possible male intruders:

l. 655 ff.

ἡμᾶς τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη τὰς λαμπάδας ἀψαμένους χρῆ
 ξυζωσαμένους εὖ κἀνδρείως τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀποδύσας
 ζητεῖν, εἴ που κἄλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἀνελήλυθε, καὶ περιθρέξαι
 τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηρὰς καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθρῆσαι²

¹ Schol. to l. 585: *ὅτι ἀναπέμψαι κυρίως, διὸ καὶ ἄνοδος ἡ πρώτη λέγεται, παρ' ἐνίοις καὶ κάθοδος, διὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνοδον τὴν εἰς τὸ Θεσμοφόριον ἀφίξινιν λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ ὕψηλοῦ γὰρ κεῖται τὸ Θεσμοφόριον.* Schol. to l. 623: *καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἄνοδον, ἐπειδὴ ἄνοδος ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.* With the passages in the play and with the scholiasts agrees Hesychius, *Lexikon*, s. v. *ἄνοδος*: *ἀνάβασις. ἡ ἐνδεκάτη τοῦ Πανελημῶνος, ὅτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέρχονται εἰς Θεσμοφόρια, οὕτω καλεῖται.* We know too that the Thesmophorion in the Peiraeus lay high (*I. G.*, II², 1177, 21 ff.): *ἀναγρ[ά]ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς ὀριστὰς μετὰ τοῦ δημάρχου καὶ στήσαι πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει | τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου.* And the same would seem to have been true of the sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros at Megara (Pausanias, I. 42. 6), at Pagasai-Demetrias (*Praktika*, 1915, pp. 191f.), and at Eretria (*Arch. Anz.*, 1911, col. 122).

² The *δίοδοι* were undoubtedly the passageways between the tents, not, as is sometimes suggested, the aisles of the assembly place. The meeting place of the period boasted no aisles (*Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 103f.).

We may suppose, moreover, that it was the very proximity of the sanctuary to the actual meeting place that suggested to the poet the assembly of women.

In looking for the Thesmophorion we must, therefore, search for a roomy place, capable of accommodating some hundreds, if not thousands, of Athenian women; it must be one of the markedly high parts of the city, and it must lie on the Pnyx Hill, preferably close to the actual assembly place. Now of the three eminences in the range of hills which in antiquity would seem to have been known collectively as the Pnyx,¹ the western is already occupied by the Sanctuary of the Nymphs and the People, the eastern by the Monument of Philopappos, which would scarcely have been tolerated in a sanctuary. Neither of those heights, moreover, affords the area called for by our conception of the Thesmophorion. We are reduced to the central hill, and it, indeed, answers precisely to our specifications. Though its summit rises only some 30 m. above its immediate base and about 50 m. above the general level of the market square, yet its northeastern slope, by which it is usually approached, is sufficiently steep to impress one on a hot October day. The top of the hill, as appears clearly in Figure 1, is smooth and gently rounded and roomy enough to accommodate a good many tents. From the same photograph it will be clear that one cannot stand on the hilltop, *i.e.* in the vicinity of the Long Stoa, without being constantly aware of the Assembly Place.

We are thus inevitably led to identify the newly found sanctuary with the Thesmophorion, led, that is, by a double process of elimination: the new sanctuary cannot be associated with any, except the Thesmophorion, of the many sanctuaries known to have existed in this region and the Thesmophorion can have lain nowhere save precisely in the area occupied by the new sanctuary.

On the question of the identification of the site it remains to consider the bearing of the votive offerings described above, especially of the terracotta figurines.

Greek votive offerings admittedly bear no rigid relation to the deities to whom they were dedicated, but certain types may, with caution, be associated with divinities. It has been suggested on plausible grounds that the relief (Fig. 21, *r*) is connected with the worship of Demeter. The seated figures of women may well also represent Demeter; the type has been found in many of her sanctuaries, for instance, at Eleusis, Tegea, Lykosoura, and Halikarnassos.² The same identification may seem reasonable in the case of the head (Fig. 20, *s*). Figures of girls and boys dancing have also been found at Demeter precincts, as at Priene³ and in the sanctuary of Pasikrate, a deity related to Demeter, at Pagasai-Demetrias.⁴ It must be admitted, however, that similar figures have been found in unrelated sanctuaries or even graves at Chatby, Eretria, Tanagra, and the North Slope of the

¹ Plato, *Kritias*, 112 a; Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, London, 1890, p. 107.

² *TK.*, I, pp. xxxiv f.

³ T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 147 ff., pp. 158 f., figs. 141 ff.

⁴ See above, p. 177.

Acropolis.¹ It should be noted also that types usually associated with Demeter, such as pigs, women carrying pigs, and hydrophoroi, are absent from the deposit. But even after the most conscientious exclusion of uncertain evidence, we must admit that the types, and particularly the terracotta relief, point to the identification of the divinity as Demeter and that nothing vitiates such an identification.

The other small objects of a votive character are likewise appropriate to a sanctuary of Demeter. The lamps were presumably used in the nocturnal rites performed during the festival and were afterwards dedicated to the goddesses. Though similar lamps have been found in such places as the Athenian Acropolis, where the association with Demeter is not proven, yet the references given on p. 180 above clearly indicate how commonly they were placed in sanctuaries of the chthonic goddesses. Nor again are the miniature vases peculiar to the worship of those divinities. But they would form convenient receptacles for the conveyance of the offerings of grain and seeds of various sorts offered to the goddesses. In the sanctuaries of the Eleusinian cult such offerings were commonly carried in the compound vases known as *kernoi* (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 447 ff.), but the discovery of many thousands of miniature vases similar to ours in the sanctuary at Eleusis proves that the simpler form was used there as well. The sanctuary of Demeter, as that of a chthonic deity, was again especially appropriate for the deposit of *defixiones* and such have been found in numbers in the sanctuaries of Demeter, Persephone, and Pluto at Knidos and of the Malophoros at Selinunte.²

None of the remains on the site can be construed as those of a temple, nor is it likely that a temple (which, had it ever existed, must have stood in some prominent part of the area now thoroughly explored) should have disappeared without leaving a trace. But we have no reason to suspect the existence of a temple. Literary references to the Athenian Thesmophorion tell only of a sanctuary (*ἱερόν*), never of a temple (*ναός*). Elsewhere, temples seem rarely to have been erected in the sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros.³ The rarity

¹ Chatby, see above, p. 177; Eretria, C. Hutton, *Eph. Arch.*, 1899, p. 34, pl. 2, 1; Tanagra, *TK*, II, *passim*; North Slope, O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 334 ff., fig. 5.

² Newton, *Halicarnassus, Knidos and Branchidae*, pp. 382, 719 ff.; Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII, 1927, cols. 384 ff.

³ In the sanctuary on the acropolis of Eretria, identified as the Thesmophorion, are foundations which may be those of a temple (*Arch. Anz.*, 1911, col. 122). At Pagasai-Demetrias remains of a building, said to be those of a temple, have been found in a sanctuary, where Demeter, Kore and Pluto were worshipped (*Praktika*, 1915, pp. 192 ff.). A fragmentary inscription found in this sanctuary records a decision to prepare a new copy of a stele which had apparently stood on the original site of the Thesmophorion (*ἔπον ἐ]ν ἐρχ]ῃ ἥν τὸ Θεσμοφόριον*) and had been damaged. The new copy was to be set up *ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς [ἱ]ερέας*. This suggests that the large sanctuary was called simply that of Demeter and that the Thesmophorion proper either adjoined or formed part of it. Hence the temple, if such it was (neither plans nor photographs have appeared), cannot certainly be assigned to the Thesmophorion (*Polemon*, I, 1929, pp. 32 ff.; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, pp. 208 f.). Pausanias (VIII. 36. 6) noted a temple and a grove of Demeter five stades from the city of Megalopolis. Since admission was for women only, the sanctuary may well have been a Thesmophorion. On Aigina we read of a porch or gateway of Demeter, with bars, this, probably, in the temenos wall (Herod., VI. 91: *εἰς δὲ τις τούτων ἐκφυγῶν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς*

of temples may well be due to the fact that the votaries were exclusively women. The men who were so jealously excluded from all share in the cult practices were perhaps not unnaturally chary of contributing to their support. In the *Epitrepontes* of Menander, Smikrines, in warning his daughter Pamphila of the danger of continuing to be the wife of a man who keeps a double establishment, assures her that having to contribute to the Skira and the Thesmophoria on behalf of both wife and mistress will be the ruin of Charisios:

I. 533

τὴν πολυτέλειαν. Θεσμοφορία δὲς τίθει,
Σκίρα δὲς τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦ βίου καταμάνθανε.
οὔκουν ἀπόλωλεν οὔτος ὁμολογουμένως;

The sanctuary had inevitably at least one altar, on which the Kinsman in the *Thesmophoriazousai* would sacrifice his hostage:

I. 693

ἀλλ' ἔνθαδ' ἐπὶ τῶν μηρίων
πληγὴν μαχαίρᾳ τῇδε φοινίας φλέβας
καθαίματ' ὥσει βωμόν.

Nothing of an altar has been found, but one will readily understand that the ordinary altar, consisting of a single block without necessarily any foundation, could disappear completely.

Nor has anything so far come to light of one of the central and most characteristic parts of the sanctuary, *viz.* the megaron or megara. The word "megaron" had a variety of meanings but in this connection it clearly denoted an underground chamber appropriate to the worship of a chthonic deity.¹ Into this pit were thrown pigs, probably also cakes

πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρον, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἴχετο). At Gambaion in Asia Minor it is probable that the goddess had only a walled temenos (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1219, 31 ff.: καὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὴν μὲν μίαν (στῆλην) πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου, τὴν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Λοχίας). An inscription from Koroneia (*I. G.*, VII, 2876; Ἀθανασίωρα Πολιουμναστίδαο ἱερειάξασα Δάματρι Θεσμοφόρῳ τό τε πρόθυρον ἐπεσκεύαξε καὶ τὸν ἀμφύθυρον ἀνέθηκε) need not imply more than the existence of two ornamental gateways in the enclosure wall. Miltiades suffered the fatal injury to his thigh or knee in leaping over the fence (ἔρκος) of Demeter Thesmophoros on Paros (Herod., VI. 134).

¹ Hesychius, *Lexikon*: ἀνάκτορον· τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος, ὃ τινες Μέγαρον καλοῦσιν. ὅπου τὰ ἀνάκτορα τίθεται; Photius, *Lexikon*: Μέγαρον, ὃ μέγαρον, εἰς ὃ τὰ μυστικὰ ἱερὰ κατατίθενται; Porphyrius, *Antr. Nymph.*, VI: χθονίοις καὶ ἡρώσιν ἐσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα ἰδρύσαντο. For the varying signification of the word see the discussion by K. Kourouniotes, *Eph. Arch.*, 1912, pp. 154 ff. The expression used by Porphyrius suggests that the chambers were artificial rather than, as one might have expected, natural. This would be certain could it be proven that the elliptical chamber which Newton found in the sanctuary of Demeter, Persephone and Pluto at Knidos was actually a megaron (Newton, *Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, pp. 383 ff., 391 note e). I know of no other candidate for the name. In the sanctuary at the Peiraeus there was but a single megaron (*I. G.*, II², 1177, 5 ff.: μηδ[ε] πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς μηδὲ τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν) and the same was probably true at Paros (Herod., VI. 134. 2). In a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (probably a Thesmophorion) at Potniai in Boeotia Pausanias saw more than one megaron (IX. 8. 1).

made of dough in the shape of snakes and the male genitals, and pine branches. Snakes which lived in the chasms as "watchers of the chambers" were said to eat much of that which was thrown in. When the remainder had rotted it was brought up by women (*ἀντλήτριάι*) who had refrained from sexual intercourse for three days previously. To take its place they carried down certain objects of unknown nature. The putrefied remains were placed on the altars and were held to guarantee a good crop if taken and mixed with the seed. According to the myth, the pigs were cast in because a herd of swine along with their keeper, Eubouleus, had been swallowed up in the chasm in which Pluto descended with Persephone. The pig was held also to be a welcome thank-offering to Demeter and a symbol of fecundity. Modern scholarship suggests that the representation of snakes, the phallic symbols, and the pine branches were intended to restore fertility to the soil after the harvest.¹

It is much to be hoped that further search may some day bring to light the pit or pits in the Thesmophorion. The hunt is made difficult by the extent of the sanctuary, our ignorance of its precise limits, by the shifting of masses of earth in later times, and by the pine trees which now occupy all the earth-covered parts of the hill.²

¹ The ancient authorities for the ceremonies are Clement Alexandrinus, *Protrept.*, II, 14 (pp. 14f., ed. Potter) and a scholiast on Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.*, II, 1. Both writers evidently drew from a common source; Clement quotes briefly, the scholiast at length but in a muddled way. The scholion has been recently discussed in detail by Gjerstad in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXVII, 1929, pp. 230ff., and by Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 10ff., 40ff. The interpretation of the latter scholar seems on the whole satisfactory. It is difficult, however, to agree with him that the pigs and the other objects were thrown into the megara during the festival of the Skira or Skiraphoria and extracted at the Thesmophoria (pp. 43f.). If we agree with D. (p. 44), as I think we must, that the megara were in or near the Thesmophorion, then we should have to suppose that the celebrants, on their way from the Acropolis to Skiron on the Sacred Way, visited also the Thesmophorion which lay far from their direct path. Of this there is no suggestion in the passages bearing on the Skira. If D. is right in supposing that *θεσμός* "bedeutet eigentlich das, was hingesetzt, niedergelegt ist," it surely follows that the festival at which the deposit was made should be the Thesmophoria rather than the Skiraphoria. This is, moreover, stated clearly and explicitly by Clement (l.c.) whom we have as much reason to trust in this detail as the scholiast. How long the objects lay in the megara we cannot say. Were they left for a year, *i.e.* until the following festival, the carcasses of the pigs would hardly have retained much fertilizing power. Actually there is no compelling reason to believe that the remains were removed on one festival or the other. The business may well have been done by the appointed women after an appropriate interval and the sanctified relics used by any interested person. So far as Demeter and her festival were concerned, the important thing was the throwing in of the pigs. This one gathers also from Pausanias' account of what took place in the sanctuary of the two goddesses at Potniai in Boeotia (IX. 8. 1): at the appointed time sucking pigs were let down into the megara. These were said to reappear in a year's time at Dodona, but this report Pausanias could not credit.

² One might suspect that something of the traditions of the old sanctuary and its festival had been preserved in the Church of Hagia Marina situated on the eastern slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, just below the Observatory. The earliest church was housed in an underground chamber over which in later times a small round cupola was set. More recently a large modern church has been built to the north, so arranged that one may pass from its south aisle into the old underground vault. The saint is thought to hold powers of fertility and women slide down the steep rock slopes below the cupola in the hope of children. Saint Marina's festival on July 17 is one of the most popular in the Athenian calendar, especially

From Aristophanes' play we should gather that the celebrants spent much or all of their time during the days of the festival actually in the sanctuary and for their convenience set up tents (*σκηναί*), a necessary shelter from the chill October nights as well as from the burning autumn sun which beat down upon the exposed hilltop. More than one woman might occupy a shelter.¹ But even so, the number of those attending the festival must have required an entire village of tents and it was in these and in the passages among them that the infuriated *Thesmophoriazousai* hunted for other possible male intruders (*Thesm.*, 655 ff.).

The practice of setting up such temporary shelters was common in sanctuaries where festivals of some duration were held.² It is attested, among other places, for Olympia,³ for Delphi,⁴ and for the sanctuary of Hera on Samos.⁵ At the Isthmus the small extent of the sanctuary and the absence of regular accommodation for guests made it necessary for those planning to attend the Isthmia to speak far in advance for their tent plots.⁶ In such crowded sanctuaries the throngs of visitors must have provided no end of problems for those in charge and we read of strict regulations against setting up tents in certain sections of the sanctuaries.⁷ Deserving visitors might be given special privileges in this respect. The Amphictyonic Council, for instance, granted to Mentor, an Aetolian, among other privileges commonly accorded to *proxenoi*, the "first tent at the festival."⁷ At Kos in the

among the women. Preparations commence two days before and the sanctuary is thronged on the eve and the night and the day of the festival. The main ascent to the area round the church is marked for the occasion the ΑΝΟΔΟΣ.

The underground chamber might conceivably have been an ancient megaron. It may equally well have been an ancient cistern which it resembles in shape. In any case, the arguments used above seem decisive in favor of placing the Thesmophorion on the central rather than on the western hill.

On the church see A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, Leipzig, 1868, no. 50; *Εὐρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, A': *Εὐρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων*, I: *Ἀθηνῶν*, Part B, by A. Xyngopoulou, Athens, 1929, p. 105, figs. 131f.; and on the festival of Hagia Marina see M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints and their Festivals*, Edinburgh and London, 1910, pp. 58f.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II ii, Cambridge, 1925, p. 1114.

¹ Aristoph., *Thesm.*, 624: καὶ τίς σοῦσσι συσκηνήτρια; Schol. ad loc.: φέλη συνδιαίτος. σκηναὶ γὰρ ξανταῖς ἐποίουν πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.

² On the practice in general see the article *tentorium* in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, V, 117; Ziehen in J. de Prott—L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, Leipzig, 1906, II, pp. 238f. Professor Capps reminds me of Aristophanes' comedy, *Σκῆνας καταλαμβάνονσαι*, which doubtless contained many more details regarding the practice.

³ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 4, 32; [Andokides] IV, 30; Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 25; Heniochos, Kock, *C. A. F.*, II, p. 433, frag. 5. On the discomforts to be endured at Olympia cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, XIV, 18: a master, enraged at his servant, threatens to take him to Olympia, for he thinks it a much more severe punishment to be baked in the sun at the festival than to labor in a mill.

⁴ Cf. infra.

⁵ Polyainos, *Strategikon*, VI, 45.

⁶ Aristoph., *Pax*, 879f. and the scholia. The situation will be fully appreciated by those who by design or chance have become involved in one of the popular festivals or panygyreis of modern Greece, that of the Virgin on the island of Tenos for instance.

⁷ See the regulation to this effect regarding the Stoa of Attalos at Delphi (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 523, 7ff.; 220 B.C.). Note also the similar clause in the Sacred Law of Andania cited below, p. 190. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 422, 7ff. (ca. 269 B.C.).

first century B.C. the farmers of certain public taxes as well as many other individuals, especially those connected with shipping, were required by law to make sacrifices and to set up their tents in a certain sanctuary, presumably in order to guarantee to the priests a certain income and the advantage of the inevitable perquisites.¹ King Antigonos, in proposing the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos at the end of the fourth century, specified that any Lebedean attending the Panionion should put up his tent and celebrate the festival along with the delegates from Teos. This apparently was to be an effective symbol of their common citizenship.²

The most instructive ancient reference to the practice is to be found in the Sacred Law governing the Mysteries celebrated at Andania in Messenia, a document which presents a vivid picture of a festival comparable, in its external features at any rate, to the Athenian Thesmophoria. The section (VII) dealing with the tents specifies: "The priests shall permit no one to have a tent more than thirty feet square, nor to place hangings or curtains about the tents, nor shall they permit anyone not a priest to have a tent in a place marked off by the priests No one shall have couches in his tent or silver plate worth more than three hundred drachmai. Otherwise, let the priests not permit it and let the excess (silver) become the sacred property of the gods."³

Of the *σκηναί*, naturally no trace has survived save on the written page. But one might well ask whether the Long Stoa, in a later age, was not planned to serve a similar purpose. As a shelter for celebrants at a lengthy festival it would find precise parallels in the stoai which formed a regular feature of the sanctuaries of the healing gods, of Asklepios at Athens, Epidauros, Troezen, Corinth, and Kos, of Amphiaraos at Oropous. If we do not accept this explanation, we shall be hard put to account for the construction of so large a building of this sort on the otherwise bare hilltop. The only alternative solution would be to associate the stoa with the Assembly Place and to suppose that it corresponded to the stoai which are commonly found in conjunction with Greek theatres and odeia. But the Long Stoa is too distant from the Assembly Place nor would it seem to have been laid out in relation to the auditorium, nor does its date agree with that of either of the restora-

¹ Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, II, 137, l. 4: *Θυόντων δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγέσθων καὶ τοὶ πριάμενοι τὰν ὄνων σίτον κατὰ ταῦτά* etc.; commentary, p. 340. Compulsion is implied also in the fifth-century ordinance of the Elataeans (*op. cit.*, no. 79): *ἐν τοῖς ῥα|νακείοις | θύοντα | σκανῆν | γυναικα | μετὰ παρ' αὐτῶν*.

² Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 344, 2ff.: *ὅστις δ' ἂν | εἰς τὸ Πανιώνιον ἀποστέλλῃται, ὥς|μετὰ δεῖν [πρᾶξαι πάντα τὰ | κοινοῦ τὸν ἔσον χρόνον, σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυρᾶζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ' [ὑμῶν ἀφικομέ]νων καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τήϊον*.

³ *I. G.*, V, 1, 1390; Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.*, 4689; Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, II, 58; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 736; 92/1 B.C., II, 34ff.: *σκανὴν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέποντω οἱ ἱεροὶ μηθὲν ἔχειν ἐν | τετραγώνῳ μεῖζον ποδῶν τριάκοντα, μηδὲ περιτιθέμεν ταῖς σκαναῖς μήτε δέροεις μήτε ἀνέλιαι, μηδὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἢν τόπῳ περιστεμ|ματώσωνται οἱ ἱεροὶ μηθὲν τῶν μὴ ὄντων ἱερῶν ἔχειν σκανάν . . . μηθὲν κλίνας ἔχεν ἐν ταῖς σκαναῖς μηδὲ ἀργυρώματα πλείονος ἄξια δραχμῶν τριακοσίων· εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ ἐπιτρέποντω οἱ ἱεροί, καὶ τὰ πλείονάζοντα ἱερὰ ἔστω τῶν θεῶν*. The comparison of the Attic and Messenian festivals gains in point from the fact that the Andanian mysteries were originally derived from Eleusis and were subsequently reorganized by Methapos, an Athenian (Paus., IV. 1. 4f.).

tions of the Assembly Place. If, then, it seems altogether probable that the building which we have called the Long Stoa was intended to form part of the sanctuary as a shelter for the celebrants, it is equally probable that the earlier building represented by the great foundation bedding was planned for the same purpose. In our ignorance of its size and plan we can say nothing of the purpose of the intermediate building save that, as noted above, its position definitely associates it with the sanctuary. The small earliest structures were probably nothing more than repositories for the sacred property of the sanctuary, the more valuable of the votive offerings, etc. Here, for instance, we may suppose were stored between festivals the actual wooden votive plaques, plaques such as those which in the play the Kinsman seized upon to bear his appeal for help (*Thesm.*, 765 ff.; scholiast on 773). The splendid archaic specimens of such pinakes recently found in a cave near Corinth are of a distinctly perishable nature and could not have been left for long out of doors.¹ Here too may have been kept such dedications as the bronze plaque described above.

Whether or not the rock-cut terrace with its monument bases is to be associated with the sanctuary must remain an open question. The fact that the Long Stoa, which seems certainly to belong, appears to cover the area on the south and to communicate with it by way of the rock-cut steps might suggest their association. But the traces of the monuments on the terrace lend themselves to no certain restoration and we shall probably never know whose statue stood in the arched niche.

From the address of the chorus to the goddesses in the *Thesmophoriazousai* we gather that the sanctuary included a grove, .

I. 1148

ἵκετ' εὐφρονας ἱλαοὶ
πότνιαι, ἄλλος ἐς ὑμέτερον.

Their sanctuary in the Peiraeus was likewise wooded,² and this agreeable feature would seem to have been not uncommon in the sanctuaries of the same goddesses elsewhere.³

One might well be struck by the poverty of the remains which survive from a sanctuary that was the seat of one of the most popular and important of the festivals of Athens. The exposed site, to be sure, has been unfavourable to the survival of any great number of ex-votos and has made whatever buildings or built monuments may have stood there an inviting prey to vandals. One will scarcely venture, in any case, to question the identification on the ground of the scanty remains, for if these are not to be associated with the Thesmophorion, then the actual remains of that sanctuary must be still more

¹ *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, cols. 194f.; *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 134. ² *I. G.*, II², 1177, 17 ff. Cf. also *I. G.*, II², 2498.

³ Megalopolis: Paus., VIII. 36. 6; Pellene: *idem*, VII. 27. 9; Potniai: *idem*, IX. 8. 1. On woods in sanctuaries and the strict regulations providing for their preservation see Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, note to no. 34.

inconspicuous inasmuch as they have not yet been observed. Striking too is the limited range of the time represented by the foundations and the votives that have come to light. Some of the foundations within the area of the Long Stoa may conceivably go back to the time of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai*, which would seem to hold the earliest reference to the sanctuary. But from the area exposed only a very few scraps of pottery and lamps, and those not necessarily to be associated with the sanctuary, are as old as the fifth century. In the other direction we cannot trace the history of the sanctuary, either from the existing remains or from literature, beyond the abandonment of the Long Stoa. Yet there is no reason to doubt that the worship continued, nor need it have been more than disturbed by the construction of the city wall. One would still more gladly know what lay back of the checkered history of the sanctuary in the period for which we have records, whether the continual thwarting of its building program was due to the changing fortunes of the city or to the poverty of the cult or to the mismanagement of its administrators.

IV

CITY WALL

After the construction of the Long Stoa had been abandoned, a line of fortification wall was carried over its south foundation. This city wall may be traced along the crest of the Pnyx range from the saddle between the central hill and the Hill of the Nymphs to the monument of Philopappos on the Hill of the Muses. It is hoped that this entire section of the wall may subsequently be explored, for only then will it be possible to speak with precision of its course and history. In the meantime, a brief note will suffice, covering only that part of the wall which lies over or close to the Long Stoa.

The city wall approached the southeastern corner of the Stoa at an angle of 130° and was so placed that its outer face fell precisely on the corner of the foundation of the building (Pl. I, Fig. 8). In the corner a notch was cut to receive the wall block. Where it overlies the building foundation the wall shows a total thickness of 3.20 m. and consists of an inner and an outer face. The outer face immediately overlies the old foundation; for the inner face a new bedding was prepared within the area of the building. As preserved, these faces consist each of a single row of orthostates (1.25–1.35 m. long, 0.65 m. high, 0.48–0.50 m. thick). The space between was divided into compartments by other orthostates laid as headers between each two stretchers of the outer faces. The blocks are well cut and carefully jointed with a band of anathyrosis 0.10 m. wide along the outer edge of the joint surface. Their tops are dressed to receive another course of blocks. In the best preserved section toward the eastern end of the Stoa, the outer ends of the headers and some of the stretchers were dressed smooth; most of the stretchers were lightly rusticated. The filling between the wall faces was presumably of earth and the upper part of the wall probably of brick. The stone here as elsewhere is a coarse conglomerate.

Beyond the western end of the Long Stoa the city wall continued in a straight line and of the same width for a distance of 15 m. In this section the construction was quite different, for the wall in its preserved height consists of a solid mass of blocks laid in regular succession as headers and stretchers (Fig. 25). They measure $0.50 \times 0.70 \times 1.40$ m. After the third course had been laid at the end of the wall a slight change would seem to have been made in the plan. The blocks of the upper courses were drawn back *ca.* 0.30 m.



Fig. 25. Tower in City Wall, from southwest

from the face of the lower and a rectangular bastion (measuring 3.19×3.55 m.) was set against the southern face of the wall at its very end. The wall now turns north at right angles and must have included in its course a massive structure that rose on a large rectangular bedding to the west of the western end of the Stoa. This bedding has been only partially cleared so that its plan and purpose are still obscure. It conceivably carried a tower which flanked an entrance. Nor is the further course of the wall clear as yet. That it did continue and eventually reached the gateway of which a few blocks remain in the saddle between the central hill and the Hill of the Nymphs would seem certain, and indeed its line has been boldly indicated on maps of this region including our own (*Hesperia*, I, 1932, pl. I). The style of construction at the southwestern corner of the wall

is illustrated in Figures 25 and 26. The bedrock was carefully dressed to receive the blocks of the first course. The headers are 0.63–0.65 m. wide, the stretchers 1.25–1.35 m. long and the courses vary in height from 0.45 to 0.50 m. Around the edges of each block (the two sides and the bottom) is a drafted band 0.06–0.10 m. wide which leaves in the middle a boss with a projection of 0.02–0.08 m. In order to prevent chipping in setting, the lower edge and one lateral edge of each block were lightly chamfered.



Fig. 26. Tower in City Wall, from northwest

Among the débris lying at the foot of the wall in the angle between it and the bastion were found a number of fragments of roof tiles (Fig. 27). They come from large tiles of very slight convexity, made of gritty buff clay, unglazed. No significant dimension is preserved. Four of the fragments bear inscriptions impressed on the concave surface with the same stamp in each case. The single word, ΔΗΜΟCΙΑ, appears in raised letters surrounded by a raised line forming a rectangle (0.048 × 0.135 m.). The tiles were undoubtedly used in the roofing of the wall.¹

¹ Numerous tiles found along the city wall on Eetioneia were stamped *δημοσία Πειραιώς*; cf. *B.C.H.*, XII, 1888, p. 351; *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 308.

At some time when the city wall had reached a very ruinous state, it was extensively repaired and strengthened with towers. This late repair may be traced not only in the area of the Long Stoa but also up the Hill of the Muses. Wherever blocks of the old wall remained in position they were left and frequently the joints were pointed with soft lime mortar. This precaution was taken even in the case of the old south foundation of the Long Stoa near its western end. Elsewhere pits and holes that had formed in the face of the old wall were chinked with fragments of tile and small stones held by lime mortar. The western face of the westernmost end or tower of the old wall was covered down to the contemporary ground level with similar plaster (Fig. 26). The striated surface of the one surviving coat was probably overlaid by a second and finer coat, now completely gone.

In the angle of the old wall at the southeastern corner of the Long Stoa the repairers found some blocks of both faces of the old wall still in position. The three eastern compartments of the wall were now packed solid with old blocks and field stones bedded in lime mortar. In the angle of the old wall a tower was set, measuring *ca.* 6.60×7.20 m. outside. Its walls were 1.00 m. thick, built up of broken ancient blocks and field stones set in mortar. Of the western wall of the tower the lowest 0.50 m. remains, of the southern wall fragments of mortar. The inner angle of the tower was reinforced by a buttress of similar masonry.

Midway between this tower and the southwestern corner of the old wall the repairers built a second rectangular tower, measuring 5.00×6.00 m., against the southern face of the old wall. Of it there remain the lower parts of the eastern and of the western wall which were constructed of re-used conglomerate blocks supplemented by many broken tiles and field stones set in mortar. The southern wall has completely disappeared save for bits of mortar that still cling to the bedrock. A trial trench carried across the area of the Long Stoa exposed the inner face of the wall immediately opposite the tower and showed that the repairers had reduced the thickness of the old wall by 0.30 m., having shifted its inner face that much closer to its outer.

At the same time another tower was built into the angle formed by the bastion at the southwestern corner of the old wall. It is similar to the others in construction and measures *ca.* 4.00×5.40 m. outside. Here, too, a reinforcing pier was carried up in its inner angle. The line of the wall would now seem to have turned south at right angles, starting from the bastion. As far as followed (a distance of only 3.00 m.) the wall here



Fig. 27. Stamped tile from the City Wall

was found to be of the full width of the old bastion and to consist of an inner and an outer face each 1.00 m. thick, with an earth filling between. The eastern wall of the late tower would also seem to have been carried south in a straight line. But here again we cannot be certain of the arrangement without further exploration.

This length of the wall, towers and all, has commonly been regarded as part of Kleon's *Diateichisma* of the twenties of the fifth century B.C. But for the chronology of the wall we have now an upper limit, obviously, in the date of the abandonment of the Long Stoa (*i.e.* in the first century A.D.).¹ Yet this cannot be taken as a precise limit, for a considerable period would seem to have elapsed between the cessation of work on the Stoa and the construction of the wall. This follows from the fact that the filling thrown in the eastern part of the building to carry its floor had spread out over the foundations of the

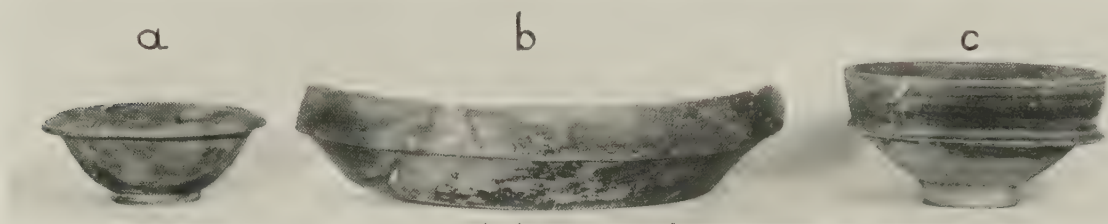


Fig. 28. Pottery from footing trench of City Wall

Stoa and its surface had become extremely hard packed from much traffic. Through this hard packed surface the city wall was set down. Where the blocks of the northern face of the wall remain in position toward the eastern end of the Stoa we could trace the trench which had been cut through that earlier filling to receive the wall. The part of this trench not actually occupied by the wall blocks, 0.50 1.00 m. wide, had been refilled with black earth quite different from that of the earlier filling. This earth would seem to have been part of that brought for the filling of the city wall and consequently objects from it may be taken to afford a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall. A few representative pieces, including those obviously latest in date, are described below and illustrated in Figures 28 and 29.

a. Bowl with downturned rim. H. 0.015 m., D. 0.111 m. Fine buff clay covered with a thin brown wash inside and out.

b. Samian dish. H. 0.057 m., D. 0.26 m. Straight upper wall set off from lower by a nick. Flat bottom. Micaceous brown clay covered all over by a reddish brown glaze. On the floor two concentric groups of three grooves each and in the middle a single stamped palmette.

For identical dishes found on Samos, see Technau, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, p. 50, III a. For the shape of the lip parallels occur in the terra sigillata of the north, see Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, pp. 207 f., pl. LXV: "The period of this dish (in all its varieties) may be assigned to the later years of the second century and the first half of the third century." Cf. Waagé, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 293, nos. 107-111, pl. IX: "rim form common in the second century."

¹ No certain trace has yet come to light of any earlier wall in the region. That such existed, however, is not impossible and it should be sought for by further exploration.

- c. Carinated bowl. H. 0.067 m., D. 0.126 m. Gritty, buff clay covered with a firm brown wash on the inside and on the upper part of the outside.

This shape had a long history. Fairly close parallels may be found in Arretine and Gallic sigillata as early as the time of Claudius. Cf. Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. XL. But from its occurrence in various dateable groups found in the Athenian Agora one may trace its history down through the second and third centuries. This specimen undoubtedly belongs in the second century.



Fig. 29. Lamps from footing trench of City Wall

- d. Lamp, Type XX. H. 0.035 m., W. 0.063 m., L. 0.087 m. Side-wall and shoulders covered with nodules. The handle was moulded with the upper and lower parts of the lamp. Buff clay covered with thin purplish wash.

This is a late specimen of a type popular in Athens in the first century A.D. and probably also in the early part of the second century. See Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 70 ff.; *Hesperia*, II, 1932, p. 204.

- e. Lamp, Type XXI, second variety. H. 0.022 m., W. 0.041 m., L. 0.049 m. On discus, rays; on neck, double volutes. Above the handles rises a diamond-shaped shield moulded with the upper and lower parts of the lamp. Fine buff clay, unglazed. On the underside, within a low base-ring, incised: ΕΠΑ. The lamp is probably Corinthian. The name, 'Επά(γαθος) occurs on (unpublished) lamps found in Corinth in contexts that suggest that this maker was still active after the middle of the second century A.D.

- f. Lamp, Type XXV. H. 0.036 m., W. 0.072 m., L. 0.089 m. Handle has two grooves in upper part only. On the discus in relief, a hare, crouched, to right. Buff clay covered with red glaze applied above a coat of white paint.

It is clear that the group of pottery runs down into the second century A.D. and some of the pieces, such as the Samian dish, *b*, and the lamp, *e*, are probably as late at least

as the middle of the century. We may accept this as an approximate *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall.¹ One might be tempted to associate its building with the final, probably Hadrianic reconstruction of the Assembly Place, or, perhaps, with the newly founded quarter of Athens, the "City of Hadrian." But other considerations weigh heavily against attributing the wall to Hadrian or his influence. On general grounds one might well question the necessity of such a costly piece of fortification in one of the oldest and presumably safest parts of the Empire at the very height of the "Pax Romana." It is clear too that the Emperor in his various visits to Greece was concerned, not with military preparedness, but rather with the desire to improve the present economic condition and well-being of the people and to revive as far as possible, by public buildings, games, festivals and the like, something of the former glory of the land. He is credited with a truly astonishing number of buildings in all parts of the country: roads, bridges, water systems, baths, gymnasia, temples, etc. But one will search the literary and epigraphic evidence in vain for any reference to military defences. It is precisely in Athens that the *argumentum ex silentio* is most decisive. Had Hadrian been the author of any extensive repairs or additions to the defences of the city, then Pausanias, a warm admirer of the Emperor, describing the city between 143 and *ca.* 160 A.D. (*i.e.* a very few years after Hadrian's last visit of 131/2 A.D.), took no notice of the work though there is more than one place in his description where a reference might fittingly have been made:

- (1) in his note on the ruinous walls of Konon which he saw as he approached the city (I. 2. 2).
- (2) in his account of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus which must have been the focal point of the new quarter and which was bordered by the fortification wall ordinarily thought to be contemporary with the foundation of the new quarter (I. 18. 6).²
- (3) in the list which immediately follows of Hadrian's buildings in Athens (I. 18. 9; cf. also I. 5. 5).

¹ The lettering on the roof tiles from the wall is of little help in fixing its date. A glance at the tables of Larfeld's *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* and at the photos of Graindor's *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale* will show that these letter forms, and similar combinations of forms, occur over a long range from the first century into the third.

² No part of the fortification wall which was obviously at some period thrown around the "Hadrian city" has, so far as I am aware, been dated on external evidence, though the whole circuit is now commonly attributed to Hadrian. See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 101, 163f.; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, pp. 226f. One of the sections of this "Wall of Hadrian" most recently exposed (beneath the old Royal Stables at the upper end of Stadium Street) "was found to be faced on each side with dressed blocks of stone and marble stripped from earlier buildings, with a core of rubble, bricks and statue-fragments set in mortar, and many columnar grave stelai of Roman date were also built into it" (A. M. Woodward, *J.H.S.*, XLVII, 1927, pp. 252f., fig. 4). Such construction clearly suggests that the wall building followed on some serious disaster to the city comparable to that which preceded the wall of Themistokles. The wall beneath the Royal Stables finds indeed a close parallel in the "Valerian Wall" which now appears to be connected with the destructive raid of the Herulians in 267 A.D. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 329ff. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 705f., had supposed that the new quarter had long lain open. Judeich, *l.c.*, disputes this view.

Two other possible occasions must be considered. The first is the incursion of the Kostobokoi in 170 A.D.¹ This barbarian horde, of a stock related to the Dacian and coming from a homeland which lay somewhere to the northeast of the province of Dacia, apparently took advantage of a weakening in the Roman frontier defences in the region of the Pontus to break through and push south. The widely scattered points from which we have evidence of their destructive raids suggest that they came by water: the shores of the Pontus, the Province of Macedonia, Elateia in Phokis, Eleusis, perhaps even Africa suffered. Aristeides has left us a dirge pronounced over Eleusis desolate (*Oration*, XVIII, ed. Din-dorf), but we have no reason to suppose that the city of Athens itself suffered. The invaders came in limited numbers and would scarcely have been in a position to assail Athens even had her walls been out of repair.² The speed with which such a force could move, especially if it came by water, would scarcely have allowed time for Athens to construct any extensive fortifications in preparation for this particular raid. But the horrible prospect of another and perhaps more formidable incursion of northerners, heightened by the inability of Rome to send immediate help because of financial difficulties and frontier troubles in other quarters,³ may well have driven the city to put its defences in order at its own expense. That such was actually the case is perhaps suggested by the appearance of ΔHMOCIA on the tiles.

Still another possibility must be admitted. In the time of the Emperor Valerian the northern hordes again pushed south and laid siege to Thessalonika (253 A.D.). Although they failed to capture the city, they caused such panic throughout the rest of Greece, we are told, that Athens was spurred to rebuild the walls which had lain in ruins since Sulla's storming.⁴ Could we trust implicitly Zosimos, Zonaras, and Synkellos, or rather, their common source, we should be bound to associate the wall with this event.⁵ The evidence bearing on the date of the wall, as much as may be deduced from the pottery and the style of construction, is insufficient to permit of a decision between the two suggested possibilities. The answer must await further exploration.

This section of the city wall probably suffered from the Herulians in 267 A.D. It had, at any rate, been seriously damaged or neglected before the late repair of which we spoke.

¹ The few scattered references to this incursion have been assembled and studied by A. v. Premerstein in *Klio*, XII, 1912, pp. 145 ff., and in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encycl.*, XI, 2, 1922, coll. 1504 ff. See also Frazer's commentary on Pausanias, X. 34. 5 (V, pp. 429 f.). Mr. A. W. Parsons first called my attention to the possibility of a connection between the wall and the raid. I have profited much by discussing with him the vexed problems of the Athenian walls.

² One Mnasioulos of the little town of Elateia, putting himself at the head of an apparently local levy, inflicted much damage on the barbarians. Paus., X. 34. 5.

³ A. v. Premerstein, l.c., p. 162.

⁴ Zosim., I. 29; Zonar., XII. 23; Synkell., p. 381; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 705 f.

⁵ The statement that the walls had not been attended to since the capture by Sulla would seem to be contradicted by Cassius Dio (XLII. 14) according to whom Caesar's legate, Q. Fufius Calenus, succeeded in taking the unfortified Peiraeus and other parts of the country but not Athens, not, that is, before the defeat of Pompey.

For the date of the restoration, the evidence from the present excavation is slight. Within the area of the easternmost tower explored, a handful of potsherds was gathered from the uppermost layer of earth through which the new walls had been set; these agreed with a few more found in the actual trenches of these walls. The latest pieces are not earlier than the end of the third century A.D., and, consequently, the walls must be as late or still later. Ancient literary references suggest two possible dates. The Emperor Julian (361–363 A.D.) is reported to have done much for the cities of Greece, among other things to have restored their fortifications.¹ Subsequently the Emperor Justinian (527–565 A.D.) put in repair the fortifications of all the Greek cities south of Thermopylai.² Of the two, the earlier date is to be preferred. Alaric, moving south at the head of the Visigoths in 396 A.D., supposed that he might easily take Athens, inasmuch as it was incapable of defence because of its extent.³ This could scarcely apply to the very limited area enclosed by the so-called Valerian Wall which, as noted above, is to be associated with the Herulian invasion of 267 A.D. We must infer that the old outer defences had been reconditioned in the meantime. This reconstruction is probably represented by the rebuilt wall and towers described above, which may therefore be attributable to Julian. But here again greater certainty can be hoped for only from further exploration.

¹ Mamertin., *Panegyric on Julian*, k 9.

² Prokop., *de aedific.*, IV, 2 (Vol. III, p. 372, ed. Bonn).

³ Zosim., V. 5.

THE SEVENTH METONIC CYCLE

During the summer of 1935 Oliver discovered on the south slope of the Acropolis a fragmentary inscription of the year of Euxenippos (305/4). He has now deposited the stone in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, where it bears the inventory number EM 12825, and has very generously turned over the text to me for publication.

The stone is part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the left side and the original thickness preserved. It is broken away at the bottom and at the right, and the surface is badly weathered; the original pedimental top seems to have been cut away by someone who wished to square the stone for building purposes. The maximum height of the new piece is 0.32 m.; its thickness 0.095 m. The height of letters is 0.007 m., and alpha throughout is cut without the cross-bar. Ten lines vertically occupy a span of 0.145 m., and seven letters horizontally a span of 0.103 m. A photograph is given in Figure 1, and the restored text (stoichedon 27) reads as follows:

	305/4 B.C.	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 27
	[Ἐπ' E]ὐξενί[ππου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς .]	
	[. . ν]τί[δ]ος ἐ[νδεκάτης πρυτανείας]	
	[Ἰ] Αἰττόλκ[ος Αἰκού Ἀλωπεκίθην ἐ]	
	[γρᾱ]μμάτενε[ν ^ν Θαργηλιῶνος ὀγδό]	
5	[ἡ ἐπὶ] δέκα ὀγ[δόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῇ]	
	[ς πρ]υτανείας ^ν [ἐκκλησία ἐν Αἰονύ]	
	[σου· τῶν] προέδ[ρων ἐπεψήφισεν . . .]	
	[. . . ? . . .]τος Ο[ἰναῖος καὶ συμπρόε]	
	[δροι· ἐδ]οξεν ἰ[ῶι δῆμωι· Εὐβουλίδι]	
10	[ς Εὐβούλ]ον Ἐ[λευσίνιος εἶπεν· ἔπε]	
	[ιδὴ . . .]ίδης ἐ[ὕνους ὦν τῶι δῆμωι κ]	
	[αὶ ἐν τῶι ἔμ]πρ[οσθεν χρόνῳ καὶ νῦ]	
	[ν τ]ε β[ου]λευ[τῆς γενόμενος παρεῖχ]	
	[εν] ἔαντὸν ἀε[ὶ φιλοτιμούμενον ὑπ]	
15	[ἐρ] τῆς δημοκρ[ατίας καὶ χειροτον]	
	[ηθ]εῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ [δήμου σιτώνης περὶ]	
	[τῆς] τοῦ σίτου [κομιδῆς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας]	
	[ς ἐπ]ιμεμέλη[ται - - - - -]	



Fig. 1. Inscription from the Year of Euxenippos

The restoration of the decree proper is uncertain, especially in lines 11–14. One thinks of *σιτώνης* for line 16, for a board of *σιτώναι* appear in *I.G.*, II², 792.¹ It is possible that Euboulides, who proposed a decree in 304/3, was the orator here as well (lines 9–10). In lines 17–18 the phrase *ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας* has been supplied on the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 401; a less colorful restoration would be *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*.

The secretary's name in line 3 may be supplied in full from *I.G.*, II², 703, 796, and 797, and these three inscriptions are thus shown to belong also in 305/4 instead of 250/49, as I have argued in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 553–555. The reading of the archon's name in each of them should be [*Ἐπ' Εὐξενίππου* - - -] in place of [*Ἐπὶ Κυδώνορος* - - -] and there are now left no known decrees of the year of Kydenor. The calendar equations of *I.G.*, II², 796, 797, and 703 are as follows:²

Prytany II, 21 = Metageitnion 21

Prytany III, 30 = Boedromion 30

Prytany IX, 30 = Elaphebolion 29.

These equations show that the year of Euxenippos was ordinary, and that the new fragment must also be restored to allow a close correspondence between the day of the month and the day of the prytany. If no uninscribed space is assumed in line 4, the equation should be [*Θαργηλιῶνος ἐβδόμῃ ἐπὶ*] *δέκα, ὅγ[δότη καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς περ]ιτανείας*, but since an uninscribed space apparently followed the formula of date it is possible also to assume a similar punctuation at the beginning, and to allow the equation [*Θαργηλιῶνος ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ*] *δέκα, ὅγ[δότη καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς περ]ιτανείας*. The fourth calendar equation of the year is, therefore

Prytany XI, 18 (or 17) = Thargelion 18.

The discovery of this new fragment thus enables us not only to assign to their proper historical setting in the late fourth century three decrees in praise of foreign states, which have generally been dated in the third century, but also to offer some new evidence on the complicated chronological problems of the seventh Metonic cycle. During the past year Dinsmoor and I have both published calendar studies on one year of this cycle,³ but a satisfactory solution of the problems presented by the inscriptions of 307/6 has not, I believe, as yet been attained. The fact that 305/4 is now known to have been ordinary casts doubt upon my interpretation of 307/6 as an ordinary year, for there would thus be four such years in succession, an anomaly which occurs otherwise only once, as far as I know, from 413/2 to 410/09.⁴ On the other hand, Dinsmoor's

¹ See *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 564, footnote. For the *σιτώναι* cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsaltertümer*, pp. 1067 and 1121. Apparently the *σιτώναι* were chosen by the Demos.

² See *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 555.

³ Dinsmoor, in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 303–310; Meritt, *ibid.*, pp. 536–544.

⁴ Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 176.

reconstruction of 307/6 as an intercalary year rests upon a very serious assumption of error, which seems to me inadmissible, especially in the present state of our knowledge, and upon a forward count in the last decade of the month in *I.G.*, II², 458, although the backward count, especially in the late fourth century, was the normal method of reckoning.¹

There are also certain historical considerations which Dinsmoor has advanced in favor of his interpretation, which calls for an intercalated Anthesterion (as well as the extra Gamelion which is known to have been intercalated), the omission of Mounichion, and the creation of the two new Macedonian tribes relatively late in the year.² The evidence lies principally in Plutarch's *Demetrius* (§§ 10–12). But, so far as Plutarch's account is concerned, the fall of Megara (and of Mounichia too) may be dated rather more appropriately in the first prytany than in the sixth,³ for although Demetrios' journey—beginning late in Thargelion—from Athens to Megara and on to Achaea and back may well have taken the greater part of two months, it is difficult to see how it could have taken the greater part of eight. And the "honors" which Plutarch says the Athenians voted for Demetrios may just as well have been granted at frequent intervals throughout the year as all more or less at one time in the spring of 306.

The renaming of the month Mounichion as Anthesterion and then as Boedromion, which Dinsmoor wishes to attribute to the year 307/6 to account for the supposed "second" Anthesterion, is an event which both Plutarch (*Demetrius*, § 26) and Diodorus (XX, 110) attribute to the year 302 at the time of Demetrios' third sojourn in Athens. It is hard to believe that these obsequious honors affected in any way the official calendar record. If they did, it is the year 302 and not 307/6 which should show signs of the disturbance; but so far as we know the calendar of 302 is perfectly regular. If the story belongs really in 307/6, then Anthesterion II (according to Dinsmoor's scheme) should follow and not precede Elaphebolion. Furthermore, there is nothing in the story to account for the second Gamelion, which we know to have existed in 307/6. I prefer to see in the omission of Mounichion, if indeed it was omitted, a deliberate effort (with no reference to Demetrios one way or another) to correct the anomaly of the calendar introduced by the intercalated Gamelion. The real problem of 307/6 is to discover why the Athenians decided to have a second Gamelion. On this point the story of Diodorus and Plutarch offers no help, whether it be attributed to 302 or to 307/6,

¹ On the backward count, see *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 529–561. In spite of the numerous documents preserved from the year 307/6 there is only one equation before the tenth prytany where the calendar implications do not depend on restoration. This is found in *I.G.*, II², 456 and shows that some day in the twenties of the fifth prytany fell in Maimakterion. Since Dinsmoor's scheme brings the twenties of the fifth prytany well on into Posideon, he assumes that the scribe wrote on the stone either "fifth" when he should have written "fourth," or "Maimakterion" when he should have written "Posideon." Cf. *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 308 and footnote.

² *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 304–305.

³ A date early in the year has been generally assumed. Cf. commentary on *I.G.*, II², 456.

and an explanation can only be conjectured. Perhaps the omission of Mounichion is not hard to understand, once Gamelion had been intercalated, for if 307/6 was an ordinary year the Metonic cycle had already received more than its share of intercalary years in proportion to the time elapsed until then,¹ and a year of twelve months was necessary to keep Hekatombaion of 306 from falling too late after the summer solstice. One must suppose, of course, that the Athenians were concerned to prevent this late beginning of the civil year, which in my opinion is somewhat doubtful. But why a second Gamelion was intercalated we still do not know, and the story of Demetrios' initiation into the Mysteries offers no help toward a solution. One wonders whether it had something to do with the severity of the winter and a desire to postpone the festivals of Anthesterion and Elaphebolion to a more equitable time of year. Plutarch's account (*Demetrius*, § 12) teaches us that the winter of 307/6 was more than usually severe.

¹ With 307/6 ordinary, there were left only two intercalary years in the last eight years of the cycle (303/2 and 301/0).

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

FAUVEL'S FIRST TRIP THROUGH GREECE

Among the modern manuscripts of the Gennadeion is included an assortment of papers formerly belonging to the French geographer and philologist, Barbié du Bocage.¹ Coming from a scholar who had devoted his life to the study of the topography of Greece and the Near East, the entire collection is composed of material bearing on this special subject. In it are included several accounts and journals of travel in the Levant, notes and memoranda having to do with the *Voyage pittoresque* of Choiseul-Gouffier and the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*,² numerous autograph letters of Pouqueville, Le Chevalier, Fauvel, Sir William Gell, Cousinéry, etc., as well as maps, charts, and plans drawn by Barbié du Bocage and others. Among the travel-notes is a manuscript of Louis François Sébastien Fauvel giving an account of his trips in Greece and the Near East during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.³ As a contribution to the biography of one of the earliest archaeologists who worked in Greece, the manuscript has seemed not unworthy of publication and, so far as I have been able to learn, it has never appeared in print. In presenting here the first part, which deals with a trip through the Ionian Islands and Greece in 1780-1782, I have supplemented Fauvel's account with details drawn from a journal kept by his companion, Foucherot, a manuscript of which is also in the Gennadeion among the Barbié du Bocage papers.⁴

The expedition of 1780 was undertaken by Fauvel and Foucherot in the interest of Choiseul-Gouffier, who was engaged at the time in the publication of his elaborate *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*. It had been found that the material collected during the course of his trip in 1776 was inadequate for the second volume, which was to have included

¹ Gennadeion mss. 124-147. The collection was purchased by Dr. Gennadius in 1889 from the Paris book-dealer, E. Dufossé. On the life and work of the former owner, see *Eloge de M. Barbié du Bocage ... lu dans l'Assemblée générale de la Société de Géographie ... par M. de Larenaudière* (Paris, 1827).

² Barbié du Bocage continued the publication of the *Voyage pittoresque* after Choiseul-Gouffier's death. He also prepared the maps and plans to accompany the Abbé Barthélemy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (Paris, 1788).

³ Gennadeion ms. 133. For an account of Fauvel's life, see Ph. E. Legrand, *Biographie de Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel* in *Revue Archéologique*, XXX (1897), 41-66; 185-201; 385-404; XXXI (1897), 94-103; 185-223. His papers are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Mss. franç. 22870-22877.

⁴ Gennadeion ms. 132. Of Foucherot little is known. Fauvel calls him "Ingénieur des ponts et chaussées," *infra*, 208. Elsewhere he is referred to as an architect, Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (Paris, 1782-1822), II, 70. In 1795 he was made non-resident associate of the *Institut national pour l'architecture*, Legrand, *loc. cit.*, XXX, 43, note 3. He made many maps and plans for Choiseul-Gouffier's work and the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*.

continental Greece and the Ionian Islands. Fauvel says in his introduction: "Pour le second volume il falloit des vues et des plans des lieux qu'on se proposoit de décrire et surtout des statues et bas-reliefs qui ornent les superbes ruines d'Athènes."¹ To bring together this supplementary material was the object of the expedition. Fauvel also mentions as the immediate cause of their trip a dispute that arose between Choiseul-Gouffier and the geographer, D'Anville, regarding the exact course of the Peneus. Foucherot was commissioned to trace the course of the river and to make an accurate map of the region through which it flows. Leaving Paris on May 2, 1780, the two travellers reached Greece by way of Italy early in June. Foucherot had accompanied Choiseul-Gouffier on his earlier trip in 1776,² but for Fauvel this was the first visit to the land in which he was destined to spend the greater part of a life devoted to archaeological research. The successive stages of the trip through Western Greece and the Peloponnese can be followed in Fauvel's account. The journal of Foucherot breaks off with their arrival in Athens on November 21, while Fauvel gives some details of their journey to Salonica and return to Athens by way of Larissa and Thebes. Either before or after the northern trip considerable time must have been spent in Athens, where they investigated with minute care the surviving monuments. Unfortunately neither manuscript gives details of their activities there. Early in June, 1782, they took their departure from Greece, carrying with them a rich collection of material.³

Both Fauvel and Foucherot cherished the plan at one time or another of publishing complete accounts of their travels in Greece. A letter of Barbié du Bocage to Fauvel, dated April 6, 1807, speaks of Foucherot as putting into order his material for a *Voyage en Grèce*, which however seems never to have been completed.⁴ In a letter to Barbié du Bocage he complains of the constant demands which were being made upon him by other scholars, demands which prevented him from devoting himself to his own work.⁵ Except for the copy of his journal and several letters to Barbié du Bocage, now in the Gennadeion, all his papers seem to have disappeared after his death in 1813.⁶

Fauvel too, while generously placing the materials he had collected at the disposition of others, published very little on his own account. From a letter of Cousinéry, dated October 10, 1797, we learn that he was planning to publish an account of his explorations in Greece, a project which was unfortunately soon abandoned.⁷ In 1802, however, with the assistance of his friend, Le Chevalier, he prepared and presented to the *Institut national des sciences et arts*, of which he had long been a member, a short résumé of all his travels

¹ *Infra*, 208.

² Choiseul-Gouffier, *op. cit.*, II, 70.

³ Legrand, *loc. cit.*, XXX, 46.

⁴ Legrand, *loc. cit.*, XXX, 47, note 1.

⁵ Gennadeion ms. 139.

⁶ There is no material in the municipal library at Tonnerre, where he lived after 1796. Legrand *loc. cit.*, XXX, 47, note 2.

⁷ Legrand, *loc. cit.*, XXX, 192-193.

“dans le continent de la Grèce, dans les isles de l’Archipel et dans la Basse-Egypte.”¹ It was not printed at the time in the *Mémoires* of the *Institut*, doubtless because the secretary was under the impression that Fauvel was preparing a more complete account for publication. It is the original draft of this memoir, or a copy in Fauvel’s hand, which the Gennadeion manuscript has preserved. This is clear from the concluding sentence: “Je devois à l’Institut l’exposé succinct de mes travaux; s’il daigne les approuver, j’aurai obtenu la récompense flatteuse pour laquelle je l’ai entreprise.” On the back of the last page of the manuscript appears the following inscription: “Au Citoyen Mongez, Président de l’Institut national. Pour prendre congé partant pour Athènes le 5 vendémiaire an 11 [1802]. Fauvel.” Barbié du Bocage, himself a member of the *Institut national*, probably got possession of the manuscript in order to use it in preparing the notes to his translation of Chandler’s *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*.²

EXTRAIT DE MON PREMIER VOYAGE EN GRECE AVEC LE CITOYEN FOUCHEROT,
INGENIEUR DES PONTS ET CHAUSSEES, ENTREPRIS EN MAI, 1780.

Le premier volume du *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* avoit déjà paru. On s’occupoit du second qui devoit offrir le Péloponèse, l’Attique, la Bœotie, la Phocide, l’Etolie, la Thessalie, une partie de la Macédoine et de l’Epire, l’Acharnanie et les Isles Ioniennes. L’auteur n’avoit fait que traverser rapidement quelques unes de ces contrées célèbres en se rendant par la Bosnie sur les bords du golphe Adriatique. Le Citoyen Foucherot, architecte, étoit le seul artiste qui l’avoit accompagné dans ce pénible voyage. Pour le second volume il falloit des vues et des plans des lieux qu’on se proposoit de décrire et surtout des dessins des statues et bas-reliefs qui ornent les superbes ruines d’Athènes. Une contestation survenue entre l’auteur et le savant géographe D’Anville au sujet du cours du Pénée détermina notre voyage. Le Citoyen Foucherot dut revoir la Thessalie, observer avec soin le cours du fleuve depuis Larisse jusqu’à cette vallée qui sépare l’Olympe et l’Ossa, connue sous le nom de Tempé et tant de fois chantée par les poètes.

Nous prîmes la route la plus courte pour nous rendre à Venise, où nous devions nous embarquer pour Corfou, et nous partîmes en Mai, 1780. Nous passâmes par la Bresse, le Valois, nous suivîmes le Rhone jusqu’à Brig, nous traversâmes les Alpes au Mont Simplon, célèbre par le passage du héros de Cartage et plus encore par celui du vainqueur de Maringo. La première ville d’Italie qu’on rencontre après avoir passé cette montagne est Domodossola. A quelques lieues plus loin nous trouvâmes le village de Mergozo près le Lac Majeur que nous traversâmes du nord au sud. Nous abordâmes à Isola-Bella renommée pour ses jardins remplis d’orangers, de citronniers et la maison de plaisance des

¹ Legrand, *loc. cit.*, XXX, 198.

² *Voyages dans l’Asie Mineure et en Grèce ... par le Dr Richard Chandler. Traduits de l’Anglais ... par MM. J.-P. Servois et Barbié du Bocage* (Paris, 1806). Both Fauvel’s memoir and the journal of Foucherot are frequently cited in the notes.

Boromées. Nous vîmes de loin la statue colossale du saint de ce nom. Je ne m'arrêterai point à décrire ce que j'ai remarqué à Milan et à Verone. Les antiquités de cette dernière, son amphithéâtre, sa collection d'inscriptions grecques et romaines sont connues de tout le monde. Je ne parlerai point de Vicence, ni des productions de Palladio, ni des rives de la Brinta depuis Padoue jusqu'à Fusine, où cette rivière se jette à la mer. Venise vue de ce point paroît sortir du sein des eaux. Lorsque nous y arrivâmes, elle étoit en proie à la méfiance et à la crainte; une conspiration, dont nous avons vu conduire les auteurs à Verone (Contarini et Pisani) venoit d'être découverte. Venise étoit sans spectacles, les folies de cette singulière ville étoient suspendues. J'y admirois ces beaux chevaux de bronze | qui y étoient alors sur le portail de St Marc. Je réfléchissois aux voyages qu'ils P. 2. avoient déjà faits, mais j'étois bien loin de prévoir celui qui leur restoit à faire. Leur sort a été d'être toujours attelés au char de la Victoire. Quelle fut ma surprise en voyant à la porte de l'Arsenal de Venise ces lions du Pirée, seuls trophées de la prise d'Athènes par Morosini. Combien d'autres chef-d'œuvres ce conquérant ne pouvoit-il pas sauver de la destruction pour en enrichir sa patrie? Une bombe avoit renversé en un instant le superbe temple de Minerve qui subsistoit dans son entier depuis tant de siècles. On voyoit parmi ses débris des statues, des bas-reliefs entassés, qui ont disparu sous la main de l'iconoclaste Musulman, bien moins acharné cependant à la destruction des statues que ne l'avoient été avant eux les Constantins et les Théodoses, qui firent casser à coup de masse toutes les figures qui ornoient les Métopes du Parthenon à l'exception de celles du midi qui échappèrent, on ne sait comment, à la fureur de ces barbares, de même que les beaux groupes qu'on admire encore sur le fronton oriental du temple. Si les lions du Pirée ont attiré l'attention des Vénitiens, alors plus guerriers que curieux, c'est parceque le lion est l'attribut de St Marc, leur patron, avec qui il partage l'apothéose.

Le bâtiment sur lequel nous devions nous embarquer achevoit son chargement à Malamoco; nous en partîmes ensuite.¹ La première nuit que nous couchâmes à bord fut marquée par un orage et un coup de vent si impétueux qu'ayant chassés sur nos ancrs nous échouâmes sur le sable, dont nous ne fûmes retirés qu'avec beaucoup de peine. On mit à la voile le lendemain. Nous touchâmes à Rovigno, petite ville d'Istrie. Je n'ai vu nulle part de femmes aussi belles, aussi fraîches et aussi robustes. Nous étions à six heures de Pola, nous voulions y aller, mais notre capitaine refusoit de nous attendre. On nous en montra l'emplacement de loin. Nous distinguâmes un peu mieux Raguse et sans avoir fait d'autres relâches nous arrivâmes au cap nord de Corfou. Nous apercevions une église au milieu d'une enceinte de murailles, qu'on nous dit être la *Madonna-di-Cassopo*, bâtie sur les ruines d'un temple de Jupiter Cassius, et en terre ferme les monts Cérauniens, où naquit la Chimère et dont ils ont retenu le nom. Les Grecs les nomment *Chimara*, *Χιμαρα* (*infames scopulos Acroceraunia*, Horace). Les médailles d'Epire ont la Chimère.

¹ May 14, 1780. *Foucherot*, p. 1.

L'isle de Corfou est fort montueuse et assez boisée; l'olivier y paroît indigène comme par toute la Grèce. Le château est sur une presqu'isle; on y voit un arsenal et le palais du provéditeur. Au bas est une darse, où étoient les galères de la République; des vaisseaux et des chebecs étoient mouillés à la rade sous l'isle de Vido. On sait que Corfou est la clef du golfe Adriatique. On voit dans le château la statue en bronze de Schoulembourg qui défendit la place contre les Turcs. Les habitans montrent avec beaucoup de vénération les reliques de leur évêque Spiridion et ils prétendent que ce fut ce saint qui
 P. 3. apparut sur la brèche, qui combattit pour eux et repoussa les assauts des infidèles. | On ne voit de traces d'antiquités à Corfou qu'à Paléopolis. Deux petites colonnes corinthiennes enclavées dans le mur d'une église soutiennent un architrave; près de là un port comblé, des jardins où étoient, dit-on, ceux d'Alcynous au tems d'Ulysse. Ils produisent d'excellentes figues dites *fracassanes*.¹

Un officier général d'artillerie ayant appris que nous allions parcourir la Grèce désira nous connaître. Il nous combla de politesse, nous fit voir des médailles, quelques bronzes et autres curiosités. Il vouloit nous donner des renseignements pour notre voyage et nous engagea à visiter l'isle de Patrocle près le cap Sunium. Nous devions suivant lui y trouver un souterrain, une urne sépulcrale. Le sable de cette isle étoit semé de pierres précieuses.

L'isle de Zanthé n'offre rien à l'antiquaire, mais le naturaliste y trouve des sources de bitume au milieu d'un marais près la mer dans la partie sud-est. Ce bitume surnage à la superficie de l'eau après s'être élevé en bulles du fond de ces sources. Il est trop liquide pour être employé sans mélange de gaudron ou de bray. Zanthé abonde en réglisse; un de nos agents y avoit établi une manufacture du jus de cet arbuste. Le commerce est le raisin dit de Corinthe et l'huile d'olive. La première de ces productions passe toute en

¹ *Foucherot*, pp. 3—5: Cette ville [Corfou] située sur un rocher qui s'avance en mer est munie de bonnes fortifications. La pointe de ce rocher contient ce que l'on nomme la *Forteresse Vieille*, où le provéditeur fait sa résidence. Elle est séparée de la ville par un canal, sur lequel est un pont de bois, et par une esplanade magnifique. La garnison consiste en trois ou quatre mille hommes, tant Vénitiens, déserteurs, qu'Esclavons et Grecs. La ville dont les rues sont assez étroites peut contenir quinze à vingt mille âmes. La religion grecque y est la dominante. Elle est gouvernée par un *protopapa*, et leur église principale est celle de St Spiridion, où dans une châsse d'argent on conserve le corps de ce saint. Il y a quelques églises latines, dont le chef est un évêque, et deux ou trois sinagogues. La ville est deffendue du côté de la terre par une forteresse nommée la *Forteresse Neuve*, et par deux autres forts avancés, dont l'un se nomme *Mont Abraham* et l'autre *Fort de Castrati*. Ce fort joint un village du même nom, où les nobles de la ville ont pour la plupart un casin. C'est vers le haut de ce village que se trouve une chapelle grecque dont le portail est composé de deux colonnes composites avec un entablement sur la frise et sur l'architrave duquel on lit l'inscription citée par Wheler [*A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), 33—34. Cf. Spon & Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant* (Lyons, 1678), I, 128; III, 82—83]. On recueille dans ce village des figues nommées *fracasanes*, lesquelles sont très estimées. Au midy de ce village et à environ une demie lieue on apperçoit le port ancien de Corcyra, qui ne sert plus actuellement qu'à la pêche étant de peu de profondeur. On ne retrouve plus à son entrée l'anneau de la chaîne qui le fermoit ainsi que l'a vu Wheler [*Op. cit.*, 33; cf. Spon & Wheler, *op. cit.*, I, 129]. Les environs de la ville paroissent assez agréable, mais on nous a assuré qu'un étranger qui s'éloigneroit de plus d'une ou deux lieues pourroit bien être victime de sa curiosité.

Angleterre, la seconde se consomme à Venise. Notre bâtiment devoit y charger du raisin pour Londres. Nous le quittâmes pour aller à Céphalonie.¹

L'aspect de cette isle est celui d'une terre brûlée de la plus grande stérilité, si ce n'est au sud où des montagnes fort hautes et boisées la terminent. Ses ports sont à l'ouest dans un golfe qui s'enfonce beaucoup dans les terres. A gauche en entrant est Lixuri, à droite et au fond de ce golfe, Argostoli, patrie du Comte Carbury, célèbre pour avoir transporté à Petersbourg le rocher qui sert de piédestal à la statue de Pierre premier. M. Carbury, que nous avions connu à Venise, nous avoit donné des recommandations pour sa sœur qui nous fit voir avec beaucoup de complaisance des plantations de sucre et d'indigo, de coton en arbre, dont son frère vouloit enrichir son pays. Il y fut assassiné par ses compatriotes peu après son retour et on ne voit plus à Céphalonie ni sucre ni indigo. Ayant appris qu'il n'y avoit absolument rien à voir que l'emplacement de Samé nous quittâmes Argostoli à demi ruinée par les tremblemens de terre qui y sont très fréquens. Nous passâmes de nouveau au cap sud de Céphalonie avec un très petit bateau, quatre hommes, sept à huit fusils, et nous arrivâmes à Itaque.²

Si notre traversée de Céphalonie à Itaque fut courte, elle ne fut pas sans danger. Nous nous vîmes au moment de faire feu sur deux bateaux de pirates qui venoient sur nous, mais notre contenance et la vue de nos armes leur firent changer de résolution. Etant près de l'isle un de nos matelots se servant d'une grosse conque, qui se pêche dans ces mers, au lieu de porte-voix donna le signal de notre arrivée aux habitans de Vathi, dont nous n'étions pas fort éloignés, quoiqu'il nous fallût plus de deux heures pour y arriver tant le golfe d'Itaque est tortueux et profond, ce que signifie *Vathi*. A son extrémité sud la ville qui porte le même nom | est au pied d'une très haute montagne, le P. 4.

¹ *Foucherot*, pp. 5–6: Le 25 [juillet] nous quittâmes le bâtiment et vîmes prendre un logement dans la ville ou plustost dans le bourg de Zante, car elle n'est fermée par aucunes murailles. Une seule forteresse ancienne placée sur le sommet de la montagne qui forme le port lui sert de deffense. Cette ville bâtie dans le fond du port est très agréable. Les rues y sont plus larges qu'à Corfou et plus étendues. Le nombre de ses habitans peut aller à trente mille âmes, toutes du rit grec à l'exception de cent catholiques romains et trois cents Juifs. Les églises grecques y sont très jolies. Elles sont gouvernées par un évêque, qui l'est en même tems de Corfou et de Céphalonie. Il y a dans l'isle quarante huit villages, dont soixante mille âmes cultivent les oliviers et le raisin de Corinthe, les deux objets de commerce de l'isle, et qui fournissent par an à la République environ soixante à soixante et dix mille sequins, ce qui peut faire environ sept cents soixante et dix mille livres de France.

² *Foucherot*, pp. 6–7: ... nous parvîmes à Argostoly. Cette ville, ou mieux ce village, est dans une situation affreuse. Bâti sur le penchant aride d'une colline il n'a pour vue qu'une montagne déserte et couverte de roches, dont il n'est séparé que par le golphe qui peut avoir environ une demie lieue de large. Vers l'est de cet amas de baraques, la plupart en ruines, est à environ deux lieues sur une pointe de rocher la forteresse d'Argostoly qui n'est pas en meilleur état que la ville. Elle est dominée vers l'est par la *Montagne Noire*, une des plus hautes de l'isle et des environs. Nous vîmes dans la ville d'Argostoly les plantations d'indigo et de sucre de Monsieur le Comte de Carbury, qui nous parurent en très bon état. Après quoi nous nous occupâmes des moyens de sortir de cette ville dont presque tous les habitans avoient la fièvre. Notre intention de passer de là dans l'isle de Thiaki en traversant l'isle n'eut aucuns partisans, les rebelles ayant le Comte Metaksas pour chef dépouillant ordinairement les gens qui ne sont pas de leur parti.

Mont Nerite. Les nuages nous en cachèrent la cime et même une partie des masures de l'ancienne ville. La crainte des corsaires dans des tems plus malheureux obligeoit ces insulaires à bâtir dans les endroits dont l'accès étoit le plus difficile. Les habitans d'Itaque sont spirituels, braves et bons marins, mais ils sont fort adonnés à la piraterie. On nous conduisit sur une crête de l'isle dans l'endroit le plus étroit. On nous montra des amas de pierres sans plan que l'on nomme les ruines du *Palais d'Ulysse*, ce qui m'a paru plutôt avoir été un poste de corsaire, car de là on voit la mer des deux côtés entre Céphalonie et entre la terre ferme de l'Acharnanie et on peut facilement avertir de l'apparition de quelque proie. La principale production de l'isle est le raisin de Corinthe. Nous partîmes d'Itaque avec les mêmes précautions contre les voleurs.¹

Le calme nous ayant retenu au coucher du soleil près Leucade, aujourd'hui *St^e Maure*, nous n'y arrivâmes que le lendemain. Pendant que l'officier de santé devant lequel nous fûmes conduits paroissoit se disposer à nous mettre en quarantaine, on nous faisoit entendre que nous pouvions avoir l'entrée pour quelques sequins. Après avoir visité le rocher de Leucade nous nous embarquâmes sur un petit bateau fait d'une tronc d'arbre creusé, appelé *monoxilo*.²

Nous voguâmes de conserve avec un provéditeur de *St^e Maure* et de *Prévésa* (le vieux Cornaro). Il étoit comme nous dans son *monoxilo* et se rendoit à *Prévésa*. La mer est si peu profonde entre *St^e Maure* et la terre ferme que nous fûmes souvent obligés de sauter dans l'eau et de porter nos bateaux. Nous arrivâmes de bonne heure à l'entrée du golfe d'Actium. *Prévésa*, comme l'on sait, appartenoit alors aux Vénitiens. Une chétive maison, une chapelle à demi ruinée, deux masures sans toits, et trois canons sans affuts, le tout entouré d'une mauvaise palissade, formoit avec douze soldats la défense de la frontière Vénitienne du côté de l'Albanie. On nous montra au milieu des ruines de *Nicopolis* la borne qui séparoit les deux états. Pausanias nous apprend que *Nicopolis* fut bâtie par Auguste après la bataille d'Actium, qu'il y transporta les habitans d'Ambracie et les

¹ *Foucherot*, p. 8: L'isle de Thiaki, dont le sol est très aride et rempli de rochers, contient trois villages dont le plus étendu est celui nommé Vathy. Il étoit il y a quelques années situé sur le penchant ouest des montagnes qui forment son port, mais actuellement les habitans ayant moins à craindre des corsaires se sont rassemblés autour du port, qui seroit propre à des vaisseaux de guerre, si l'entrée en étoit plus large. Les deux autres villages sont Anoy et Oxoy, qui quoique placés sur la montagne ont sur le bord de la mer un port avec quelques habitations. Les habitans de l'isle au nombre de huit à dix mille Grecs cultivent la vigne et l'olivier, leur seul objet de commerce. En entrant dans le port de Vathy on aperçoit sur une montagne en face de soi quelques débris d'un mur fait de morceaux de rocher. Les gens du pays, qui nomment cet endroit *Paliocastro*, prétendent que ces ruines sont les débris du palais d'Ulysse.

² *Foucherot*, p. 10: La forteresse de *St^e Maure* dont les fortifications sont modernes paroît en assez bon état. Elle tient à la ville par une petite levée de trois pieds de largeur et percée de quantité de petites arches. L'artillerie de cette petite place consiste en une soixantaine de canons, la garnison en cinq ou six cents hommes, et la population de cinq ou six mille habitans dont la plus grande partie est grecque. L'isle contient trente-six villages qui cultivent les oliviers, quelque peu de mûrier pour la soye, et du grain plus que pour leur subsistance. Le bétail y donne beaucoup de beurre et de fromage. On retire aussi près de la ville beaucoup de sel pour la consommation de la République, ce qui cause des exhalaisons détestables dans les environs.

Anactoriens, qui étoient colonies d'Corinthe.¹ Nicopolis est située au pied des collines entre le golfe et la mer Adriatique. Le Citoyen Foucherot en fit un plan exact, mesura les deux théâtres et le stade. Je dessinaï la plupart de ces ruines; elles sont en brique. On n'y trouve aucun vestige de sculpture, point de marbre.

Nous partîmes de Prévésa avec un vent de mer qui s'élève régulièrement à onze heures dans la belle saison, et nous arrivâmes en quatre heures à Salagora, port d'Arta, éloigné de six lieues de cette ville. Il n'y a qu'une douane et un kan, auberge turque, espèce de hangard, où les marchandises, les hommes et les chevaux trouvent le couvert et rien de plus. Arta, une des principales villes d'Albanie, est à quatre lieues ouest de Janina. C'étoit la première ville de Turquie que je voyois. Nous y avions un agent, c'est la résidence d'un pacha. Une rivière de même nom baigne ses murs; nous l'avions traversée sur un pont de pierre composé d'un grand nombre d'arches, dont une a environ quatre-vingt pieds de haut; elle est en ogive; le pont passe en Turquie pour une merveille. A son extrémité on admire un platane d'une grosseur prodigieuse tel que celui d'Egium, aujourd'hui Vostiche, sur le golfe de Lépanthe et celui de l'isle de Cos. Les curiosités d'Arta consistent en une grande église en brique couronnée de cinq domes bâtie par les premiers empereurs chrétiens. On a la vue du Pinde vers l'est.² P. 5.

La difficulté de voyager en Albanie, la crainte des voleurs dont rien n'égale la cruauté, et plus encore le peu d'espoir de trouver les moindres vestiges de Dodone et de ses chênes prophétiques nous fit renoncer à ce projet. Nous passâmes de nouveau le golfe d'Ambracie du nord-ouest au sud-est de l'embouchure de la rivière d'Arta à un port de l'Acharnanie, qui ne doit pas être loin d'Argos Amphiloque. Pausanias dit qu'Amphiloque, fils d'Amphiaraus, donna son nom à une ville d'Acharnanie.³ Nous traversâmes cette province du nord au sud. Elle se nomme *Exromero* [*Xéromero*] aujourd'hui; elle est fertile et bien boisée. Ses habitans sont Albanois; leur aspect est féroce et le pays peu sûr, aussi étions-nous obligés de nous faire escorter de vingt et trente hommes dans

¹ Pausanias, V, 23, 3.

² *Foucherot*, pp. 13-14: ... nous ... arrivâmes à l'Arta dans la maison consulaire de France, où M. Grimaldy, agent de la nation, et MM. Roque et Mestral, négociants françois, nous reçurent avec toutes sortes d'honnêtetés. La ville de l'Arta sans être bien belle est très étendue. Elle est gouvernée par un vaivode et un cady. On y compte deux cents Turcs, autant de Juifs, et neuf à dix mille Grecs. Les habitans n'y sont pas vexés comme par toute la Turquie. Ils récoltent du blé, du millet, des légumes, du vin, et du tabac fort estimé. Les forests voisines peuvent fournir beaucoup de bon bois utile à la marine. On voit bien peu dans cette ville des restes de son antiquité. Une église bâtie par Michel Duc Despote, grand Comnène, est le morceau le plus ancien de la ville et sert encore d'église aux Grecs sous le nom de *Parioritissa* [*i.e. Παριγορήτισσα*]. Les gens du pays les plus instruits m'ont dit que leur ville se nommoit anciennement Argos Amphilochia. Ainsi M. D'Anville se trompe tandis qu'il la nomme Ambracia, les ruines de la ville qui porte encore ce nom se voyant au fond du golphe de l'Arta, où lui-même place Argos Amphilochia [*on his map, Graeciae Antiquae Specimen Geographicum* (1792)]. Nous avions bien le dessein d'aller voir cette ancienne ville, mais le peu de sûreté qu'il auroit eu pour notre vie nous en a détourné.

³ Pausanias, II, 18, 5.

certains endroits. Les maisons des gens aisés sont des tours percées de créneaux où l'on entre par un pont-levis; l'escalier de la chambre se ferme avec une trape pesante. On paroît vivre sans cesse dans un état de guerre, on ne quitte point les armes. Le fleuve Achelous arrose cette province, il se nomme *Aspropotamo*, la *rivière blanche*. C'est le plus grand fleuve de la Grèce. Pausanias dit : « Le fleuve Achelous traverse l'Acharnanie et l'Epire; il est nommé par Homère le roi des fleuves. » ¹

Anatolico est une petite ville bâtie sur plusieurs isles près la terre ferme (les Eschinades). Nous couchâmes sur la plus éloignée de ces isles à une pêcherie. On y saloit une grande quantité d'œufs de muge que l'on nomme boutargue, qui se consomme à Venise et en Italie.² Nous abordâmes à Messolongi, autre petite ville de l'Etolie.³ Les ruines de Calydon sont dans le voisinage. Nous traversâmes le golfe de Patras, anciennement Patra, et plus anciennement encore Aroé. Nous arrivâmes enfin à cette capitale de l'Achaïe, qui n'a conservé aucun monument de sa splendeur.⁴ Nous partîmes pour Corinthe toujours avec un très petit bateau. Nous passâmes entre les châteaux de Morée et de Romélie, dont les boulets se croisent d'une terre à l'autre comme aux Dardanelles. Nous vîmes d'assez près Lépante en amphithéâtre. Les Grecs Modernes ont conservé son nom *Νεπακτος*. Vostiche, bourg ou petite ville du Péloponèse à une journée de Patras, n'offre aux voyageurs

¹ Pausanias, VIII, 38, 10.

² *Foucherot*, pp. 17—18: Cette petite ville assez laide et malpropre peut contenir trois à quatre mille habitants, dont la plus grande partie est grecque sous la direction de l'évêque de l'Arta. Ses environs sont beaux et plantés d'oliviers et de vignes, et son commerce de blé qui est considérable pourroit être augmenté, si les Acarnaniens cultivoient davantage le beau pays qu'ils occupent. Peut-être aussi le défaut de bras pour la culture empêche-t-il qu'il s'étende davantage.

³ *Foucherot*, p. 18: Messaloughi, ville autrefois étendue, mais qui à présent est couverte de ruines que les Albanois lors de leur passage en Morée y ont occasionnées. Elle peut contenir quatre à cinq mille âmes, dont le plus grand nombre est grec sous la direction de l'évêque de l'Arta ainsi que ceux de Lépanthe. Il s'y fait assez de commerce et particulièrement en raisins de Corinthe.

⁴ *Foucherot*, pp. 19—20: La ville de Patras située au bas des montagnes est commandée par une forteresse de construction ancienne, placée dans l'endroit le plus élevé de la ville et isolée des autres parties. Cette ville gouvernée par un vaivode et un eady renferme environ cinq cents Turcs et dix mille Grecs gouvernés pour le spirituel par un archevêque, qui a pour suffragants les évêques de Gastouny, Calavrita et Vostiche. Les Juifs y sont en petit nombre. Sa situation est des plus agréables, mais l'air qu'on y respire dans les mois d'aoust et de septembre y est très mauvais. Son étendue est considérable, mais les Albanois et Duleignotes y ont détruit en 1778 une quantité prodigieuse de maisons bâties presque toutes en terre. Le commerce du pays consiste en soye, huile, raisins de Corinthe et blé. On voit à Patras vers le haut de la ville une fontaine dont l'eau se distribue presque dans chaque maison, d'où elle se rend ensuite dans les champs et forme un marais dans le même emplacement où autrefois étoit le port. De vieilles murailles en brique, dont les retraites nécessaires à la solidité d'un mur aussi épais ont été prises par Wheler [*Spon & Wheler, op. cit.*, II, 12] pour les gradins d'un cirque ne sont autres que les murs du port. Un anneau de fer qu'on y voyoit il y a quelques années ne laisse plus de doute sur cette conjecture. Entre la mer et le marais sont les ruines d'une église sous le vocable de St André. Près des murs de l'ancien port on voit une masse de brique considérable qui devoit faire partie d'un monument très vaste. Dans la ville basse vers le sud on voit les ruines en brique d'un petit édifice antique, dont la façade étoit ornée d'une porte, dont l'entablement avec fronton étoit supporté par deux colonnes, et dans la maison du Consul de France est une reste de pavé en mosaïque. Voilà à peu près tout ce qu'il reste de l'ancienne Aroé.

qu'un très beau platane au bord de la mer près d'une fontaine très abondante d'où l'eau sort par plus de douze tuyaux. Il se fait à Vostiche et à Patras un grand commerce de raisin de Corinthe.

Nous nous embarquâmes sur un beau bateau de Galaxidi, que je crois Cirrha, | port de P. 6. Delphes, car la distance de ce port est celle que donne Pausanias de Delphes à Cirrha qui en est le port. Il y a, dit-il, soixante stades, environ trois lieues et demie.¹ Le port où nous débarquâmes est plus à l'ouest. C'est celui de Salone, qui étoit à ce que je pense Amphisse, dont le port étoit Crissa plus éloigné de Delphes que Cirrha. Voici ce que Pausanias dit de ces villes : « Cirrha s'est ainsi appelée du nom d'une nymphe du lieu; ce qui est de certain c'est qu'Homère dans l'Iliade et dans une de ses hymnes à Apollon l'appelle Crissa de son ancien nom. »² Le texte, dit le traducteur, est défectueux. Je suis porté à le croire, car un village près de Delphes se nomme aujourd'hui *Cryso*; mais autre embaras, ce Cryso n'est point un port et Pausanias dit positivement que de Delphes à Cirrha, qui en est le port, on compte soixante stades. Je pense que les habitants de Crissa ou Cirrha, qui est la même ville sous le nom antique et sous le nom moderne, se seront retirés dans la terre à Cryso une lieue au sud de Delphes.

Salone paroît être Amphisse. Elle est située à l'extrémité nord d'une vallée adossée pour ainsi dire au Parnasse, dont les immenses rochers lui servent de fond et contrastent avec la verdure de la vallée. Il reste quelques tours de la citadelle de Salone sur des rochers escarpés. Une source serpente dans la plaine et arrose les plus gros oliviers de la Grèce; elle se jette à la mer au port. Le commerce de Salone est l'huile et le maroquin jaune. Amphisse étoit la plus grande ville et la plus renommée du pays des Locriens à cent vingt stades de Delphes.³

Une soixantaine de maisons, trois petites églises ornées de peintures à fresque du plus mauvais goût ont remplacés Delphes, ses temples, ses richesses, ses tableaux et ses statues, mais les immenses rochers qui forment l'ancre Corycius, la double cime, la fontaine Castalienne, le stade qu'Hérode Atticus avoit revêtu de marbre du Pentelique, et plus que tout cela un sentiment religieux et profond, dont on ne peut se défendre en approchant de ces lieux, vous diroit assez c'étoit l'oracle d'Apollon sans le secours des inscriptions qui se rencontrent sous les ruines et qui couvrent des murs entiers. Les habitants de Delphes

¹ Pausanias, X, 37, 4.

² Pausanias, X, 37, 5.

³ *Foucherot*, pp. 21—22: La ville de Salone bâtie sur le penchant des montagnes ouest qui ferment le vallon, par lequel on y arrive de la marine, fait par sa situation un effet agréable. Les maisons bâties en terre font un amphithéâtre dont le sommet est rempli par une forteresse toute en ruines élevée sur des murs qui paroissent antiques. Au bas du rocher, sur lequel est assis la forteresse, est une fontaine, dont l'eau sert de boisson à toute la ville. On y trouva il y a quelques années près de cette source une inscription, qui faisoit mention du cas que Socrate faisoit de cette eau, la qualifiant de impayable. Les seules restes d'antiquité de cette ville sont quelques petites colonnes en marbre dans la citadelle et un mur en pierres de taille sur le bord du petit torrent, qui de la ville se rend à la mer par le vallon, où sont quantité d'oliviers qui sont le principal commerce de ce pays.

furent fort peu hospitaliers envers nous. Ils nous tinrent en prison refusant de nous laisser voir les ruines. Tout le village assemblé dans une chambre voisine de la nôtre et autour de la maison nous envoyoit questionner par une députation de trois vieillards. Leur interrogatoire étoit ainsi conçu : « Quel est votre pays ? Quel est votre roi ? D'où venez vous ? Et que voulez vous ici ? » Après leur avoir répondu suivant l'ordre de leurs questions ils nous dirent que nous ne verrions rien chez eux parceque depuis que des Francs comme nous étoient venus voir, lire et écrire leurs pierres, ils n'avoient eu que du malheur. Nous P. 7. avions un Turc avec nous, mais son autorité étoit en défaut dans ce village grec. | Nous fîmes politesse aux députés de Delphes, nous les fîmes bien boire, nous liâmes conversation et ils nous quittèrent moins farouches qu'ils n'étoient entrés. Nous sacrifiâmes le lendemain quelques cheviaux à leur appétit et ils devinrent assez bonnes gens. Nous gagnâmes sur eux qu'ils enverroient sur le Parnasse consulter un vieux *papas*, hermite qui avoit remplacé la Pythie. Nous ne pûmes découvrir s'il fait usage du sacré trépied, mais l'oracle nous fut favorable. Le troisième jour nous eûmes la liberté de sortir. Tout le village nous suivit à la fontaine Castalienne, à l'autre Corycius, et il nous fut impossible de rien dessiner, ny de copier les inscriptions, pas même de les lire. Nous n'étions pas sans inquiétude au milieu de ces gens grossiers. Nous crûmes prudent de profiter du moment où nos guides mangeoient pour retourner à Salone.

Quelques années après je retournai seul à Delphes et j'y découvris plusieurs monuments qui n'avoient été apperçus jusque-là par aucun voyageur. Je retrouvai le Stade, l'emplacement du temple au pied des rochers et près un antre de quinze pieds de profondeur ou d'enfoncement, qui reçoit le jour par une ouverture triangulaire et qui est indubitablement l'endroit où étoit placé le fameux trépied. Je présume que le premier temple a été adossé à ce rocher. Des trous au-dessus de l'ouverture indiquent que des solives y ont été posées et ont soutenues un toit. J'ai mesuré le Stade; il a cinq cent soixante-seize pieds de longueur. J'en ai aussi mesuré les sièges et levé un plan exact de Delphes, que j'ai communiqué au Citoyen Felix Beaujour, aujourd'hui membre du Tribunal, avec qui je me trouvai à Delphes. Nous visitâmes ensemble la double cime du Parnasse et nous trouvâmes une plaine fertile d'une demie lieue quarrée, élevée à plus de trois cents toises au-dessus de Delphes. Du pied des rochers qui couronnent à l'ouest ce vaste bassin sort à gros bouillons une source considérable d'une eau très limpide et très froide, qui inonderoit cette plaine et en formeroit un lac, si elle ne trouvoit à s'échapper par une ouverture, que les Grecs appellent *Cata-votra*, pour reparaitre ensuite en nappes dans l'autre Corycius et donner naissance au Plistus, qui coule dans une vallée très profonde et qui sépare le Parnasse de la montagne voisine qui est le Cirphis. Nous descendîmes avec bien de la peine à Delphes à l'ouest de l'emplacement du temple d'Apollon par un escalier taillé dans le roc. C'est par là que montoient les Thyades pour célébrer leurs orgies. Les hauts sommets du Parnasse sont couverts de sapins. A Delphes ce sont des pins. Dans la plaine supérieure il y a un petit hameau, peut-être où étoit Lycorée. Il n'est habité qu'au tems de la moisson. On y voit de l'aube épine d'une espèce particulière.

Nous repassâmes le golfe d'Alcyon ou la mer de Crissa pour nous rendre à Corinthe et faire le voyage du Péloponèse. Nous avions pour guide | Spon et Wheler. Ces savants P. 8. voyageurs qui ont ouverts la carrière à tous ceux qui depuis ont eu le courage de voir la Grèce s'étoient servis du meilleur de tous les guides, Pausanias. Depuis eux personne n'avoit encore ajouté la moindre découverte aux leurs. On les suivoit toujours pas à pas sans jamais les perdre de vue. Le défaut de la langue, l'infidélité, l'ignorance et surtout la paresse des interprètes ajoutent aux difficultés de ces voyages et sont de grands obstacles aux découvertes. Aussi fîmes nous le tour du Péloponèse comme tous ceux qui nous avoient devancés.

Nous vîmes Corinthe, Epidaure, Troezen, Calaurée, nous oubliâmes Hermione, nous allâmes à Argos¹ sans penser à Mycènes. Nous vîmes cependant Nemée. Nous devons cette découverte à un négociant françois, M. Cayrac, qui s'étant perdu s'étoit trouvé à la plaine de Nemée où les trois colonnes du temple de Jupiter encore debout l'avoit frappé. Nous les mesurâmes, nous vîmes le théâtre, le Mont Apesas, la fontaine Adrastée sur le chemin de Trete. Nous passâmes à Naples de Romanie, anciennement Nauplia.² Nous vîmes la fontaine Canathos où Junon suivant Pausanias recouvroit sa virginité en se baignant tous les ans.³ Nous passâmes le marais de Lerne, le Mont Parthénus, et nous entrâmes dans la plaine où sont situées les ruines de Tégée et de Mantinée. La ville de Tripolissa occupe aujourd'hui cette plaine près des montagnes. C'est la résidence du Pacha de Morée. Ce vice-roi nous reçut bien et nous donna un de ses *choadars* pour nous

¹ *Foucherot*, pp. 26–27: Le 10 octobre nous fûmes à Argos qui n'est éloigné de Naples que de deux heures. Nous traversâmes avant d'y arriver une rivière qui pour lors étoit à sec et fûmes surpris du terrain qu'occupe cette ville, ou pour mieux dire ce village, dont tous les habitans sont voiturins. On y voit une mosquée et un couvent ture assez joly. La forteresse, qui est construite sur le sommet de la montagne, est en ruines et abandonnée. Vers le bas de la montagne est un aqueduc qui anciennement amenoit l'eau à une fontaine dont la construction en brique est actuellement en ruines. Vers le bas de cette espèce de réservoir est un mur en pierres, dont les joints ne sont pas équarris, mais sont seulement dressés suivant la forme qu'ils ont eu en sortant de la roche. On voit sur deux de ses pierres un petit bas-relief avec inscriptions absolument méconnoissables. Au sud de ces ruines on voit des gradins taillés dans le rocher en demi-cercle qui peuvent faire conjecturer qu'ils ont appartenu à un théâtre. Vers le bas de ces gradins et à quelque distance reste encore une grande partie de mur en brique, dont le fond forme niche et qui dans sa voûte étoit orné de caissons, dont il ne reste plus que la chape de ciment qui les contenoit. A quelques pas en avant on voit encore un pan de mur en brique et dans la terre un petit emplacement quarré, d'un côté duquel sort d'une rigole une petite source qui se va rendre dans un égout pratiqué dans l'autre côté. On voit bien encore de côté à l'autre des morceaux de mur en brique, mais ils n'ont aucune forme. Après avoir examiné ces antiquités nous nous en retournâmes à Naples.

² *Foucherot*, pp. 25–26: La ville de Naples située sur le penchant nord d'un rocher qui s'avance dans la mer se ressent encore du tems où elle appartenoit aux Vénitiens. Ses fortifications y sont en bon état. Le lion de St Marc y est sur tous les murs et les maisons y sont à plusieurs étages. Une forteresse placée vers le haut de la ville et une redoute sur un écueil en deffendent l'approche. Sur le rocher, qui tient à la terre et qui par sa hauteur commanderoit la ville et sa forteresse, on y a élevé avec des fortes dépenses une forteresse que l'on nomme *Palamida*, où les Tures ne laissent entrer personne. Au bas de ce rocher et à l'ouest de la ville le Capitan-Pacha vient de faire élever une fontaine qu'il imagine être une superbe chose quoiqu'elle soit de peu de conséquence.

³ Pausanias, II, 38, 2.

escorter.¹ Nous allâmes de Tripolissa à Sparte,² à Léondari près le défilé de la Méssénie, à Androussa qui doit être l'ancienne Andania. Nous vîmes Ciparissa, aujourd'hui Arcadia,³ Coroni, Modoni,⁴ et Avarini. Cette dernière n'est point la patrie du vieux Nestor comme l'ont cru quelques voyageurs. Les ruines de Pylos sont plus au nord.⁵ Nous traversâmes le Nedon et l'Alphée. Nous cherchions Olympie et nous errions sur ses ruines.⁶ Nous passâmes par Gastouni, ville moderne à une demie lieue d'Elis où il y a des ruines. Nous traversâmes un autre Pénée, moins célèbre que celui de Thessalie. Nous allâmes par terre à Corinthe. Nous étions passés au bas de Sicyone sans le sçavoir. Je décrirai les antiquités de cette ville, que j'ai revu, dans un autre voyage. Nous vîmes à Corinthe onze colonnes en pierre d'une seule pièce, reste d'un temple d'Apollon qui a été brûlé et dont parle Pausanias;⁷ il étoit d'ordre dorique. Le savant David LeRoi l'a fait connaître. Il étoit enduit d'un stuc qui lui donnoit l'apparence de granit d'Egypte. Nous visitâmes les ports de Corinthe, le Leschée et le Cenchrée. Ce dernier a conservé son ancien nom,

¹ *Foucherot*, p. 28: Tripolissa, qui est la capitale de la Morée, ressemble plus à un grand village qu'à une ville. Elle n'est fermée d'aucune muraille et n'a nulle forteresse. Le sérail, résidence du Mouhasil, a l'air d'une basse-cour. Enfin tout y annonce la pauvreté quoique le séjour du gouverneur y attire continuellement des étrangers.

² *Foucherot*, pp. 30—31: Le 17 [octobre] nous fûmes voir l'ancienne Sparte. Nous mîmes à peu près trois quarts d'heure à nous rendre près de son ancien théâtre qui en très mauvais état est presque le seul témoignage de son antiquité. Des constructions en brique et un très mauvais aqueduc paroissent aussi anciens, mais ne méritent pas la peine que l'on prend pour s'y rendre.

³ *Foucherot*, p. 36: La ville d'Arcadie est fort grande et dans une charmante situation. Bâtie sur le penchant d'une haute montagne elle a la mer à son pied et sur une pointe de rocher une forteresse ancienne assez bien conservée. Le nombre des habitans y a considérablement diminué depuis le descente des Albanois; on s'en aperçoit à la quantité de ruines et de maisons désertes.

⁴ *Foucherot*, p. 34: Cette ville fermée de murs peut contenir environ deux mille Turcs, qui n'ont pour se défendre que quelques mauvaises pièces de canon sans affûts. Le bourg qui est à deux cents pas de la ville a environ mille Grecs, qui ont d'assez jolis jardins arrosés par une petite rivière qui près de là va se jeter à la mer. La plaine contient aussi plusieurs oliviers, lesquels font le principal objet de commerce du pays. Le bourg de Modon est situé au bas d'une petite colline, sur laquelle les Russes avoient dressé leur batterie lorsqu'ils firent le siège de la ville. Les Grecs qui les accompagnoient à la vue d'un renfort de quatre mille Turcs prirent la fuite et abandonnèrent les quatre cents Russes qui furent taillés en pièces.

⁵ *Foucherot*, p. 35: Cette ville [Navarin] de moitié plus petite que celle de Modon est également fermée de murs, mais pas aussi en état de défense. Elle peut contenir cinq à six cents Turcs et le bourg à peu près autant de Grecs. Les environs y paroissent peu susceptible de culture et sans son port formé par l'isle Sphacterie cette place, je pense, seroit de peu de valeur. Sur le sommet de l'isle Sphacterie est une forteresse en ruines que les gens du pays nomment le *Vieux Navarin*.

⁶ *Foucherot*, pp. 38—39: Nous employâmes une demie heure à traverser une petite colline, autour de laquelle nous vîmes deux morceaux de murs en brique, les seuls restes d'Olympie. Nous marchâmes encore un quart d'heure et montâmes au village de Miraca, où nous passâmes la nuit dans la maison d'Achmet Effendy de Gastouny. Nous fines venir un des plus vieux de l'endroit pour sçavoir si dans les environs il n'y avoit pas quelques monuments antiques. Il nous répondit qu'il n'en connoissoit pas d'autres que ceux que nous avions vu la veille et dont on avoit tiré plusieurs pierres pour construire la maison d'Achmet. Nous visitâmes la maison du haut en bas et n'apperçûmes que des pierres très poreuses et coquilleuses bien différentes par conséquent de celles dont parle Pausanias.

⁷ Pausanias, II, 5, 5.

Κεχροαῖς. On voit encore des sources d'eau chaude. Il y en a aussi au pied du Mont Géranien sur le golfe de Corinthe les restes des murs garnis de tours qui ont fermé l'Isthme, le théâtre et le stade où se célébroient les jeux en l'honneur de Mélicerte.¹

Nous eussions désiré nous rendre dans l'Attique en suivant les rivages de la mer pour y voir les rochers Scironiens où Thésée précipita le brigand Sciron, mais cette route est interdite aux voyageurs. Les Turcs forcent de passer le Mont Géranien où ils ont établi un péage. Dans un autre voyage par mer nous visitâmes à notre aise ces affreux rochers et la roche Moluris et les restes du temple d'Athamas. Ce passage est une espèce de corniche formée par une épaisse muraille pratiquée contre un immense rocher lisse incliné à environ quarante-cinq degrés. Deux troncs d'arbres légèrement couverts de terre forment une espèce de pont à quarante pieds au-dessus de la mer, qui brise avec violence dans cet endroit. Ce chemin n'est permis qu'aux habitants de Mégare et des villages qui bordent l'Isthme au pied du Mont Géranien. Pausanias dit : « Le chemin du Sciron est ainsi appelé parceque dans le tems qu'il commandoit les troupes de Mégare il le fit applanir pour la commodité des gens de pied. Ensuite par les ordres de l'empereur Hadrien il a été élargi à l'endroit où il forme une espèce de gorge. Il est bordé par de grosses roches dont une se nomme Moluris. Ce fut de cette roche que se précipita Ino avec Mélicerte, le plus jeune de ses fils. Elle est consacrée à Leucothée et à Palémon et souillée par la cruauté de Sciron envers les passants qu'il jettoit à la mer. »² Il y a été précipité lui-même par Thésée du sommet du Géranien que les habitants appellent *Macriplai*, *Μακριπλαῖ*. Nous eûmes une des plus belles vues de la Grèce. Etant tournés au midi nous avions à droite le golfe de Corinthe, nous dominions presque toutes les montagnes du Péloponèse, les sommets couverts de neige des Taygètes ainsi que toutes les montagnes d'Arcadie, le Parthénus, le Pholoé, le Ménale; on distinguoit Sicyone. De l'autre côté à gauche, le golfe Saronique, le port Cenchrée, l'isle d'Aegina, le cap Sunium, le Laurium, le Mont Hymette, le cap Zoster, la ville d'Athènes, le Pentelique, plus près de nous l'isle de Salamine, la patrie d'Ajax, plus célèbre par la défaite des Perses; on distinguoit le lieu de combat, l'endroit où nous avons vu depuis le trophée des Athéniens et de Thémistocle, la presqu'isle du Pirée où je découvris il y a quelques années le tombeau de ce grand homme et celui de Cimon, fils de Miltiade. L'Isthme paroissoit sous nous à plus de quatre cents toises. Nous quittions

¹ *Foucherot*, pp. 45-46: La ville de Corinthe quoiqu'assez étendue contient peu d'habitans. Les maisons y sont grandes et assez bien bâties. Le bazar occupe les casernes que les Vénitiens y avoient bâties, mais les monuments antiques y sont rares. Onze colonnes doriques, dont le fût est d'une seule pièce, sont ce que l'on y voit de mieux conservé. Près du bazar on voit un massif en brique, dont il n'est plus possible de deviner le plan. Vers le haut de la ville est un rocher taillé, dans lequel on reconnoit les trous des solives du bâtiment qu'y pouvoit être appliqué. Un peu plus bas on apperçoit des tombeaux taillés dans le roc ainsique des égouts. Mais tous ces restes ne pourroient faire soupçonner que cette ville a été si riche, si dans plusieurs murs on ne retrouvoit des marbres, témoins de sa splendeur. Deux chapiteaux corinthiens en marbre très mutilés sont les seuls restes de cet ordre qui y avoit pris sa naissance. Quant à ce que renferme la citadelle nous n'en avons pu rien voir, l'entrée en étant interdite aux voyageurs depuis les révolutions de la Morée.

² Pausanias, I, 44, 6-8.

à regret cette belle vue dont nous ne pouvions nous rassasier. Nous avions franchi la partie la plus élevée de cette route lorsqu'un autre point de vue aussi important mais d'un autre genre vint nous frapper. Nous distinguions à une très grande profondeur au pied d'affreux précipices les ruines de Pagès sur le golfe Alcyon ou la mer de Crissa. Les hauts sommets du Parnasse, ceux de l'Hélicon et du Cythéron terminoient cette vue majestueuse à l'horizon. Nous apercevions plus bas les montagnes qui séparent la Mégaride du territoire sacré d'Eleusis. Nos regards se promenoient sur la plaine de Mégare et sur le Nisée,

P. 10. | sur les isles qui ferment le détroit de Salamine.

Mégarus, dit Pausanias, se sauva du déluge de Deucalion guidé par une bande de grues qui voloient de ce côté.¹ Il nagea jusqu'au sommet de cette montagne qui depuis s'est appelée Géranién, *γερανίη*, mot qui signifie en Grec Vulgaire « grue ». Mégare n'a conservé que des inscriptions éparses dans ses ruines et quelques statues mutilées. Mais la terre après les grosses pluies y restitue beaucoup de médailles, des vases, des Pénates. La plupart sont des Cybelles. Nous y vîmes des murs de la plus haute antiquité.²

A Eleusis je dessinaï le fragment de la Cérès de Praxitelle que les Anglais viennent d'enlever. Cette statue devoit avoir quinze pieds de proportion. Elle n'avoit d'entier que le col, une épaule, une partie du sein gauche et le modius qu'elle porte sur la tête. J'ai moulé ces restes précieux. Les plâtres appartiennent à la République et sont restés à Athènes avec plus de quarante caisses renfermant tous ce que j'ai pu mouler et beaucoup d'autres objets intéressants, marbres, bas-reliefs et inscriptions sur des cippes. J'ai communiqué au Citoyen Clavier une de ces belles inscriptions trouvée dans les ruines du temple d'Amphiaras près Orope. J'ai laissé en outre une collection de médailles d'un grand intérêt. Tous ces objets étoient restés cachés lorsque je fus transféré d'Athènes dans les prisons de Constantinople en Thermidor de l'an neuf [1801].³

D'Eleusis nous suivîmes la Voie Sacrée pour nous rendre à Athènes. Nous avons passé le Céphisse qui n'est qu'un torrent et nous avons laissé à droite et à gauche des restes de monuments, des piédestaux, lorsque nous vîmes à l'extrémité de la plaine et au pied du Corydallus deux courants d'eau salée qui se jettent à la mer au sortir d'un lac. Pausanias parle de ces courants; « on les prendroit », dit-il, « pour des fleuves, si l'on en jugeoit seulement par leurs cours, mais leurs eaux sont salées, ce qui donne lieu de croire qu'elles

¹ Pausanias, I, 40, 1.

² *Foucherot*, pp. 48—49: Le 20 [novembre] nous parcourâmes les environs de Mégare et ne trouvâmes d'antiquité que deux figures en marbre de sept pieds de proportion, auxquelles il manquoit la tête. Au midy de la ville à une petite demie lieue est le port Nisée. Sur une petite colline près du rivage est un ancien monastère autour duquel dans la plaine sont cinq ou six chapelles comme lui en ruines. La ville de Mégare est assez étendue. Ses habitans au nombre de quinze mille sont tous Grecs.

³ *Foucherot*, p. 49: Ce village [Eleusis], composé d'une douzaine de petites maisons où demeurent des Albanois qui cultivent la plaine dans laquelle il est situé, est parsemé de débris de colonnes de marbre. Vers le bas de la petite colline il y en a plusieurs tambours de différentes diamètres dont les cannelures sont corinthiennes et ioniques. On y en trouve aussi de doriques avec des morceaux de chapiteaux de ces différents ordres. Ainsi il n'est pas possible de deviner si le monument qui étoit dans la place où sont ces débris étoit ionique ou corinthien.

viennent de Chalcis », etc.¹ C'étoit les anciennes limites des Athéniens et des Eleusiniens. Près de là et au bord de la mer le chemin a été taillé dans le roc. Il se nomme le *mauvais pas*, *κακοσκαλα*. On passe ensuite près d'un rocher orné d'une quantité de petites niches où j'ai encore vu le socle et les pieds d'une statue. Ce passage étoit défendu par une tour. Une lieue plus loin et au plus haut de ce chemin entre le Mont Corydallus et le Mont Icare est un monastère nommé Daphni, qui paroît bâti sur les ruines d'un temple dont il reste encore deux colonnes en place enclavées dans le mur de l'église au couchant. Ces colonnes sont de marbre du Pentelique et d'ordre ionique. On compte deux heures de marche de là à Athènes. On passe encore un petit défilé entre le Mont Poecile où étoit un temple d'Apollon remplacé par une chapelle et l'on a pour le premier fois la vue de la belle plaine de l'Attique. La citadelle d'Athènes, le temple de Minerve, les Propylées se distinguent déjà au-dessus | de la forêt d'oliviers. Rien P. 11. de si agréable que cette vue. L'Hymette qui la termine fait fond à la ville. Il va en s'abaissant finir au cap Zoster. L'Anchesme plus près de la ville et le Lycabétos qui s'étend au nord dans la plaine ne sont que des petites collines comparées à l'Hymette et au Pentelique. On a au couchant les ports, Pirée, Phalère et celui de Munichie, où sont des ruines d'un temple de Diane, les isles d'Egine et celle de Calaurée célèbre par l'exil et la mort de Démosthène, le Péloponèse, Troezene, Epidaure, Hermione, et le cap Scylleum, que les modernes appellent encore *Συλλο*.²

Je n'ai point décrits Eleusis, sa plaine, ses ruines, l'aire de Triptoleme, ni une caverne que je fouillai pour satisfaire la curiosité du savant auteur d'*Anacharsis*. Je n'ai rien dit non plus des inscriptions que j'en enlevai dont une est l'initiation d'Hadrien aux mystères de la déesse. Elle sera publiée par le savant Vilhoisson qui l'a copiée avant moi. Je ne fis alors que dessiner des vues et les bas-reliefs que j'ai moulés depuis, dont quelques plâtres ont été apportés et sont exposés dans la salle des antiques au Louvre. Mes fouilles dans l'Attique, à Marathon, les beaux bustes que je trouvai dans cette plaine célèbre, la carte de l'Attique et de la Béotie, le plan particulier d'Athènes, tout cela fait partie de mes voyages particuliers. M. De Choiseul possède les trois bustes trouvés à Marathon au milieu des tombeaux; l'un est Lucius Verus, l'autre Marc-Aurèle et le troisième Antonin. Ils sont de marbre de Paros et d'une conservation parfaite.

Nous partîmes d'Athènes pour nous rendre par mer à Salonique. Nous éprouvâmes beaucoup de malheur dans ce voyage. Après avoir courru plusieurs fois le danger de perir nous fûmes pris par un corsaire maltois qui nous garda trois jours à son bord. Salonique, comme l'on sait, est une grande ville, très peuplée et très commerçante, sur la pente d'une colline. Ses murs sont baignés par la mer. On y voit plusieurs monuments antiques, deux arcs de triomphe, une rotonde. Des figures d'assez bon goût ornent un attique au-dessus de cinq colonnes corinthiennes; elles sont adossées à des pilastres de l'un et l'autre

¹ Pausanias, I, 38, 1.

² *Foucherot*, p. 50: Le 21 [novembre] . . . nous nous rendîmes à Athènes dans la maison de M. Gaspary [French Consul].

côté. Les sujets sont Ganymède et Lédä, Paris et Hélène, Bacchus et Ariadne, une Victoire et une femme nue sans attributs. Ces figures sont de grandeur naturelle.

Nous partîmes par terre pour la vallée de Tempé et la vérification du cours du Pénée, sujet de notre voyage. Nous passâmes ce fleuve sur un pont de pierre de construction turque fort long, ce qui annonce que le Pénée grossit beaucoup lors de la fonte des neiges. Nous avions laissé à droite l'Olympe, nous entrâmes dans la fameuse vallée que les modernes nomment la *gueule du loup*, *λυχόστομα*. La direction du fleuve dans cette pittoresque vallée est pendant deux lieues est et ouest; mais dès que l'on en est sorti Larissa reste au sud-sud-ouest. La direction générale du Pénée de cette ville à l'entrée de

P. 12. la vallée | est au nord ou nord-nord-est, ce qui donne gain de cause à M. De Choiseul sur M. D'Anville. L'amateur d'antiquités eut ici l'avantage sur le célèbre géographe.

Larissa est une grande ville dans la plaine au bord du Pénée que l'on y traverse sur un pont de pierre. La plaine est vaste, fertile et entourée de hautes montagnes. L'Ossa et l'Olympe étoient alors couverts de neige. Nous passâmes l'Asope sur un pont de plusieurs arches au milieu de la plaine de Pharsale. Nous nous arrê tâmes peu à la petite ville que les Grecs appellent encore *Φερσαλα*. Nous arrivâmes à Zeton bâtie, je crois, sur les ruines de Lamia à l'extrémité du golfe Maliaque. Les Thermopyles sont à quatre lieues de là. Le chemin au bord de la mer est fort marécageux. Nous passâmes le Sperchius et nous arrivâmes au pied du Mont Oeta, plus célèbre par le dévouement des Spartiates pour la liberté de la Grèce que par le bûcher d'Hercule. Le chemin passe sur les restes de la muraille des Phociens. On voit des sources d'eau chaude, mais on cherche en vain les tombeaux des trois cents héros de Lacédémone et de ces braves Thespiens qui suivirent leur exemple. Le sédiment que les eaux déposent agrandit journellement ce passage. Nous continuâmes notre route par un défilé d'un autre genre dans les gorges de l'Oeta, chemin dangereux souvent intercepté par les voleurs. Nous en rencontrâmes, mais nous dûmes notre salut à notre déguisement; nous étions vêtus en Tartares et accompagnés d'un Tartare, courrier de la Porte. Nous laissâmes Elatée dans la plaine et au pied du Parnasse. Les ruines de Coronée étoient à notre gauche. On n'y voit point de vestiges du temple de Minerve Itonia où se tenoient les états de la Béotie. Entre cette ville et Alalcomène nous passâmes à Chéronée, patrie de Plutarque. Nous n'y vîmes point les trophées de Sylla, n'y le tombeau de ces braves Thebains qui perirent en combattant contre Philippe, mais nous y vîmes un théâtre taillé dans le rocher, des restes des murs de la forteresse et de belles inscriptions. Orchomène est de l'autre côté de la plaine et du Céphisse sur une colline qui s'avance dans le lac Copais. Il en reste une forteresse avec un grand escalier taillé dans une roche escarpée, et au pied de la colline les ruines du trésor de Minias, dont le dessus de la porte est une pièce de marbre blanc de vingt-cinq pieds de long et de quatre d'équarissage. Il étoit de la même forme que celui d'Atrée à Mycènes parfaitement décrit par Pausanias.¹

¹ Pausanias, II, 16, 6.

Lébadée, en Grec Moderne *Ληβαδία*, célèbre par l'ancre et les mystères de Trophonius. On voyoit à Lébadée, dit Pausanias, la fosse d'Agamède où Trophonius fut englouti dans le bois sacré.¹ On ne voit plus aujourd'hui qu'une chambre taillée dans le rocher près les sources de la fontaine Herceyne. Cette chambre paroît celle où l'initié passoit la nuit avant d'être introduit dans l'ancre. Un banc règne à l'entour. Le rocher est rempli de niches qui ont eu leurs statues. Je crois avoir trouvé l'ouverture de cet ancre; elle est murée; j'ai tenté de la déblayer; les Turcs et les autres habitans ne m'ont point donné le tems de satisfaire ma curiosité. Au dernier voyage que je fis à Lébadée l'an neuf [1801] en cherchant le bois sacré au-dessus du rocher où est l'ancre, je trouvai une inscription d'une très haute antiquité où se lit le nom de la ville *ΛΕΒΑΔΕ*. Je cherchai inutilement la statue de Trophonius | par Praxitelle. Pausanias dit qu'elle avoit les attributs d'Esculape.² Un P. 13. petit château et quelques baraques occupent l'emplacement du temple et du bois sacré. Il n'y reste pas les moindres traces d'antiquités.

Thèbes, aujourd'hui *Θηβαί*, n'a conservé qu'une porte en marbre d'une petite proportion, quelques sarcophages et des tronçons de colonnes. Mais la fontaine Ismène et celle de Mars subsistent. Un aqueduc moderne porte l'eau de cette dernière dans la Cadmée qui compose aujourd'hui toute la ville. Les habitans en sont lourds et grossiers, fort adonnés à l'eau de vie et au vin. La plaine de Thèbes est très fertile et froide, la neige couvre les plaines de Béotie et jamais ne séjourne sur celles de l'Attique. Il y a pour la végétation la différence d'un mois. A une lieue et demie de la ville on passe l'Asope qui prend sa source à Platée. Des branches du Cythéron séparent la Béotie de l'Attique. On y entre par trois défilés dont j'aurai occasion de parler. Quand on a passé le Cythéron on est dans la plaine d'Eleutère entre cette dernière montagne et le Parnète. On descend dans l'Attique par Cacha, village sur les ruines d'Acharnès. Les habitans comme ceux de cette bourgade antique sont encore charbonniers et regardés par les Athéniens avec une sorte de mépris.

Nous avons visité les fameux souterrains du Copais. Pausanias dit, autrefois le fleuve Céphisse alloit tomber à la mer par des routes qu'il s'étoit faites dans les montagnes. Hercule boucha ces conduits.³ Nous avons vu de distance en distance des puits faits sur ces souterrains et aussi leur sortie à la mer du côté de l'ancienne Opounte au midi de la ville de Talante. Une histoire m'a été faite par des paysans étant au bord du Copais. Deux frères géants s'étoient partagés le pays, l'un étoit berger et avoit les montagnes, l'autre cultivoit la plaine. S'étant brouillés, le berger boucha les canaux avec de la laine. Je n'ose mettre ce conte, crainte de n'être pas cru, tant il a de rapport à l'histoire de Pausanias.

Nous vîmes le détroit de l'Euripe à Chalcis, aujourd'hui Négrepont, que les Grecs appellent *Ευρωπη* et les Turcs *Egrevos*, dont les Italiens ont fait Negroponte. C'est ainsi que

¹ Pausanias, IX, 37, 7.

² Pausanias, IX, 39, 4.

³ Pausanias, IX, 38, 7.

les mots se corrompent en passant dans les langues étrangères. Les cartes de l'Archipel offrent à cet égard des erreurs qu'il seroit bon de corriger. Ainsi l'Italien a changé *Hymetos* en *Monte-Mato* et le Turc a traduit le mot italien *Delydag*, *mont fou*. Je pourrais citer bien d'autres exemples; *Stancho* les Grecs disent encore *Cos*, *Setines* les Grecs disent toujours *Athina*, *Stalimene* est encore *Lemnos*, etc. Les géographes auroient dus être plus attentifs et plus scrupuleux à adopter des noms défigurés par les ignorants qui leur ont donnés leurs journaux. Pour revenir à l'Euripe, son flux et reflux n'a rien de règle. Des observations soigneusement faites m'ont convaincu que ce phénomène qui a fait le désespoir des Grecs, amateurs du merveilleux, n'a point comme ils l'ont cru de périodes fixes et régulières; il est simplement l'effet des vents; il est régulier dans les saisons où ils le sont, et varient toujours avec eux. Un rocher sur lequel est un fort occupe le milieu du détroit. On y arrive par un pont de pierre de trois petites arches et un pont-levis communique à la ville sur un canal de trois pieds de large. De petits bâtiments y passent.

J'ai visité depuis les côtes et les creux de l'Eubée, Tanagre, Rhamnus et Orope. J'ai revu presque tous les endroits que je viens de mentionner et de plus l'Archipel, Constantinople, la Troade, la côte de Carie et la Basse-Egypte. Ces voyages seront le sujet d'une notice particulière.

C. G. LOWE

THE MONUMENT WITH THE MARATHON EPIGRAMS¹

When a new fragment of *I.G.*, I², 763 came out of the wall of a modern house in the region of the Athenian Agora, the writer reëdited the whole monument as a cenotaph for the men who fell at Marathon.² I supported my identification with the argument that both epigrams referred to the battle of Marathon and that the demonstrative pronoun *οἷδε* required the accompaniment of a list of names, *i.e.* the names of the one-hundred-ninety-two Athenians who fell in the battle. I showed, furthermore, that the casualty lists resembled ordinary grave monuments of the period except for a plurality of names. When a grave stele had an ordinary poros base, the epigram was engraved on the stele itself, but when it had a more elegant base of marble, the epigram was inscribed across the front of the base as in the case of the Pythagoras monument at the Ceramicus, *I.G.*, I², 1034. The latter, therefore, served as a model for my reconstruction (cf. Figure 1): a marble stele with the list of the fallen, a marble base with the epigrams, and possibly a foundation consisting of three courses of poros blocks.

In a recent article³ Adolf Wilhelm, who likewise believes that both of its epigrams refer to the battle of Marathon, has nevertheless rejected my reconstruction of the monument containing the Marathon epigrams, and he has himself suggested in its place another type. I regret to find myself in disagreement with so eminent a master, but after careful consideration I am still unable to credit his reasons for rejecting my reconstruction, and I have concluded that the monument which he himself has imagined is impossible because it contradicts the archaeological evidence.

¹ Drawings by Piet de Jong. Photograph by H. Wagner.

² *Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 480–494, where on the evidence of a passage in the anonymous *Life of Aeschylus* (Wilamowitz, p. 4) I assigned the first epigram to Simonides and argued that the second was the rival epigram of Aeschylus. The bibliography of articles following the publication of the new fragment is already large. J. L. Myres, "Simonides, Aeschylus and the Battle of Marathon," *Antiquity*, VIII (1934), pp. 176–178. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Perserepigramme von der Athenischen Agora," *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 204–206. W. Peek, "Zu den neuen Perserepigrammen," *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 339–343. To objections raised by Hiller von Gaertringen and Peek against my interpretation I replied in another article, "The Marathon Epigrams," *A.J.Ph.*, LVI (1935), pp. 193–201. Adolf Wilhelm, *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1934, pp. 89–107. P. Maas and L. Wickert, "Zu den Perserepigrammen," *Hermes*, LXX (1935), pp. 235–238. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 355–357. The letters *τοισζαδαμ*[-] in line 3 were correctly interpreted as *τοῖσζ'* (= *τοῖσδε*) *αδαμ*[-] first by Hiller von Gaertringen.

³ "Drei auf die Schlacht von Marathon bezügliche Gedichte," *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1934, pp. 89–118.



The Pythagoras Monument at the Ceramicus

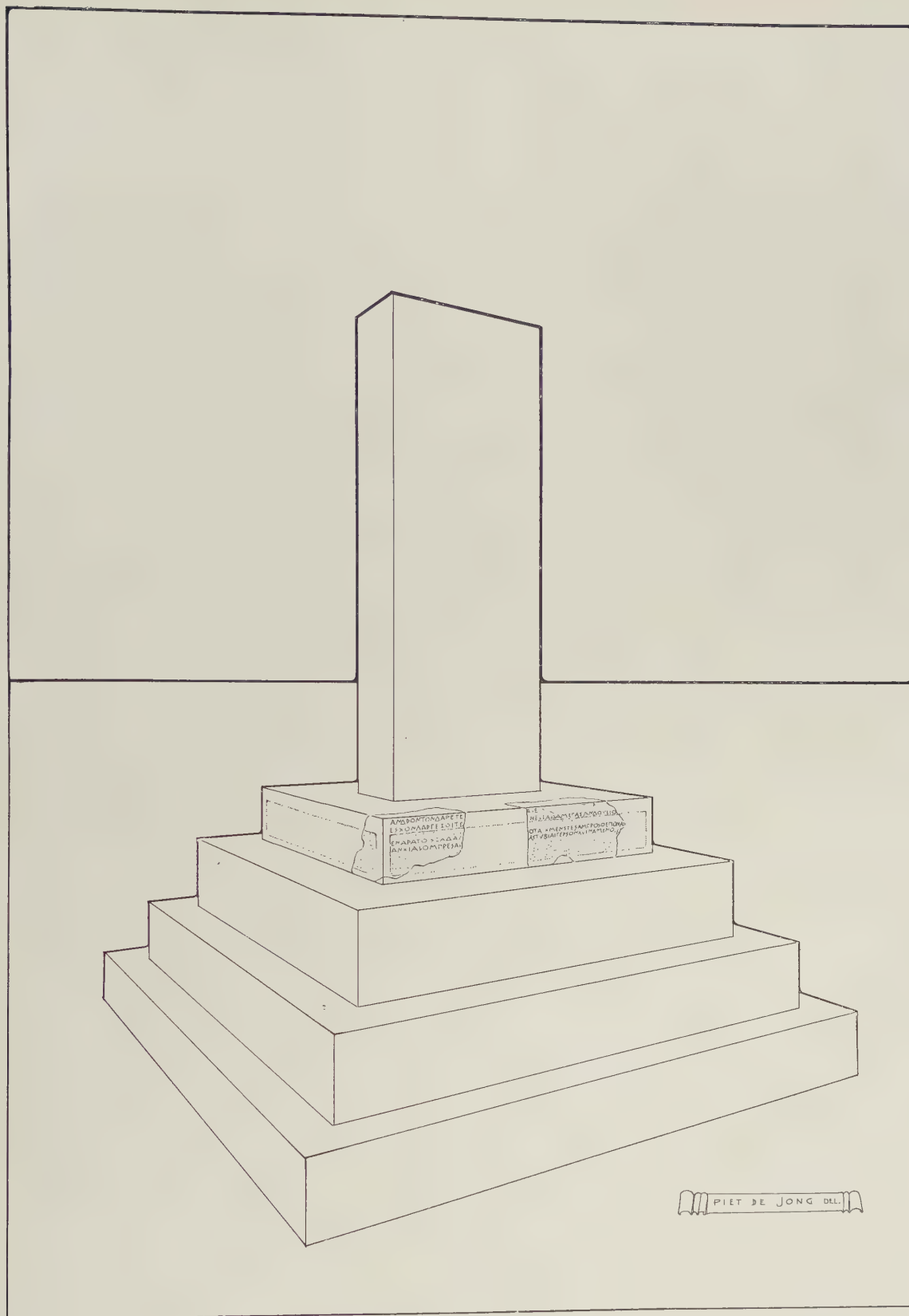


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of Monument with Marathon Epigrams

Wilhelm has returned to an old suggestion of his that the monument was of an archaic type on which the inscription ran not from left to right but from top to bottom. The preserved face which I have called the left side of the base is, according to Wilhelm, the top of the monument; the preserved face which I call the top of the base would be the right side of the monument; and the preserved face which I call the bottom of the marble block would be the left side. This monument, then, stood in the Agora, probably in the Stoa of the Herms, where perhaps some of the epigrams, he thinks, were not inscribed actually on herms.

But the dressing of the stone at the beginning of the new fragment proves that it was not a vertical block as Wilhelm requires. He has imagined a monument of which the left and right sides are perfectly smooth, and of which the front and top are rough-picked. The wider smooth band for the inscription on the front might conceivably have run down the edge rather than the middle of the face, but there would be no reason for continuing over the top the same lopsided decoration (a wide smooth band along the right edge, a narrow smooth band along the front edge and the left edge, and a carefully rough-picked surface in the middle). Wilhelm cited no parallel for this decorative scheme. Indeed, he could not, because a monument with this infelicitous decoration would be an architectural monstrosity. The wider smooth band along the same edge of two contiguous faces is explainable only as marking the upper edge of the front and side of a horizontal block.

We may now consider Wilhelm's objection to my reconstruction of the monument as a cenotaph inscribed with the names of the fallen and consisting of a marble stele set in a marble base that is the part to which the two extant fragments belong. He argues most persuasively that the old fragment, being 0.177 m. thick, in that case would necessarily have retained some trace of the socket in which the stele was set, and in the mind of the reader rises the image of the typical Hellenistic stele with a narrow poros base. The monument, however, is not Hellenistic, nor does it record a decree, and it is not a poros base with a purely utilitarian purpose but one of marble fitting into the aesthetic scheme. Fortunately the question is very easily settled by examining other marble bases of the archaic and classical periods. We may start, then, with the Pythagoras monument, which served as the model for my reconstruction of the monument with the Marathon epigrams. Although it consists of a smaller stele and a smaller base than the one with the Marathon epigrams, the distance from the front of the block to the socket is 0.25 m. (Height of base, 0.25 m.) See Figure 2.

Leaving the Pythagoras monument on the right and continuing along the path at the Ceramicus, one can see another base of Pentelic marble at the left by the Eridanus. The stele is broken away in the socket. It is another funerary monument. The inscription which is engraved on the base dates from the archaic period and will soon be published by Werner Peek. Although the monument consisted of a smaller stele and a smaller base than that with the Marathon epigrams, the distance from the front of the block to the socket is 0.21 m. (Height of base 0.26 m.) Dr. Kübler has generously granted me permission to publish the sketch in Figure 3.

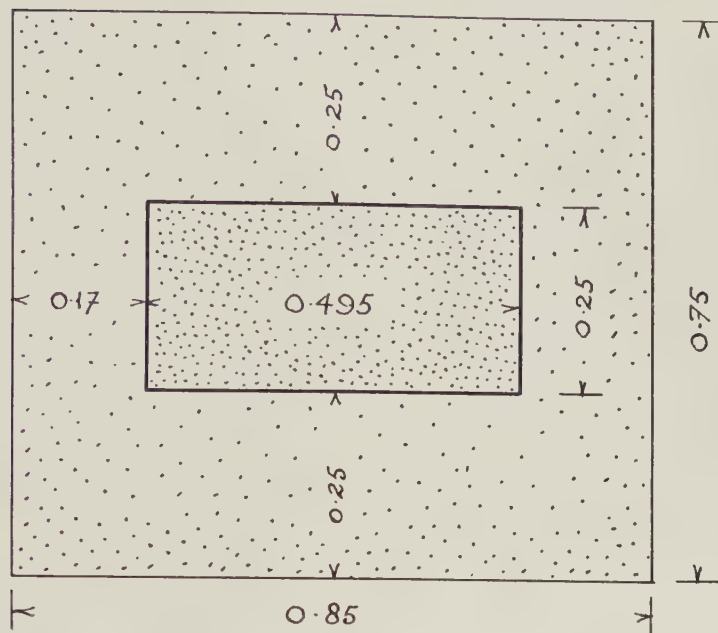


Fig. 2. Top of Base of Pythagoras Monument

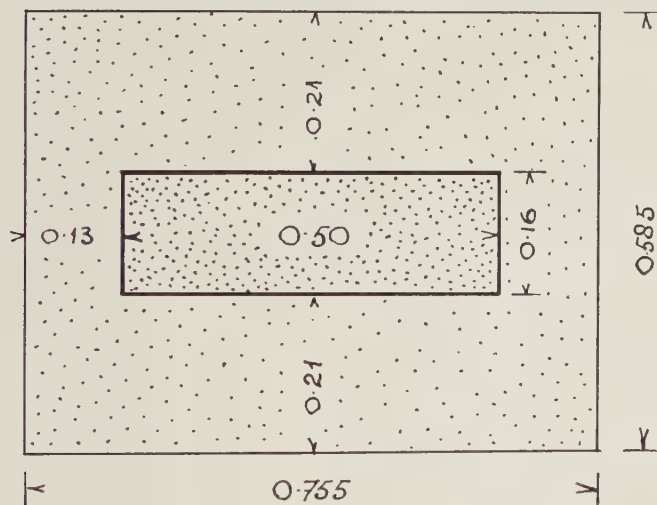


Fig. 3. Top of Marble Base found at Ceramicus in 1935

At the entrance to the Epigraphical Museum is another marble base (EM 12809), 0.28 m. high, with an archaic inscription:¹

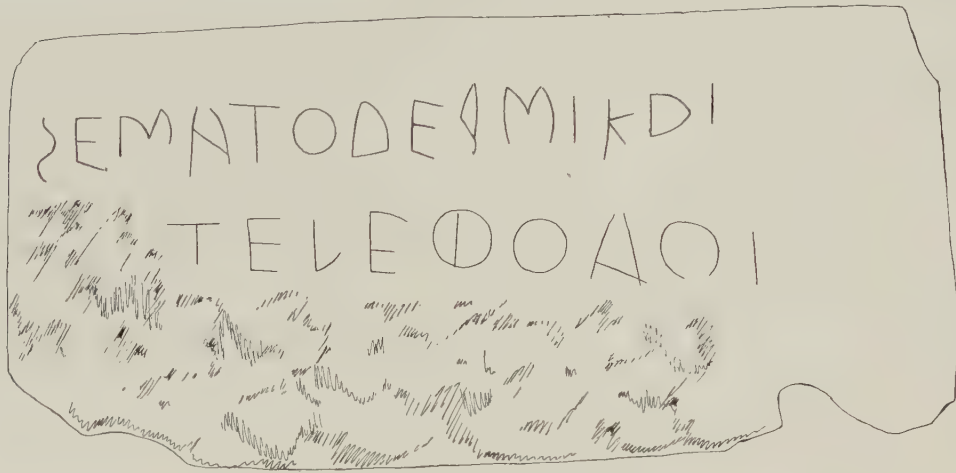


Fig. 4. Inscribed front of EM 12809

The stele is not preserved although the socket remains. The monument consisted of a smaller stele and a smaller base than that with the Marathon epigrams, and yet the distance from the front of the block to the socket is 0.235 m. (See Figure 5.)

With these parallels in mind we may reconstruct the base with the Marathon epigrams as in Figure 6, on the model of the Pythagoras monument.² I assume a width of 0.60 m. for the socket because that is about the width of the stele of the casualty list *I.G.*, I²,

¹ The base was found by peasants somewhere in the plain of Marathon, and the existence of it was reported by G. Soteriades in the *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, 1933, pp. 42-43. Soteriades assigned it to the first half of the sixth century and edited it Σῆμα τόδε ἐπὶ κοι[---] with the observation that the rest was illegible. I think that the name can be recovered in the second line. In the first line, moreover, it seems to me that the stone-cutter started to write *ἔστι* and changed to *εἰμί*, for the letter before the *mu* appears to be corrected from *sigma* to *iota*. This correction misled Soteriades into reading *επ* for *ιμ*. The next to the last letter of line 1 does resemble an *omicron*, but it resembles still more the archaic *rho* in the dedication of Iphicrates which J. Kirchner illustrates, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin, 1935), Tafel 6. I read the inscription:

Σῆμα τόδ' εἰμί κοι
[τὸν] Τελέφο Ἀφιδναῖος
[δναῖο].

It began as an epigram but the name would not fit in the metre. The adjective *κραιτὸν* may refer to the pretentiousness of the marble base. The occurrence of the word *Ἀφιδναῖος*, if my reading is correct, does not oblige us to date the inscription after the reforms of Cleisthenes, because Aphidna was one of the oldest and most important localities of Attica. (See Milchhoefer's article, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, 2719f.) With the man's name may be compared *Prosopographia Attica* 13576. The letters are 0.035 m. high.

² The same proportions (not the same actual measurements) are assumed for the base with the Marathon epigrams. The space occupied by the preserved letters indicates that the complete distichs were inscribed on a surface *ca.* 1.05 m. long.

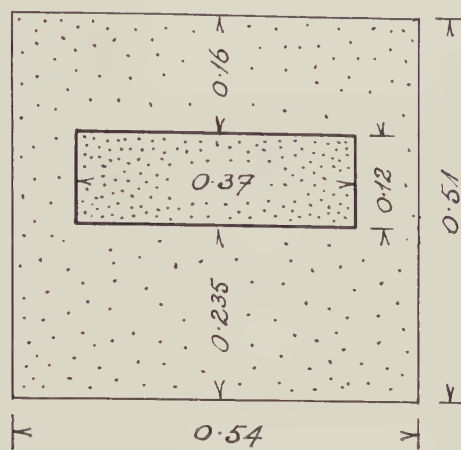


Fig. 5. Top of EM 12809

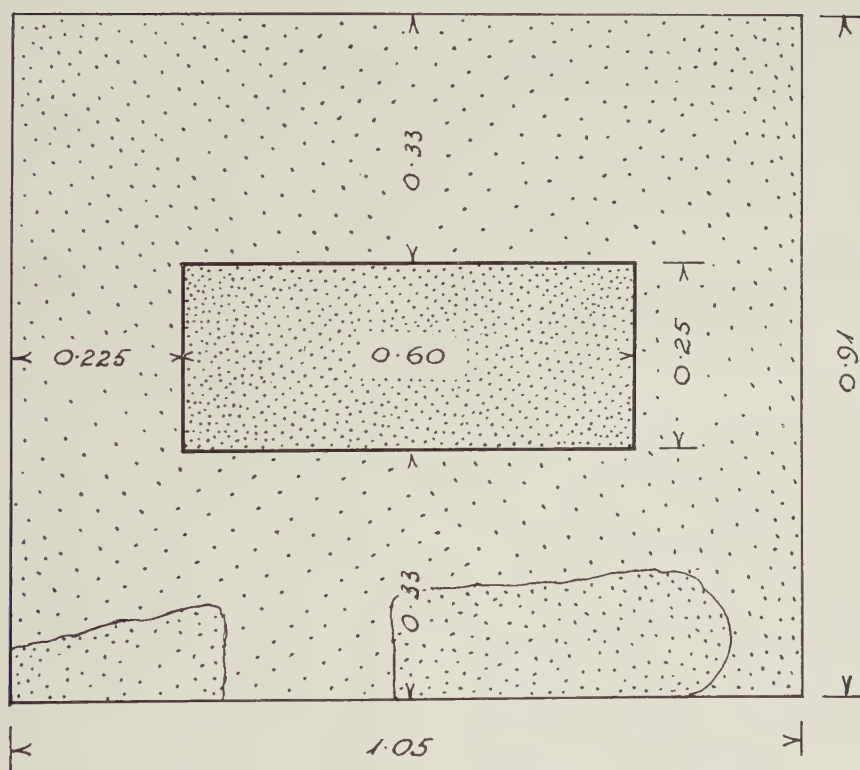


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of Top of Base inscribed with the Marathon Epigrams

929, which contains a few less names. Obviously the thickness of the extant fragments is not great enough so that the cutting for a socket would have been preserved.

Furthermore, when Wilhelm (p. 107) cites the finding-place of the easily transportable new fragment as an argument that the monument originally stood in the Agora, although the old and larger fragment came from the other side of the Acropolis from Hadrian Street, he is unnecessarily surprised at the suggestion that a stone from the Ceramicus, for example, should appear in the region of the Agora. He has forgotten the great difference between discovery in an ancient context and discovery in a modern wall. When a man at the end of the eighteenth or at the beginning of the nineteenth century set out to build himself a house, a cart gathered stones for him at any convenient place, and both the Acropolis and the Ceramicus were near the Agora. It so happens that by far the largest single group of inscriptions at the Agora is constituted at present of funeral monuments from the Ceramicus, and almost all of these have come from walls or fill of the Turkish and modern periods.

The fundamental difference between my explanation and that of Wilhelm lies in the interpretation of the demonstrative pronouns *τῶνδε* in the first epigram and *τοῖσδε* (written *τοῖσζ'*) in the second. As evidence that the pronoun *οἷδε* indicates the presence of a list of names I could point to a vast multitude of epigraphical documents. If so, it must here have been the casualty list for the obvious reason that it would have been impossible to engrave the names of all the ten-thousand who participated in the battle. This use of *οἷδε* is familiar, not only from the extant casualty lists and the epigrams which accompany them, but also from a great number of literary epigrams on those who have fallen in battle, for these epigrams too were conceived as accompanying a list of names.

Wilhelm has restored the inscription as follows:

- I Ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρειῆς λάμψει κλέος ἄφθιτον] αἰεὶ [⊗ εἵτολμοι Πε]ρ[σῶν τοὶ σιόρρεσαν δύναμιν].
ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοὶ τέ[ν ἄλκιμον Ἀσίδος ἡίππο]ν ⊗ Ἡελλὰ[δα μ]ε πᾶσαν δούλιο[ν ἔμαρ ἰδέν].
- II Ἐν ἄρα τοῖσζ' ἀδάμ[αντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμός], ἥοτ' αἰχμὲν σιῆσαι πρόσθε πύλῳν ἀγ[εῖα τοχσοφόρον?],
ἀνχίαλομ πρῆσαι β[ολευσαμένον δ' ἐσάσσαν] ἄστν βίαι Περσῶν κλινάμενο[ι στρατιάν].

Wilhelm explains the demonstrative *τῶνδε* in line 1 as pointing ahead to a relative clause. I, on the other hand, feel that this is impossible. A relative clause dependent upon *τῶνδε* might well have followed, but the demonstrative pointed to a list of names. Such a use of *οἷδε* at the most would be comparatively rare. With a similar thought in the Eion epigram the poet expressed himself, not *οἷδε οἱ* --, but *ἐκεῖνοι οἱ* --. To assume also in the second epigram a rare use of *οἷδε* instead of the simple interpretation that it refers to the same list of names as does the pronoun in the first epigram, seems to me rather forced. But after all, where is the relative clause in the second epigram? Does not the word *τοῖσδε* here require a list of names?

Wilhelm, moreover, concludes (p. 107) that since according to his restoration the epigrams say that these men have won the battle and saved both Athens and all Hellas,

the epigrams cannot belong to a monument in honor of the heroic dead, because it was not just the one-hundred-ninety-two fallen who won the battle but all the ten-thousand together. I, however, feel that a poet might not have been so exact as Wilhelm. Especially if he himself had fought in the famous battle, as I believe about the author of the second epigram, or even if he did not, the poet might well have said of the fallen heroes that with their courage they had saved Athens and had destroyed the Persian host, and he might not have feared that his readers would receive the impression that the rest of the ten-thousand had given no help. Therefore in Wilhelm's version of the epigram I find nothing incompatible with my own thesis, but, if there were, it would not prove anything, for Wilhelm's restoration, or that of anyone else, is only a restoration which, because of the character of the inscription and the size of the lacuna, could never be more than a mere possibility.

It is interesting to consider the first poem in comparison with the epigram on the men who fell at Tegea:¹

τῶνδε δι' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὰν οὐχ ἔκετο καπνὸς
αἰθέρα δαιομένης εὐρυχόρου Τεγέης,
οἳ βούλοντο πόλιν μὲν ἐλευθερίᾳ τεθαλυῖαν
παισὶ λιπεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν προμάχοισι θανεῖν.

The latter epigram once stood on the lower part or on the base of a stele engraved with the names of the fallen, but now lost; or, at least, it was composed as for this type of monument. Both Hiller von Gaertringen² and Wilhelm have recognized that it displays the influence of the first of the two Marathon epigrams. In my opinion it displays even an affinity of type, but I should be censured for exaggerating a literary reminiscence into an identity of literary type, if I based my argument upon it. And yet with less reason, it seems to me, Wilhelm has done just that in comparing the second of the two Marathon epigrams with the epigram on the Athenians who fought at Eion.

Ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων
παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,
λιμὸν τ' αἶθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἀργεῖα
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμυχανίην.

The Eion epigram according to Aeschines (*Ctes.*, 184) adorned a herm, but our stone is obviously not a herm. The Eion epigram belongs to a series with which it is joined by the strong connective *καί*, but the second of the Marathon epigrams is a unit by itself like any of the three elegies on the monument for the men who fell at Potidaea. In the Marathon epigram does not occur the particle *ποτε* to suggest that the event happened

¹ *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 512 (= Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hist. Gr. Epigr.*, no. 39). In the Anthology the epigram is attributed to Simonides.

² *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), p. 204.

long ago.¹ In the Eion epigram does not occur the word *οἱδε* to indicate a list of names accompanying the inscription.

Professor Meritt has written to me that he has seen at London the stone with the epigrams of *I.G.*, I², 945 on the Athenians who fell at Potidaea, and that he finds in this block an excellent parallel for the stone with the Marathon epigrams. The front face is smooth and carries the three epigrams. The top surface is in part preserved (a small section about 6×12 cm. near the left end), and is smooth like the front. It was meant to be seen and no other object stood on top of it. The left end of the block is preserved, and has anathyrosis, down the front side and across the top—not along the bottom. This base was not free-standing, then, like the Marathon one, but was set next to some other monument on the left. A modern saw has cut away the whole reverse of the stone, leaving now a depth of only 18 cm. (at bottom) to 15 cm. (at top). This modern saw cut in from the original top surface almost to the bottom, and then the front was split off. The area of cutting and the area of splitting are perfectly clear, and prove that we are dealing with the original top and bottom surfaces. In other words, the height of the stone, 0.32 m., is the entire original height. The cutting for the stele with the names would have been on the other piece which is now lost. The notion that there was ever a sculptured relief above the inscription is erroneous, and it arose only because years ago Boeckh in looking over Fauvel's notes combined into one monument two quite separate drawings that happened to be on the same page (cf. *C.I.G.*, I, 170 and p. 906).

¹ Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII (1933), pp. 71–82.

JAMES H. OLIVER

INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHLIUS¹

The inscriptions discussed in this article were found at Phlius during the investigations made there in 1924 by Dr. C. W. Blegen of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, under the direction of Dr. B. H. Hill.²

The most important are a group of archaic inscriptions, now at Herakleion, where a bath of ancient Nemea has been converted into a small museum. They are cut on blocks of poros whose peculiar working is sufficiently significant to merit description (Fig. 1). The face with the inscription is, on the average block, 0.77 m. by 0.265 m.; the third dimension is 0.77 m. The top surface is square, with anathyrosis in front and back, and is otherwise smooth and flat. The left side has anathyrosis on the front, top, and back edges. The right side has a vertical channel, roughly cut, about 0.05 m. wide and 0.13 m. to 0.15 m. from the front edge, and a similar one cut at an equal distance from the back edge. A vertical semi-circular channel 0.12 m. wide, also roughly worked, marks the centre of the surface. On the bottom there are two narrow grooves similar to those on the side and connecting with them, extending parallel to the face of the block. Between them the surface is worked smoothly in a shallow, gently curving, depression. The front and back surfaces are finished smoothly. In addition to the blocks bearing inscriptions, several others of the same description were found built into walls and graves of the Roman period. Those used in graves were generally placed as cover slabs for long, narrow, trench-like crypts, the walls of which were also, in part, built of the same blocks.

1. This inscription appears on a surface 0.81 m. by 0.265 m. The thickness of the block is 0.67 m. The text extends from left to right along the lower edge of the block, the top line



Fig. 1. One of the blocks bearing the archaic inscriptions from Phlius

¹ This article is the result of study undertaken as a school paper for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, begun in December, 1934. I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. Richard Stillwell, then Director, for permission to publish it; to Professor C. A. Robinson for his initial suggestion and constant help; to Professor C. W. Blegen, Professor Oscar Broneer, Professor C. D. Buck, and Mr. Sterling Dow for their bountiful and always kindly offered assistance. Mr. Joseph Shelley I want to thank for the drawings.

² C. W. Blegen, "Excavations at Phlius, 1924," *Art and Archaeology*, XX, pp. 23-35.

of the letters being about 0.18 m. from the upper edge of the block. The *omicron* is a circle inscribed with a compass, having a diameter of 0.04 m. The other letters average 0.07 m. in height; the lower ends are in many cases obliterated by the mutilation of the lower edge of the block (Fig. 2, and Fig. 3, top).¹ The inscription reads: ---]ξ καὶ ἡΠποκράτ[ης.



Fig. 2. A drawing of archaic inscription No. 1

The recognized affinity of this alphabet with the Corinthian² is the sole basis for the dating of the inscription, whose clarity of cutting, regular arrangement, and beauty of form make it rank high as an example of archaic writing. The three-bar *iota*, in the Corinthian vase inscriptions, falls in the first half of the sixth century; the four-bar form is characteristic of earlier periods, and the straight *iota* occurs with increasing frequency after the middle of the century, until at the beginning of the fifth century it becomes the standard form.³ Another significant letter is the *xi*. In this inscription the highest bar crosses the vertical line below its apex. This does not occur, apparently, in the Corinthian inscriptions, and may indicate that the form is early in the evolution of the Phliasian alphabet. The forms of the *kappa*, with high vertical bars and rather short arms, are also early.

2. This inscription appears on a surface 0.77 m. by 0.255 m.; the thickness of the block is 0.77 m. Across the lower edge of the block is the inscription, written retrograde. It is 0.15 m. from the upper edge of the stone. The *omicron* is a circle inscribed with a compass, having a diameter of about 0.03 m. The *koppa* is 0.055 m. in height; the other letters about 0.04 m. The beginning of the line, at the right, is missing (Fig. 4, and Fig. 5, bottom). The line reads: *h[όρος ἐνδέτο αὐ̃ λῆι (λῶι) τὸν το*---



Fig. 4. A drawing of archaic inscription No. 2

¹ No. 1 and No. 4 are also illustrated by Blegen, *loc. cit.*, p. 27.

² Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Cambridge, 1887, p. 137.

³ In view of the scarcity of archaic inscriptions on stone, most of the information must be drawn from the vase inscriptions. For these, and for the best and latest discussions of the Corinthian alphabet, see H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 158ff. Also Agnes Newhall Stillwell, "Eighth Century B.C. Inscriptions from Corinth," *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII (1935), pp. 605-610.

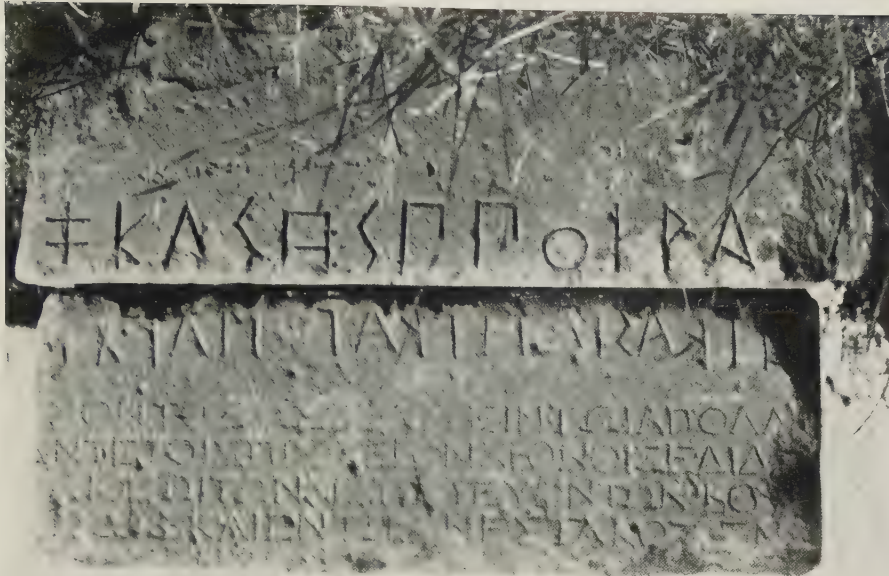


Fig. 3. A photograph of inscriptions Nos. 1, 3, and 4, counting from top to bottom.
(Nos. 3 and 4 are also illustrated by Blegen, *loc. cit.*, p. 27)

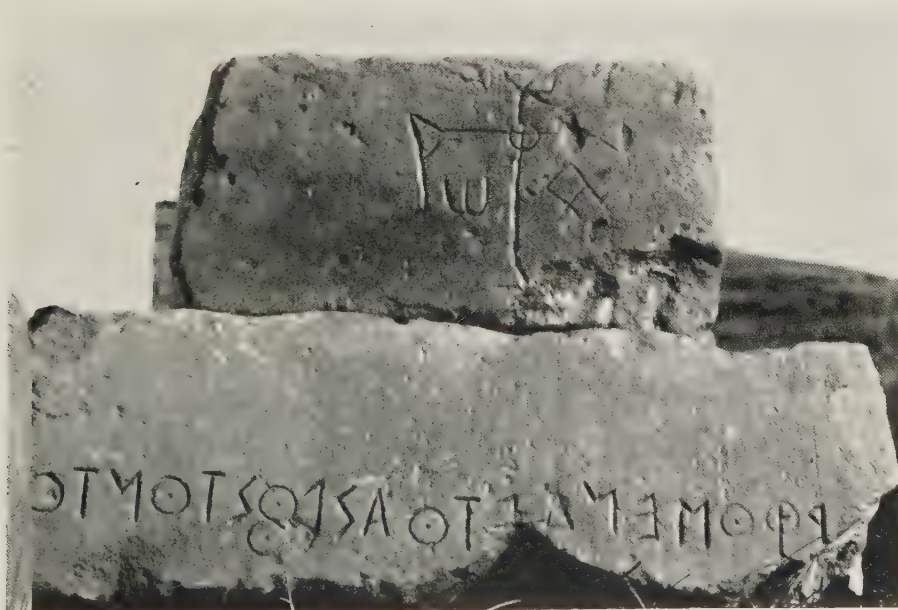


Fig. 5. A photograph of archaic inscription No. 2 (below), and of the Christian monogram, No. 5 (above)

The *iota* again is the only definite clue for dating the inscription, which, like the first, would seem to fall about the middle of the sixth century. The *san* and the *mu*, the latter with the fourth bar at an angle, not extending to the base line, are early, but the evidence for their disappearance is not definitive.

A consideration of the character resembling the figure 8 leads to interesting results. The symbol consists of a circle inscribed with a compass exactly like the *omicron*, placed in the direct level of the line, with an exactly similar circle tangent to its lower edge but slightly to the left of the central vertical axis. It must be a vowel, following initial *lambda*, and it is possible that the lower circle is a mistake and that *omicron* only is meant.¹ On the other hand, if the lower circle had been an error, it was a gross one, quite out of keeping with the general care and precision of the other cutting. Moreover, from its position slightly to the left of the upper circle, it would seem naturally to have been cut later in the progression from right to left. Everyone to whom I have shown the stone finds difficulty in believing that it is a slip on the part of the stone cutter, and I am convinced that this explanation can be used only as a last resort.

The combination of two *omicrons* to represent *omega* occurs to one, but produces no good reading. Furthermore, in *ἐνδέξω*, *omega* is represented by the simple circle. *Eta* is the remaining possibility. In the Corinthian alphabet *eta* and *epsilon* were normally \mathfrak{B} ; \mathfrak{E} is sometimes *epsilon*, but more often *epsilon-iota*.² The Sicynian form for *epsilon* is \mathfrak{X} . Special symbols for *eta* are lacking. In the Phliasian alphabet \mathfrak{E} represents *epsilon* and possibly the diphthong (cf. *ἐνδέξω*). An attempt to distinguish *eta* might quite plausibly result in a modification of \mathfrak{B} , \mathfrak{X} , or even the aspirate, \mathfrak{H} , to \mathfrak{G} to represent the required sound. One needs look no farther than Phlius itself to find the origin for this, but the presence at this time of a symbol for *eta* in Crete, Rhodes, and other islands, where the dialect is Doric,³ points to a parallel. The change in the islands seems to have been due to influence from Ionia, whereas the innovation here, unique to the mainland, seems to develop from the local problems and materials. It is worth pointing out, however, that the Ionic form $\pi\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\omega}\tau\alpha$ instead of West Greek $\pi\rho\tilde{\omega}\tau\alpha$ in No. 8 below may indicate an Ionic force at work in this region.

The sense of the line is, in any event, that the oath shall be binding if someone desires or is willing to do something.

3. A third similar block having a surface 0.74 m. by 0.26 m. and a thickness of 0.77 m., bears two inscriptions. Across the top runs a retrograde line of archaic letters, the epigraphical characteristics of which are exactly those of No. 2. The letters measure 0.04 m.

¹ In response to a letter from me, Prof. Carl D. Buck, who has seen the inscriptions, and to whom I sent a small photograph, kindly made an answer in which he inclines to this view. He considers that the lower circle was mistakenly cut first, and that the intention was to write $\lambda\tilde{\omega}i$, third person singular optative with early contraction, on the analogy of *I.G.*, IV, 506, $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\nu\gamma\gamma\tilde{\omega}i$.

² Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 158; C. D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, ed. 2, 1928, p. 28, sect. 28; *I.G.*, IV, 348, 358; 346.

³ Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 27, sect. 25e. For Crete, *idem*, p. 261 note; cf. Roehl, *Imagines*, p. 7, nos. 1 to 3. For Rhodes, Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 251, nos. 93 and 94; Roehl, *Imagines*, p. 32, nos. 1 and 2.

in height, with the exception of the *san*, which is 0.045 m. in height, and the *kappa*, which is 0.05 m. high. The *omicron* is a circle inscribed with a compass, and has a diameter of 0.03 m. (Fig. 6; Fig. 3, top line on bottom block). The line reads: --]ς καὶ Ἀσκλητατος ἀρχε[ν].



Fig. 6. A drawing of inscription No. 3

The first letter of the preserved text can hardly be anything but *san*. The two vertical lines are preserved, and although the V mark at the top which should connect them is not clear in the photograph, it can be detected on the stone. The *lambda* seems on the illustration to be a *mu*, but it is too close to the *alpha*, and the third bar was obviously caused by chipping. Following the *alpha* are three equidistant parallel vertical lines. The upper edge is so mutilated that the cuttings for the top cannot be determined with certainty, but the only possible restoration is *san* and *tau*. The date of this inscription is that of No. 2, and on the same grounds. The name Ἀσκλητατος is possibly a version of Ἀεόσκλητατος.

Inscriptions 2 and 3 are similar to *I.G.*, IV, 439, *a*, *b* and *c*. Of these, *a* and *b* were discovered by Fourmont, and recorded solely in his uncertain copies; *c* was found by Ross while looking for *a* and *b* (Fig. 7). *I.G.*, IV, 439 *c*¹ is built into the south wall of a church of St. Nicholas, just above the modern town of Nemea, formerly called St. George. The measurements of the letters agree perfectly with those of the inscriptions discussed above. The visible face of the block measures 0.75 m. by 0.26 m. The other dimension is not available, nor is it possible to observe the treatment of the other surfaces, but there can be no doubt that the block is, or originally was, exactly similar to the new blocks. The entire church, indeed, is built of such blocks, recut into smaller pieces, but the characteristic cuttings are still visible in several places. The "monastery" mentioned in the note is built in the same way. The text is probably, as in the Corpus: ἀἱτ' ἡγοῦον δοῦ ἀ ὠφέλε[τα. The aspirates of δοῦ and ἀ have been lost by psilosis.²

¹ Struck by the similarity of epigraphical and textual elements of these inscriptions with those found at Phlius, I have searched for all of them at modern Nemea, but failed to find either *a* or *b*. According to Fourmont, the former was found in a wall of a monastery of Hagios Nicolaos of the Altar, near Hagios Georgios; the latter, he said, was in a monastery of the same name. I could find from the villagers no information concerning either a monastery or a church of this name. Not far from the church of St. Nicholas found by Ross and others, including myself, are some ruins identified by the villagers as those of a former church of St. Nicholas, but the remains fail to produce any inscription. A building below this ruin, at the edge of the village, is called an old monastery, but this has no inscription that I could find. A church at the peak of the mountain above the town is now known as the Prophet Elias, but is said to be the site of a former church of St. Nicholas. I could find no inscription here, either. Probably both *a* and *b* have disappeared.

² Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 49; esp. sect. 58 a.

Of *a* it is said in the Corpus that possibly two blocks are involved, the lower one upside down. Even in Fourmont's time they must have been badly mutilated. One may assume that his copy is fairly accurate, since his copy of *b* is perfectly reasonable, and his copy of *a* preserves all the defects that one might expect to find on a stone. In this case, the lower line of *a* may read, retrograde and inverted: $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \eta\acute{o}\rho\eta\iota\alpha$ ($\eta\acute{o}\rho\eta\iota\alpha$). The sixth character seems more probably *nu* than *san*, as in the Corpus, and the other restorations of the Corpus do more violence than is necessary.

The upper line of *a* is more difficult. The first three characters, if properly recorded, may be *delta*, *epsilon*, and either *omicron*, *phi* or *koppa*; probably *omicron*. They

must represent the end of a word, and on such uncertain readings it is scarcely worth while to attempt a restoration. The remaining letters may read thus: $\epsilon\ \zeta\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu[\alpha]$ ($\mu\eta\omega\nu$? or the like). The problems involved are solved by restoring the normal *zeta* of this group, \mathbf{I} , for the mark like an inverted T, in the fifth and tenth places. The *alpha* and *iota* in the eighth and ninth places must be reversed, but such a correction is common enough in epigraphy, and in this case we have a second hand with whose mental slips to deal. The use of *zeta* for *delta* in $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$) is not unparalleled in early inscriptions,¹ nor can the fact that *delta* is used elsewhere rule too strongly against this restoration.² We have here what remains of the statement of the penalty for the violation of the oath.

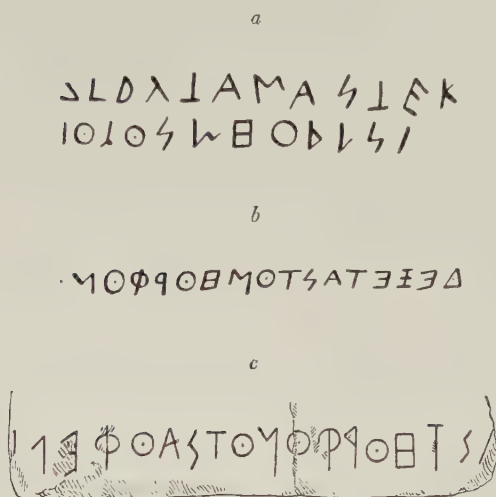


Fig. 7. A photographic copy of *I.G.*, IV, 439

I.G., IV, 439 *b*, again on the reasonable assumption that the copy is fairly correct, reads: $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\acute{o}\rho\eta\omicron\nu\varsigma$ ($\tau\omicron\nu\ \eta\acute{o}\rho\eta\omicron\nu$?).

The fact that we have here three archaic inscriptions from Phlius (Nos. 2 and 3, and *I.G.*, IV, 439 *c*), cut on similar uncommon blocks, epigraphically exactly similar, and textually similar in that the two which do not consist only of names concern $\eta\acute{o}\rho\eta\omicron\iota$, is suggestive. The fact that other inscriptions from the same place (*I.G.*, IV, 439 *b*, and the second line of *a*) have the same subject matter is also suggestive, although we have no way of comparing the architectural and epigraphical points. These inscriptions are retrograde.

We have also from this same place two inscriptions reading from left to right (No. 1 and *I.G.*, IV, 439 *a*, first line). Of these, we know that number one is written in larger letters than the retrograde text, but is of the same approximate date, and is cut on the

¹ Elean inscriptions, Roehl, *Imagines*, p. 112, nos. 3 and 4; p. 114, no. 9. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 54, sect. 62, 2.

² An inscription from Camirus in Rhodes of the sixth century uses both *delta* and *zeta* in the same line. *I.G.*, XII, i, 737.

same sort of block. Evidently, then, it was at least on the same building. That there may have been two inscriptions, or many, on one building is indisputable, but it is also possible that all these texts might go together, having to do with the regulation of the conduct of those devoted to a particular sanctuary, thus (perhaps boustrophedon throughout):

> [-----]ξ καὶ ἡΠποκράτι[ις -----]
 ← [-----]δ]πὸ τοῖν ἡόρῳια [-----]
 → [---]>ΛΟ ἁ ζαμ(ι)α(ι) ζέχ[α (μῶν?) -----]
 ← [-----] δέξεται τοὺς ἡόρῳους (τὸν ἡόρῳον) [-----]
 ← [-----] αἴτ' ἡόρῳον δτι ἁ φέλε[ια --- αἴτ' ἡόρῳον δτι -----]
 ← [-----] ἡόρῳος ἐνδέτο αἴ λῆι τὸν το[-----]
 ← [-----]ς καὶ Ἀάστρατος ἔρχε[ν]

4. About 0.04 m. below the archaic inscription No. 3 are carved four lines of text reading from left to right in much later characters. The preserved text is evidently part of a much larger document, since it is incomplete at both ends, and the scant traces of a fifth line are visible along the bottom edge of the block. The letters are not stoichedon, but are well cut. They are 0.025 m. high, and about 0.0225 m. wide. The *omega* is almost 0.03 m. wide at the base, with flaring apices. The single example of *beta* is rather crude, the upper half being much smaller than the lower (Fig. 3, lower part of bottom block).

[ἐπὶ τοῦ ---- ἔ]ρχοντος ὥστε θύειν τῶι Ἀπόλλ[ωνι -----]
 [-----] ἐν τε τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις ἐδίδ[οσαν -----]
 [-----] τῶι θεῶι τῶν κρατι[σ]τερόντων βοᾶ[θῶν -----]
 [-----] π]ρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῶι[ι] ἐ]νεστακότι ἐν [-----]
 [-----] - ^ I F P I O ^ [-----]

The letters in general exhibit strong influence from the magnificent Roman majuscules, in their squareness and extreme regularity. The tendency towards apices on the ends of all vertical or horizontal bars; the broken cross bar of the *alpha*; the equal vertical hastae of the *pi*, and the extension of the top bar beyond the two hastae in that letter; the turn-up at the base of the *omega*; and the possible, although uncertain, separation of the central horizontal bar of the *epsilon*: all these indications suggest a date in the time of Augustus.

The sense is, in general, not difficult to determine. In *line 1* the first word can scarcely be anything but ἔ]ρχοντος; part of the *rho* is preserved. The office of archon in Phlius is not, apparently, known. It is always possible that reference is being made here to a Roman authority, such as the *χιλιάρχων* (*I. G.*, IV, 588, 596, 795, etc.). But we do have the word ἔρχε[ν] above, used there, as this word probably is here, to give a date. It is possible that the official in question was one belonging to the particular sanctuary. This sanctuary was most probably that of Apollo, to whom sacrifice is decreed in this same line, and whose archaic(?) sanctuary at Phlius is mentioned by Pausanias (II, xiii, 7).



Fig. 8. A photograph of the grave stele, No. 6

a.
 ΜΦΦ
b.
 ΙΑΒΑΙΔ
 ΜΑΤΟΑΓΓ
c.
 ΖΕΙΟΝΟ
 ΟΦΑ
d.
 ΑΠΟΓΗΣΤ
 ω x o n κ e ΑΠΟ
e.
 Α Γ
 ε λ ω ν
 Τ Α
 Π

Fig. 9. Drawings of inscriptions Nos. 7, 8, 17, 19, and 20

Line 2. The letters are easily discerned on the stone or a squeeze. Evidently the sacrifice had reference to something that had been done in former time. Perhaps a rededication of the sanctuary is involved, or a re-institution of former services, or the restatement of the former regulations.

Line 3. The first three words are certain on the stone. The *kappa* is fairly clear; a pock-mark at the juncture of the bars obliterates the cuttings. *Rho* is fairly certain; the curved portion is poorly cut, and it is perhaps a little smaller than the normal *rho*, but it could scarcely be anything else. The poor alternative is *iota*, attributing the loop to weathering. *Alpha* is certain, though faint; the same is true of *tau* and *iota*. The next letter is completely gone; a deep scar marks the stone here. The *tau* might be taken for an *upsilon*, but the horizontal cross bar does exist, and the lines which suggest the *upsilon* are very dim and higher than normal. The rest of the line is clear enough. The word *κατιστευόντων* probably refers to the devotees of the sanctuary, or to a particular class of them. Perhaps the archon of *line 1* and of the archaic text above is their official.

After this word come *beta* and *omicron*. A trace of a letter may exist at the point where one would expect the lower left hand corner of a letter which would possess such a corner, following the *omicron*. This trace, if original, is of a line extending diagonally upward, as in *alpha*, *delta*, or *lambda*. At the appropriate distance of two centimetres to the right, there is the barest pock-mark on the stone below the area of defacement, but in the base line of the letters. This may strengthen the case a little. There is no horizontal line, quite evidently, so that *delta* is eliminated. There are many words beginning *βοα* and *βολ* but the most reasonable is something on the root of *βοηθέω*, *to assist*. The meaning of the line is not yet clear, but we may have here either an appellation of Apollo (compare *I.G.*, IV, 357), or the statement that the *κατιστεύοντες* are to assist in some manner.

Line 4. This is fairly straightforward. All the letters are easily visible, except the two which are completely missing in the middle of the line, but these can be restored quite certainly as *iota* and *epsilon*. The meaning suggests that the part of the text which precedes recited what had been done in former times, and that the main part of the publication was to follow, concerning the immediate activity in question.

Line 5. Fragments of the letters of this line are preserved, but nothing can be made from them.

The fact that this text appears, with its prescript, immediately below the archaic inscription, which belonged to a longer text, and in such a position that both could be read together, is quite suggestive. That the archaic building was still standing in the time when the late inscription was carved is eminently probable, because an old block with letters on it would scarcely be used for an important new inscription. One might suggest that in the sixth century the "rule" of the sanctuary and its devotees was laid down, and that in Roman times the same sanctuary was still in use, and the same religious society republished and resanctified its constitution.

5. A Christian monogram is carved on a fragment of one of this series of blocks, which is now at Herakleion. The surface bearing the monogram measures 0.49 m. in width, 0.26 m. in height, and the thickness of the block is 0.67 m. The grooves with the shallow, curving depression appear on the top surface of the block in relation to the monogram. The latter is 0.09 m. from the left end, which is original, and 0.21 m. from the right end, which has been broken. It is 0.21 m. high. (Fig. 5.) The *graffito* can be seen clearly in the photograph, except that above the left arm there is a bird, probably the dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost. Below the arms are the *alpha* and *omega*, here reversed. If the date of this monogram could be established as fairly early, it would be useful in dating the destruction of the archaic building, for the monogram was evidently cut after the block had been taken from its original position. It is probably from the 5th century A.D., being an elaboration of a late type.¹ In any case, the fact that it is no more than a *graffito* would make close dating difficult.

6. A grave stele of calcareous sandstone is also at Herakleion. It is 0.92 m. high, and 0.27 m. wide. The height of the pediment is 0.12 m., and of the moulding 0.05 m. The letters are about 0.04 m. high (Fig. 8). It reads:

Μοῦσα
χαῖτε[ε]

The *mu* and *sigma* are cursive; the *alpha* has a broken cross bar. The date is therefore probably in or after the first century A.D., although the letters lack sufficient character to justify a confident dating in any early post-Christian century.

Μοῦσα is cut in a shallow band 0.085 m. wide and 0.001 m. deep. Its letter forms are not quite those of the χαῖτε[ε], and probably it is to be assumed that the stone was reused, the original name having been erased to make way for the extant one. The economical person thus saved himself the expense of carving his own greeting.

7. This inscription² is cut on a block of poros with cuttings similar to those bearing the first five inscriptions. It is possibly part of the same document. It measures 0.32 m. by 0.26 m. by 0.22 m. The height of the letters, as preserved, is respectively 0.035 m., 0.053 m., and 0.033 m., the lower parts of all letters having been broken away a little. The inscription probably adds *theta* to the known Phliasian alphabet of the archaic period. (Fig. 9, *a*.)

8. This stone is said to have been roughly hewn, and probably not to have been connected with other stones. It measures 0.254 m. in height, 0.499 m. in length, and

¹ Max Sulzberger, "Le Symbole de la Croix et les Monogrammes de Jésus chez les Premiers Chrétiens," *Byzantion*, II (1925), pp. 337-440, esp. p. 401, pp. 424ff., and p. 448. F. Cabrol, "ΑΩ," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris, 1924, I, 1, coll. 1-23; esp. coll. 7-8.

² This and the following inscriptions have disappeared, for the moment at least. They were stored with the first six in an old school house of modern Nemea. At the time this building was torn down, the first six were removed to Herakleion, but the others were either lost or their storage place has been forgotten. It seems worth while, however, to take this opportunity of publishing them from the notebooks.

0.168 m. in thickness. The letters vary in height from 0.034 m. to 0.088 m. They are said to be well cut, but damaged in places and obscure. The text is retrograde and archaic. (Fig. 9, *b*.)

The first line defies restoration, but the second line probably reads: -] ν $\pi\rho\tilde{\omicron}\iota\alpha$ σ [-]. If this is true, the inscription must be a fragment of a larger one. $\pi\rho\tilde{\omicron}\iota\alpha$ is Ionic; $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\iota\alpha$ is the normal West Greek form.¹

9. This inscription is cut on a stone 0.26 m. long, 0.145 m. wide, and 0.64 m. thick.

ΕΤΔΣ
Δ]ΑΜΔΣ

10. This is a grave stele. Its length is 0.245 m.; its height, 0.29 m.; its thickness, 0.165 m. The letters are faint, and vary in height from 0.024 m. to 0.046 m.

ΑΕΙΔΑ
ΑΤΕΟΞ

11. This is cut on a piece of black limestone 0.147 m. long, 0.11 m. high, and 0.061 m. thick. The *nu* is 0.027 m. high; the *upsilon* 0.025 m. high; the *omicron* 0.028 m. high, and the *sigma* 0.029 m. high.

Λ
ΥΟΞ

12. The stone is 0.34 m. by 0.40 m. The letters are 0.027 m. high. It was not found in the excavations, but brought in by villagers.

ΞΠΟΥΔΑΝΩΦ

13. This is probably from a grave stele. The fragment is 0.134 m. high, 0.201 m. long, and 0.114 m. thick. The *alpha* is 0.029 m. high; the *sigma* 0.034 m. It is said to be Hellenistic.

ΩΑΞ

14. This is another grave stele, of which the preserved fragment measures 0.295 m. in height, 0.197 m. in width, and 0.13 m. in thickness. The letters are well cut, with apices, and vary in height from 0.048 m. to 0.049 m. They are cut in a band 0.098 m. broad.

ΕΥΚ

15. Another fragment of grave stele is of poros, measuring 0.25 m. by 0.335 m. by 0.08 m. The letters are cut in a slightly sunken panel. The original top and right side of the stone is preserved. The letters are 0.044 m. and 0.053 m. in height, respectively.

ΟΞ

¹ Buck, *Greek Dialects*, sect. 114, 1.

16. Another grave stele of fine-grain poros is 0.252 m. in height, 0.195 m. wide at the top and 0.205 m. wide at the bottom, and 0.08 m. thick. The letters are about 0.02 m. high, and bear traces of red paint.

ΞΩΞΙΚΛΕΟΞ

17. A fragmentary inscription reads: ZEIO O σοφία. (Fig. 9, *c*.)

18. Another fragmentary inscription consists of the letters:

NOCEN ONOMA

19. There is an inscription on a broken piece of marble measuring 0.325 m. in height, 0.38 m. in length, and 0.023 m. in thickness. The letters are well cut and set in a band 0.04 m. wide. The average height of the letters is 0.019 m. It is Byzantine. There is a bird on the upper part of the stone. (Fig. 9, *d*.)

20. Another Byzantine inscription appears on a fragment of coarse grey marble whose greatest height is 0.145 m., greatest width 0.11 m., and thickness 0.025 m. There is a groove on either side of the inscription. (Fig. 9, *e*.)

ἀγγελῶντα

ROBERT L. SCRANTON

THE CAVE ON THE EAST SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

I

THE SITE

The rugged slopes of the Athenian Acropolis, with their overhanging cliffs, narrow underground passages, and numerous small caverns made a special appeal to the religious imagination of the early inhabitants of Athens. On the south slope, which offers the best opportunity for buildings of large size, many of the early sanctuaries, enlarged and embellished in classical times, have been excavated and identified. The west slope, which still remains unexcavated for the greater part, also contained several cult places, some of which are known from inscriptions and ancient writers, although their actual location is still in most cases a matter of dispute. On the north side the steep and rugged cliffs, the *Μαυρά Πέτρα* cast their dark shadows over the lower slope, rendering the place cold and inhospitable in winter, but cool and inviting in summer. The numerous small grottoes and concealed passages below these cliffs became the favorite haunts of the gods of nature on whom the primitive settlers relied for the protection and prosperity of their families, for the fertility of the soil, and the increase of their flocks. Many of these shrines which have come to light can be assigned to their respective occupants.

Only the east side has hitherto remained uninvestigated. On the lower slope, the Street of Tripods, extending from the Prytaneion on the north to the Precinct of Dionysos on the south, can be followed for a considerable distance, because the foundations for choregic monuments which lined the streets on either side show the direction of the road. But the distance from this street to the Acropolis wall is about 150 m., and it is not likely that all this territory was left unoccupied in antiquity.

The most prominent landmark on this side of the Acropolis is a large cave which can be seen from afar. An immense mound of earth, dumped from the excavations on the citadel, has partly filled the entrance and rendered the approach difficult (Fig. 1). The cave itself, which is by far the largest in the city, measures approximately 22 m. from east to west, and 14 m. across the opening. It seems highly improbable that a cave of such dimensions below the very walls of the Acropolis should have remained unoccupied in ancient times, while the smaller grottoes on the south and north slopes all came to be devoted to the use of religion.

Some of the earlier topographers, in their attempt to locate the various sanctuaries of Athens, quite naturally assumed that some important cult was housed in the spacious cave on the east slope. Leake and others located the Eleusinion here,¹ but this theory has long

¹ Leake, *The Topography of Athens*, II Ed., pp. 296 ff.; and see Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, II Ed., p. 287, where other references are given.



Fig. 1. The East Cave, from the Southeast



Fig. 2. Interior of Cave, Showing Large Trench

since been discarded, and in recent years no attempt has been made to discover for what purpose, if any, the cave was used in antiquity. Hoping that some further light might be shed on the problem, the American School in Athens undertook an investigation of the cave in February of this year.¹ Even if the positive results were not remarkable, the topographical information obtained, and the sherds gleaned from the Acropolis dump² justified the expenditure of time and money involved.

In the interior of the cave a trench 2.50 m. wide was dug from the mouth toward the west (Fig. 2). This trench revealed the fact that the floor had at one time been artificially leveled. The loose fill, which covers the floor to a depth of *ca.* 2.00 m., consists almost entirely of earth dumped from the excavations on the Acropolis. Originally this dump reached almost to the top of the cave at the opening, but subsequent settling and erosion has considerably lowered the mound, and at the end of our excavation the top was cut down and the earth used in filling up some of our trenches. In every place where we were able to dig through this fill in the cave, we found modern pottery and coins from the end of last century mixed with the ancient sherds down to the floor. No undisturbed ancient fill was found anywhere in our trenches. This seems to indicate that at the time of the Acropolis excavation the cave was practically empty, except for some broken pieces of rock which seem to have fallen down comparatively recently. At the farthest corner of the cave directly opposite the entrance a shallow recess was at one time walled off by a row of rough blocks visible in Fig. 2, directly behind the workman.

The floor is highest near the mouth of the cave, sloping considerably and somewhat unevenly toward the inside. It consists of the soft rock and clay which is found beneath the Acropolis rock on all sides of the hill. This virgin soil appears to have been leveled off at the middle of the cave and the earth used as filling in the lower parts around the edges. An investigation of this floor showed that the leveling had taken place in post-classical times.

Along the south side of the cave there is a sloping path or shelf some three metres above the floor level. This was made artificially at a late period. There are clear marks of drill-holes, showing that the rock was blasted away. But these holes are too uneven and too large to have been made by an ordinary modern drill. The surface of the rock also indicates that the blasting was done, not by dynamite, but by powder.

On some of the military maps and sketches of Athens from the seventeenth century, the East Cave is clearly indicated with a broad road leading into it. This is most clearly shown on the plan attributed to the Capuccini monks³ and on the copy made from the same plan,⁴ on

¹ The work was undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Lincoln MacVeagh, the United States Minister in Athens, who also defrayed the cost of the excavation. For his generous gift and his interest and help in the work, I take this opportunity to express the acknowledgement of the American School of Classical Studies, and my own personal appreciation.

² See chapter II on the Pottery by M. Z. Pease.

³ Henri Omont, *Athènes en XVII^e Siècle*, pl. XXXIX.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. XI, and p. 14, 8.

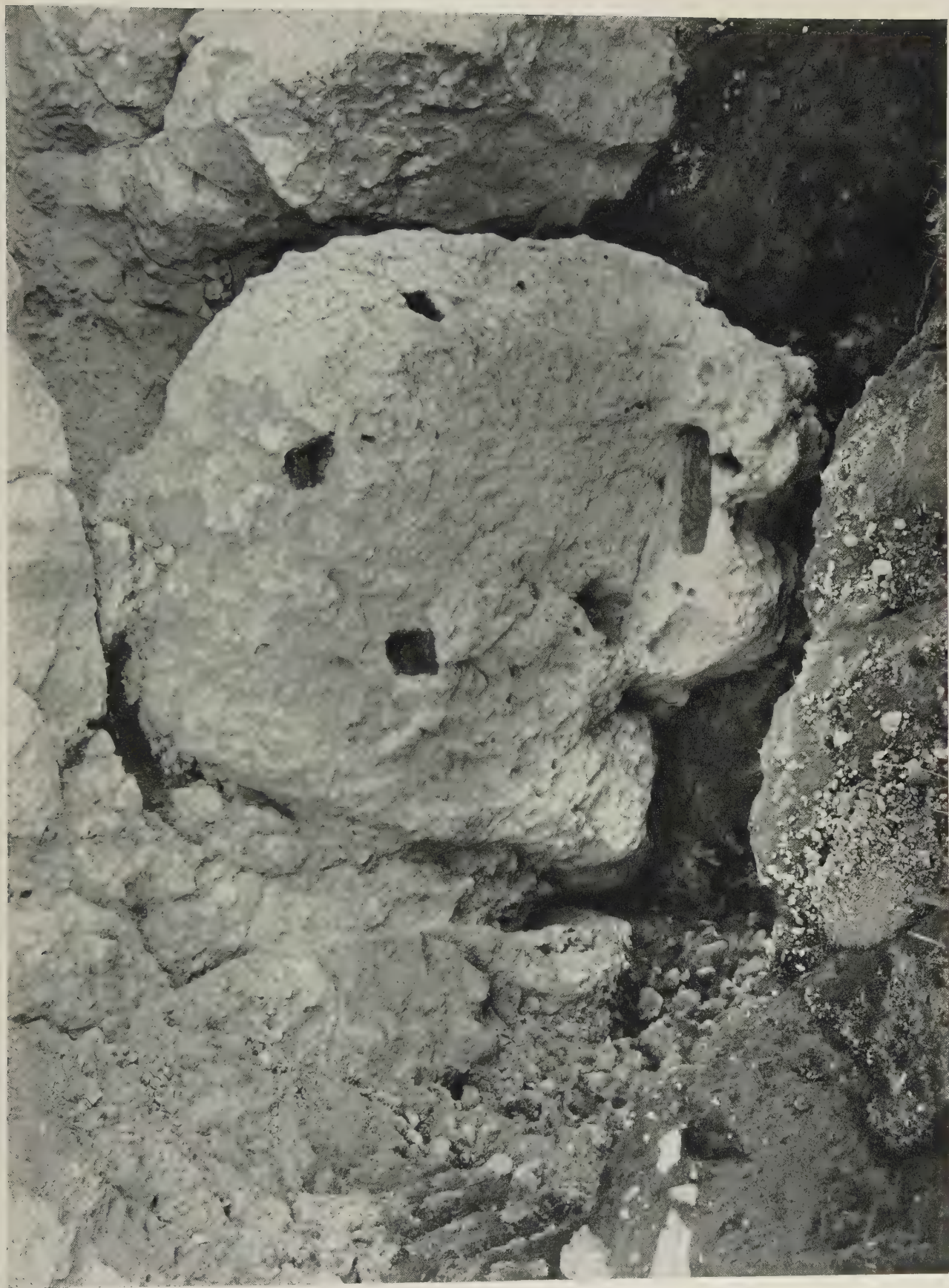


Fig. 3. Stele Cutting in Rock at Entrance to Cave

which the various buildings and monuments are named. The legend for the East Cave reads: "La Grotte d'Apollon, Panagia." Apparently the cave was confused with the Cave of Apollo on the north slope and the cave above the Theatre of Dionysos which still contains a chapel of Panagia Spiliotissa. The rest of the labels on the same plan are equally fantastic.

It is important, however, to find that in the seventeenth century the cave and the road leading to it were sufficiently prominent to be recorded on the plans. It is not unlikely that the Venetian besiegers in 1687 made use of the cave for military purposes. Possibly the blasting along the south side and the leveling of the floor were done at this time in order to turn the cave into a convenient shed, protected as it was from the Turkish defenders on the citadel. The slope to the north of the cave is sufficiently gentle to make an attack on the wall possible at this point. The ancient wall has here been entirely demolished and rebuilt in recent times.

In addition to the main trench through the middle of the cave, an investigation was made of the entrance on either side of the mound of earth. At the south side virgin soil was reached at a depth of less than two metres. Below the Acropolis dump were found some large blocks which apparently had rolled down at the time of the demolition of the Acropolis wall above the cave. There were no indications of steps nor any ancient cuttings in the rock along the south side of the entrance.

On the north side the earth, which here reached a prodigious depth, was cleared away all along the overhanging rock. Here was discovered the only recognizable indication that the cave was occupied in ancient times. At a distance of about six metres from the opening and some two metres below the floor level of the cave was found a bedding for a stele cut in the rock (Fig. 3). The face of the rock has been dressed away vertically, and below this smooth surface is a cutting 0.41 m. long, 0.13 m. wide, and 0.09 m. deep. At the upper edge of the dressed surface is a small dowel-hole for fastening the stele at the top. From the position of this hole the height of the stele may be computed at *ca.* 1.20 m. There are three smaller cuttings (visible in Fig. 3), one above and one on either side of the dressed surface of the rock. These look like beam-holes which may have been made for some lean-to shed built against the face of the cliff. It is difficult to see how these holes can have anything to do with the cutting for the stele, and it is not unlikely that they were made at a later period. However that may be, there is no doubt that the stele was set up in ancient times, and we are justified in assuming that it had something to do with some cult then housed in the cave.

Slightly above the cutting toward the entrance of the cave the rock has been dressed off at one point. This too seems to indicate that the stele was set up along the ascent which probably led from the surrounding path (*περίπατος*) below the Acropolis. Only some eight metres to the north of this point is a rock-cut stairway (Fig. 4) leading to a rectangular bedding in the rock, probably for an altar.¹

¹ This stairway has been discussed in an earlier number of *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 415-417.



Fig. 4. Rock-cut Steps North of Entrance to Cave

From these indications, slight as they are, we may conclude that the east cave was used in ancient times. But important changes were made both in the cave itself and in the projecting rock on either side. In front of the stele-cutting the post-classical fill extends more than 2.50 m. below the cutting. The ancient ground level was probably approximately even with the bottom of the stele or slightly lower. At the mouth of the cave on the north side there is a confusion of fallen pieces of rock and late fill which extends far below the floor level. The mound of earth prevented us from digging directly in front of the cave, but immense pieces of rock which project above the surface at this point, and others below the mound of earth offer further evidence for the changes that have taken place at this point. Whether these changes occurred at the time when the rock was blasted away along the south side remains uncertain. It is unlikely that further digging would throw more light on the ancient occupation of the cave unless the entire mound of earth is removed, and the whole slope below the cave is thereby made available for archaeological excavation.

OSCAR BRONEER

II

THE POTTERY

Every fresh gleaning of the slopes of the Acropolis brings new pieces of the "Acropolis" vases to light.¹ While the results of an excavation of two weeks cannot hope to compete with those of one of four years' time, the fact that even in so short a space ten fragments from the East Cave have been found to join vases from the Acropolis and three others to have formed part of Acropolis pots perhaps justifies a brief mention of the new finds: a supplementary note to the invaluable publication of the Acropolis pottery by Graef and Langlotz. Even minor members of this amazing collection of fragments deserve all attention and all respect.²

FRAGMENTS JOINING VASES FROM THE ACROPOLIS

BLACK-FIGURED

1. [Acropolis I 616 *a-g*] Fragment of krater. Theseus and the Minotaur? Below, Riders. (Fig. 1)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 73. Phot. Germ. Inst. 192 (here, *a-g*, Fig. 1).

New fragment: Outer dm. at base of fragment estimated as *ca.* 0.254 m.; T., 0.008 m.

Fragment from the side. Good glaze on the interior. Dilute: the lines between the zones. Red: the hair of the horseman.

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, pp. 214 ff., and note 5 on p. 214 for a bibliography of the publication of the fragments from the Acropolis.

² To treat the new fragments lightly is *lèse majesté*, but anything but the briefest of descriptions is out of the question at this time. The main point is to make the material available for proper study.

I should like to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Dr. Broneer for the favour of working with his pottery and for his reading the paper. Mrs. Semni Karousou and the Staff of the National Museum were, as always, kindness itself in the matter of the restoration in plaster of certain of the new



Fig. 1

The new piece, with fragment *d* of the seven parts of the krater, provides the left leg of the second man striding to right and the right leg and left heel of a third man "knee running" right. In the zone below, the head of a horseman; a dotted rosette in the field.

The arrangement of the vase may be as follows: two quiet groups on either side of the central scene; men in short cloaks and ladies in peplos and himation. One of the (four or more) ladies raises her hands in excitement or prayer, another holds the victor's crown. The entire story may, although from the elliptical style of many Greek vases it need not, be taking place on one side of the vase. Again not with certainty but with probability, from the distance of the horse of fragment *d* to that of the new piece, one may restore thirteen riders around the lower zone. (See further note 2 on p. 272.)

Ca. 540 B.C.

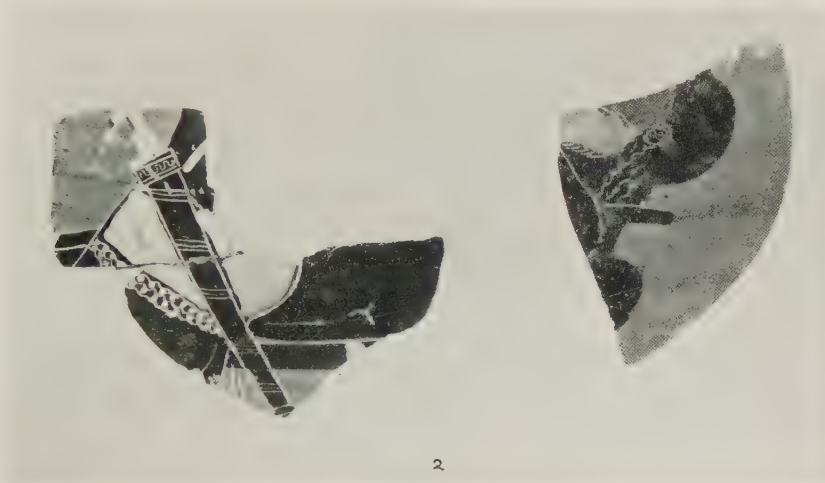


Fig. 2

2. [Acropolis I 814 *a-b*] Fragment of amphora. (Fig. 2)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 99. Phot. Germ. Inst. 252 (here, *a-b*, Fig. 2).

New fragment: Greatest dim., 0.085 m.; T. above, 0.009 m.; T. below, 0.008 m.

Fragment from the side; unglazed on the interior. Burnt, but not on the inside. Red: chiton across the hips. White: hilt and strap of sword; dots on hem of chiton. Outlines incised.

With the addition of the East Cave fragment to fragment *b* of the Acropolis vase, the picture becomes, if not intelligible, less impossible: "On a huge hill, Cragged and steep, Truth stands." A warrior with a tight, short chiton and a sword is falling backwards to right. Behind him is the figure of a naked man on a couch (his legs appear, parallel, at the left of the dotted edge of the warrior's dress, his hips at the right of the upright

"joins." To her, and to the following people are due my most grateful thanks for various helpful suggestions: Mr. H. R. W. Smith, Mr. H. G. G. Payne, Mr. C. W. Blegen, Mr. J. L. Caskey, Mr. M. Robertson, Mr. K. J. Brock, Mr. R. J. Harper, and Mr. J. F. Daniel. Herr H. Wagner has been of great assistance with the photographs, and he himself took the photographs of the Nikoxenos vase.

figure. Below him, the straight line of the bed). Fragment *a* of the vase from the Acropolis may represent the head of the reclining man, and the object behind his shoulders the head of the bed. The scene cannot be a prothesis: the man is naked (cf. Zschietzschmann, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1928, p. 23) and the setting is not right.

Ca. 540-530 B.C.

3. [Acropolis I 1172] Fragment of loutrophoros. A procession. (Fig. 3)

Acropolis fragment: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 130, pl. 66.

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.085 m.; T., 0.007 m.

From the neck; start of the shoulder at the bottom. Unglazed inside. Red: stripes on cloak.

The piece from the East Cave gives part of the youth at the left of the Acropolis fragment, the end of the fold hanging at the back, the lower part of the cloak, the feet, the end of the split stick, the ground line at the bottom.

Ca. 510 B.C.

4. [Acropolis I 2443] Fragment of plate. Dionysos. (Fig. 4)

Acropolis fragment: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 238. Phot. Germ. Inst. 55.

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.038 m.; T., 0.006 m.

Part of the centre. The glaze on the under side has turned red. Reserved circle at the centre of the bottom. White: three-dot pattern on the cloak.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

The lower part of a cloaked figure to right, with a fold hanging at the right. Dionysos, in his almost invariable fashion in such scenes in late black-figure, has his himation gathered around him and slung over his left arm, leaving his right arm free but for the long sleeve of his chiton (see for instance Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, pl. 77, 1 and 2).

Ca. the end of the sixth century B.C.

RED-FIGURED

5. [Acropolis II 212] Fragment of kylix. I, Peleus and Thetis; A, Iliupersis; B, Herakles and the Amazons? (Fig. 5)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 17, pl. 10.

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.049 m.; T., 0.0025 m.

Fragment of the side. Relief contour. Shield drawn with a compass. Red wash. Dilute: folds on the sleeve of Herakles' chiton, bars on others of the folds.

Part of fragment *b*: the upper part of the warrior pursuing the figure in archer's dress, the folds of his short chiton, the lappets and waist of his cuirass, part of his scabbard and of the circle of his shield, the lower end of his right arm and a segment of his spear. The fragment continues the leg, and the folds of the chiton of Herakles and gives the tail, a hind paw and part of a fore paw of his lion skin. Above, part of his right sleeve.



Fig. 5

Were Herakles to be considered as part of the scene of the remainder of the exterior of the cup, he would then have strayed into the wrong Troy, not Laomedon's but Priam's.¹ Place, on the other hand, the handle of the cup over the fallen figure at the left and it is seen to be at right angles with the design on the interior (the normal arrangement), with the altar of the scene as the centre of a symmetrical design: on one side the pursuit of Kassandra, on the other the death of Astyanax. It is not inconceivable that the earlier siege of Troy is taking place simultaneously on the reverse of the cup,—witness the

¹ *Iliad*, V, 638 ff.; XIV, 250 f.

encounter of Greek and archer behind Herakles, and the presence of the armed figure fallen at his feet. A more usual subject would be the struggle with the Amazons.¹

Ca. 500 B.C. According to Beazley (Haspels, *B. C. H.*, 1930, p. 448, no. 20) Acropolis 211 and this cup are imitations of great work, under the influence of Euphronios. They belong to the series of so-called "parade" cups. The incised ring around the reserved one on the inside and outside of the cup is not usual.



Fig. 6

6. [Acropolis II 727] Three fragments of calyx krater. A, Combat; B, Horsemen and a youth. Below, A, Ithyphallic silen; B, Youth reclining. (Figs. 6-7)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, II, pp. 67-68, pls. 56-57.

New pieces: Greatest dim.: *a*, 0.10 m.; *b*, 0.055 m.; *c*, 0.072 m. T., 0.01 m.

Three fragments, two from the side and one from the cul. Red: *a*, strings of basket, fillet; *b*, bowstring. Relief contour, except for the outline of the head on *a*. Dilute: ends of the hair on *b*.

¹ While, as Mr. Smith points out, the archer dress has no exclusively Asiatic connotation before the invasions of 490 and 480, it is often worn by Amazons. See, for instance, Gerhard, *A.V.*, pl. CXCIX, and the Sleep and Death cup (London E 12; *ibid.*, CCXXI-II), where some of the Amazons are greaved and

a (Fig. 6) joins two fragments placed in their proper relative positions in Graef and Langlotz, and supplies the head, right arm and knee of the reclining figure on the cul (pl. 56), the tips of two leaves of the palmette at the left, and a basket hanging on the wall. On the zone above the dot border, parts of the lion-feet of the camp-stool. *b* joins the right end of the large fragment illustrated on the upper part of pl. 57, to give the jerkined torso, the quiver strap, the end of a flap of the cap, the long hair, the impossibly



Fig. 7

long chin and slit mouth, and the raised right arm of an archer drawing his bow to right. Lovers of archery will observe the good form of his stance.

When the separate fragment at the left of the middle part of pl. 57 is inverted and joined to fragment *c* (Fig. 7), together the pieces form the middle of a cuirassed warrior facing to right (sword strap, shield, spear). With the help of the new pieces the plan of

others in archer costume. There is, however, no question of the wisdom of his note in *New Aspects of the Menon painter* (p. 14, note 12).

At the left of the fragment to which the new piece is attached is the flap of the archer's quiver. The long object over the shield of the fallen warrior is doubtless the end of a bow.

the vase may be restored. On A, the torso and shield and spear can belong only to the second pair of legs on the upper fragment of pl. 57. Thus an archer and a warrior faced a second warrior and his fallen comrade. Since the figure between palmettes on the lower frieze must be in the centre of the vase on either side, the "third" figure and its horse on B should be omitted and the legs of the horse and man on pl. 57 be made to agree with those above the palmette at the right on pl. 56. The seated youth has but one man-and-



Fig. 8

horse behind and before him. Incidentally, the two fragments, A and B, join below, at the tongue pattern.

Ca. 500 B.C. By the Nikoxenos painter.¹

7. [Acropolis II 742] Fragment of calyx krater. A, Apollo Citharoedus; B, Athena mounting a quadriga. (Fig. 8)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 69, pls. 59-60; *Hesperia*, IV, p. 238, no. 26, Fig. 12.

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.057 m.; T., 0.015 m.

Fragment of the rim. Burnt. A reserved line on the inside. The design all in relief contour.

¹ A fourth fragment, which I do not figure but which has been joined to the vase, adds the snake on the shield on pl. 57. Mr. Robertson tells me that he found it outside of the East Cave together with the fragment of the Euphronios cup published by Miss Haspels in the *B.C.H.* for 1930 (p. 423 and pl. XX). The whole entrance of the cave and the mound before it should be cleared.

The fragment joins the right end of the piece with the head of Dionysos (pl. 60). Another portion of the rim was found on the North Slope. For the ornament, see *CV. Providence*, pl. 15, 3 *a b*, and the review by Beazley in the *J.H.S.*, 1933, p. 311.

Before 480 B.C.

"SIX'S TECHNIQUE"

8. [Acropolis II 1182 *a-c*] Fragment of phiale mesomphalos. Lyres; ivy leaves. (Fig. 9)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 107, *a*, pl. 87.

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.034 m.; T., 0.004-0.003 m.

Fragment from the side. Part of the glazed band at the outer edge of the rim of the exterior is preserved. Red: the bridge of the lyre, the leaves. Yellow: the sounding-piece.

The new fragment continues the strings of the lyre on fragment *a* and adds the sounding-piece and the bridge of the instrument, and a trace of a leaf. The three fragments *a*, *b*, and *c* now join: *c* to one end of *a*, *b* to the other. The phiale had four lyres and leaves on its inner zone, five on its outer. Group V, B.



Fig. 9

FRAGMENTS BELONGING TO ACROPOLIS VASES

BLACK-FIGURED

9. [Acropolis I 625 *a-f*] Fragment of open vase. On the neck: A, Quadriga; B, Women and silens. (Figs. 10-11)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 75, *a* and *b*, pl. 38 (here, *a*, *d-f*, Fig. 11).

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.055 m.; T. of lower band, 0.024 m.

Fragment of the side, with the lower moulding. Good glaze inside, the under side of the moulding unglazed. The wall below broken away. Red: band on the outer and upper surfaces of the moulding. White: the foot of the woman.

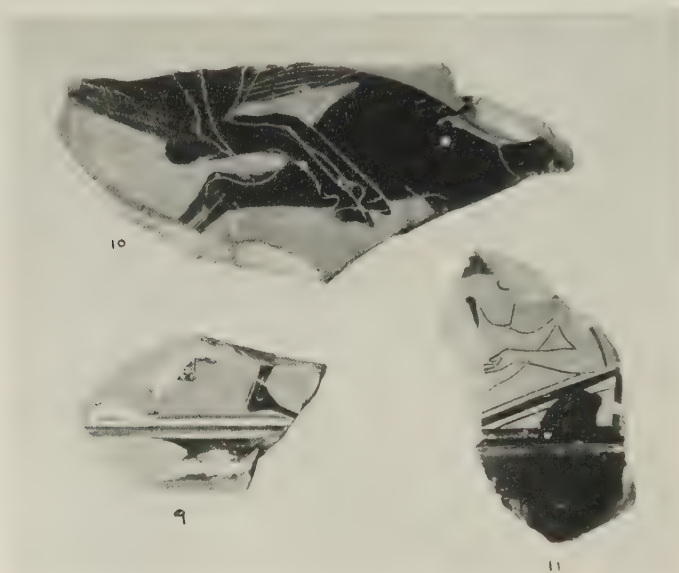


Fig. 10

With six other fragments, this piece formed part of a large, open vase with two handles, a wide mouth moulded at top and bottom, and panelled decoration on A and B. From the curious thinness of the wall below the inner edge of the rim, the main support of the rim cannot have depended on the wall alone. Indeed, the inner part of the horizontal lower edge of the moulded rim looks bevelled off as though to rest on the curved side of a krater or a very wide-mouthed amphora.¹

On this fragment are preserved the foot of a woman to right, the hem of her peplos and the extra fold of her cloak decorated with crosses like those on the hems of other fragments of this vase. At the right, the foot of a man or silen going right. The new piece must have belonged on the side with fragments *b* and *c*.

Mr. Payne suggested the additional support by the side of the vase.

Ca. 560 B.C. Certain tricks of style (the drawing of the moustache on fragment *a* (Fig. 11), of the arrow-headed reins and the heads of the horses on fragments *f* and *d*) remind one of the painter of the dinos Acropolis 606 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pls. 30-32) in a crude moment. Graef had already noticed the relationship.

10. [Acropolis I 628 *d-f*] Fragment of krater. A and B, first zone, Quadrigae; second, Riders. (Fig. 10)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 75, *d*, pl. 39.

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.115 m.; T., 0.012 m.

Fragment of the side. Fairly good glaze on the interior; deep wheel marks. The outlines of the fore legs of the first horse, the hind leg of the second, incised.



Fig. 11

Two horses and their riders: the right ankle and foot of the first rider, the fore legs of his horse, the hind quarters and tail of the second horse, with the buttocks of his rider.

The fragment comes from the frieze of riders in the second zone. The photograph should be tilted up a little at the right end.

Ca. 560 B.C. By the painter of Acropolis 627 (*Hesperia*, IV, p. 217, nos. 1 ff.).

RED-FIGURED

11. [Acropolis II 755 *a-d*] Fragment of volute krater. Komos. (Fig. 10)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 71, *a-c*, pl. 62.

New piece: Greatest dim., 0.066 m.; T., 0.006 m.

Fragment of the rim. Good glaze inside. Relief contour.

A banqueter: his nose and chin, his left arm and hand (all but the tips of his fingers), his right shoulder, his torso and the pillow of his couch. This is a fifth fragment of the rim

of the krater, and most resembles fragment *a* of the Acropolis vase. The youth may be stretching for a drink, or resting his hand on his knee as in Fig. 6. In that case, however, his knee must be drawn up considerably higher than is the knee on *a*.

Ca. 490 B.C. By the Eucharides painter.

FRAGMENTS OF OTHER VASES

MYCENAEAN

12. Fragment of a small closed vase: an amphora? (Fig. 12)

Greatest dim., 0.054 m.; T., 0.0045 m.

From the side. Unglazed on the interior. Greenish buff clay; brown black glaze. Lattice work and two vertical bands, the outer one perhaps the side of a panel.

Early Mycenaean (Blegen).

13. Fragment of pyxis. (Fig. 12)

Greatest dim., 0.075 m.; Greatest T., 0.006 m.

Fragment of the convexly angled side, with the start of a handle on the shoulder. Unglazed on the interior. Red glaze; light reddish buff clay. Connected rings and two stripes down the length of the handle. Chevrons below.

Late Mycenaean. For the shape, a common one, cf. Acropolis 161, Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 4.

14. Fragment of closed vase. (Fig. 12)

Greatest dim., 0.04 m.; T., 0.0035 m.

From the shoulder, with the start of the mouth, which is glazed inside. Dark brown glaze; buff clay with red core. At the top of the shoulder, curved zigzags. On the shoulder, debased "shell" pattern. Dilute rings between the heavier ones.

Late Mycenaean. For other variants of the pattern on the Acropolis see [185] (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 5) and [193] (*ibid.*, pl. 6).

CORINTHIAN

15. Fragment of plastic pot: lion. (Fig. 12)

Greatest dim., 0.025 m.

Part of the mane. Pale green clay. The locks of the mane in brown glaze.

Late seventh century B.C. For Corinthian lions, see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 173 and 177.

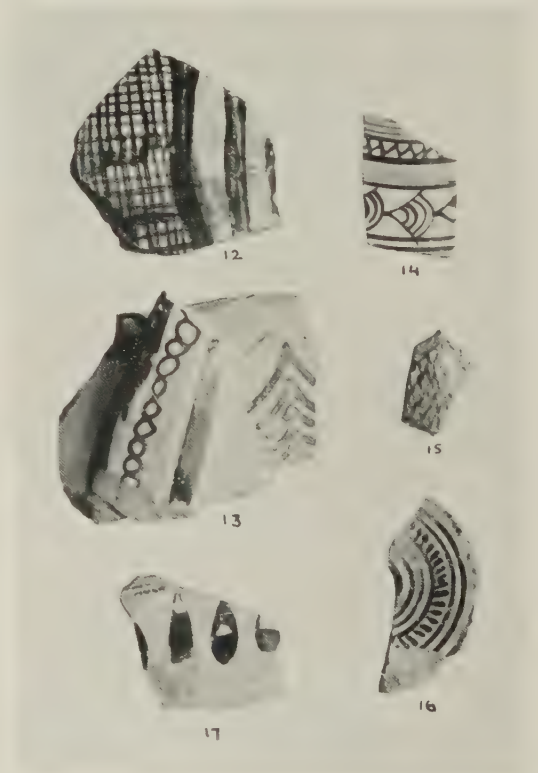


Fig. 12

16. Fragment of aryballos. (Fig. 12)

Greatest dim., 0.047 m.; T. of lip, 0.01 m.

Part of the lip. Greenish clay; brown glaze. Three concentric rings, diagonal lattice work on the outside of the lip. On the upper surface, tongue pattern and four rings, the last of which is at the opening of the mouth.

Early Corinthian.

17. Fragment of skyphos. (Fig. 12)

Greatest dim., 0.046 m.; T., 0.0025 m.

Fragment of the side. The glaze much worn on the interior. Two bands of glaze at the top. Red: alternate lotuses of the chain, the loops of which are nearly gone.

Late Corinthian. For the type, Payne, *NC.*, p. 334, B. Middle of the sixth century B.C.?

VOURVA AND RELATED

18. Fragment of amphora. (Fig. 13)

Greatest dim., 0.058 m.; T., 0.007 m.

Fragment from the neck: a band of dark brown glaze on the otherwise unglazed interior. Reddish clay. Red: mouth and nostril of 1, mane of 2. Incised outlines: nose and mouth of 1, mane of 2.

The heads of two horses to right: part of the neck, nose, mouth and bridle of one horse; part of the mane of a second.

Early sixth century B.C.? The clay is very red.

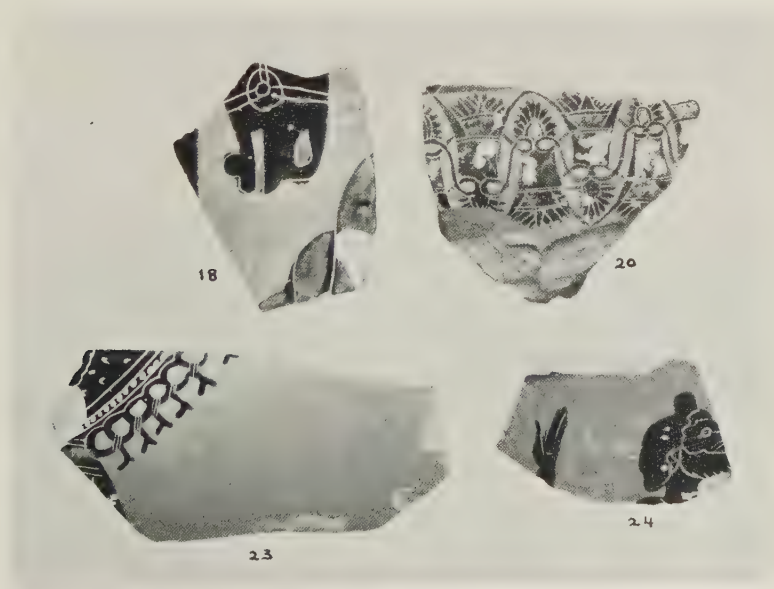


Fig. 13

19. Fragment of plate. (Fig. 14)

Greatest dim., 0.069 m.; Ht. of foot, 0.011 m.; T., 0.01–0.008 m. (near edge).

Fragment of the centre, which thins toward the foot; part of the ring foot and of the rim with convex curve on upper and lower sides. Pale buff clay; brown glaze. Red: on I, in the centre, the heart and alternate petals of the palmette, the base of the calyx; on the lip, the heart and petals of the palmette. On the under side (centre), hearts of palmettes, a patch on an indistinguishable object. A brown band on the lower side of the rim.

Ca. 585–575 B.C.

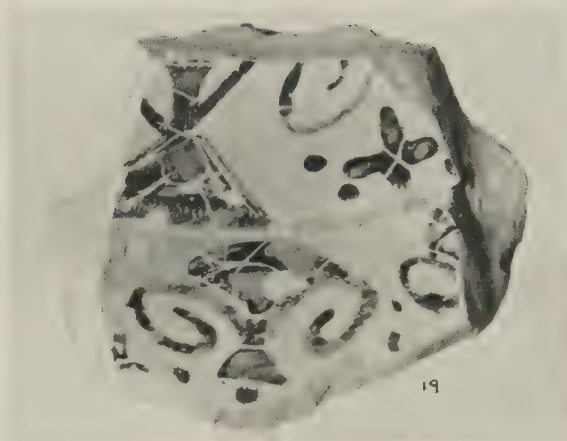


Fig. 14

DEVELOPED BLACK-FIGURED STYLE

AMPHORAE

20. Fig. 13

Greatest dim., 0.061 m.; T., 0.009 m.; Ht. of zone, 0.031 m.

Fragment of side. Unglazed on the interior. Red: calyx of lotus, heart of palmette. White: heart of lotus. Outlines of connecting loops incised, also calices of lotuses.

A band of reversing lotus and palmette, with part of a hoof from the zone above.

Ca. 570–560 B.C. By the painter of Acropolis 606 (see no. 9). The design is smaller than that of the dinos and the palmettes more pointed, but the arrangement of the pattern and of the slanting incisions of the lotuses is unmistakable.

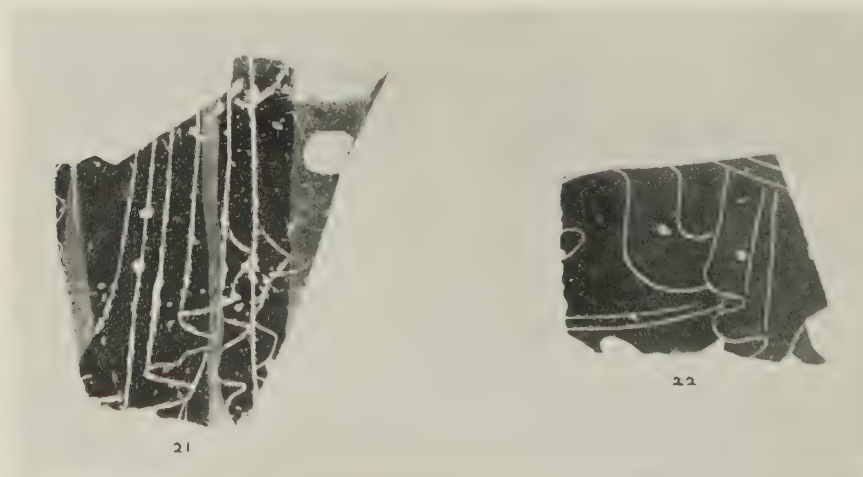


Fig. 15

21. Fig. 15

Greatest dim., 0.074 m.; T., 0.005 m.

From the side. Burnt (mottled). Red: a stripe on the cloak. White: pattern of four dots on the hanging fold.

The lower part of a cloaked figure to right, with a long fold hanging from its arm. The fabric, and the style of the drawing remind one of Acropolis 693 (*a-c*: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 85, pl. 36), but the Acropolis vase is thinly glazed on the inside.

Late sixth century B.C.

22. Fig. 15

Greatest dim., 0.058 m.; T., 0.005 m.

From the side. Red: dots on the cloak.

The middle of a figure seated on a stool to left? The drapery is like that of Acropolis 848 (Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 101, Phot. Germ. Inst. 256).

Ca. 490–480 B.C.

PANATHENAIC AMPHORAE

23. Fig. 13

Greatest dim., 0.085 m.; T., 0.004 m.

From the obverse. Fine fabric. Red: band at the waist. White: dots on the border of the aegis, the pattern of three dots on the peplos.

Athena Promachos to left: part of her aegis with its snake border, the belt at her waist, part of the skirt of her peplos.

Late sixth century B.C.?

24. Fig. 13

Greatest dim., 0.052 m.; T., 0.0045 m.

From the reverse. Red: a line at the top.

Two runners: the left hand of one sprinter at the left, the head of a second at the right.

Late sixth century B.C.

CUPS

25. Fragment of stemless cup. (Fig. 16)

Greatest dim., 0.038 m.; T., 0.004 m.

Fragment from near centre. No relief contour on the "ribbon" pattern. Around the centre on I, two concentric rings, two rows of dots, two rings, a zone of "ribbon" pattern (see *Hesperia* IV, p. 230 f., no. 18). On the outside of the cup, rays, two rings.

On I, a gorgoneion: part of the beard.

26. Fragments of kylix. (Figs. 16–17)

Greatest dim.: *a*, 0.041 m.; *b*, 0.06 m.; T.: *a*, 0.004–0.003 m.; *b*, 0.005–0.004 m.

Two fragments of the side. Red: *b*, exterior, tail of I. White: *a*, outside, foot of woman. On *a*, outside, the same patterns as on the interior of 25. On I: *a*, two concentric rings around the central design. The gorgoneion's hair in relief.



Fig. 16

I. Gorgoneion at the centre; around, horses. On the outside of the cup, silens and woman. *a*, on I, gives a trace of the hair of the gorgoneion, the tip of the tail and part of three legs of a horse to right. *b* gives the lower part of the barrel of the body and part of the hind legs of another horse, with the tail or the hind leg of another horse facing the other way. On the outside, on *a*, the foot of a woman to right, two male feet to left and one right. On *b*, the buttocks and tail of a silen to left, most of the legs and tail of another to right, the skirt of a woman to right. I could find no good parallel for this cup on the Acropolis.



Fig. 17

PLATE

27. Fig. 18

Greatest dim., 0.059 m.; T., 0.01 m.

Part of the centre, the start of the ring foot. Slightly burnt. A reserved band on the under side, next the foot. Red: lip, ring round neck of amphora, lip and band round kalathos. White: wreath on amphora, fringed edge of basket, band. Outlines of the amphora incised.

A handle and part of the lip, neck and shoulder of a wreathed amphora. At the right, a kalathos at an odd angle. Above the amphora, a spray of ivy. The fragment may be wrongly posed. It is possible that the amphora is being carried on the shoulder of a man (see the dark object at the lower edge of the fragment, between amphora and basket), and that the red streak at the top of the basket represents the spilling wine. The pull of gravity can be less efficacious than usual, on the interiors of late black-figured cups and plates.

Early fifth century B.C.

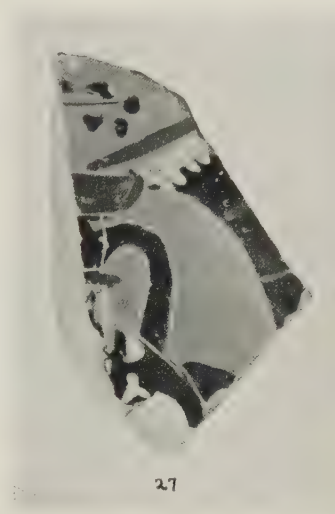


Fig. 18

SPINDLE WHORLS

28 29. Fig. 19

28: Ht., 0.03 m.; dm., 0.034 m. Three rows of tongues separated by pairs of concentric rings. On the bottom, two similar rows, one ring.

29: Ht., 0.019 m.; dm., 0.027 m. Burnt. Three rows of tongues, between each row a ring. On the under side, two rows, each flanked by a ring.

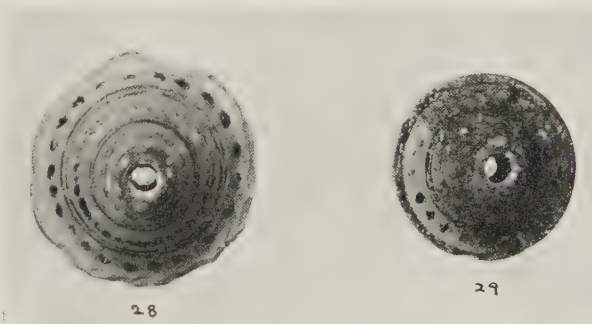


Fig. 19

RED-FIGURED

PLATES

30. Fig. 20

Greatest dim., 0.043 m.; T., 0.006 m.

A fragment of the centre, with part of the reserved circle on the under side. Relief contour except for the reserved space around the head.

A komos: a knee and the front part of the head of a youth reclining to the left with his right arm outstretched. His hand and the object in it are gone. A skin flute-case hangs on the wall.

Ca. 520-510 B.C.

31. Fig. 20

Greatest dim., 0.036 m.; T., 0.006 m.

From the centre. Red: the fillet, the fringe of the flute-case.

Music? Part of the hanging fold of the cloak of a draped figure standing to right, part of a fillet held in the figure's hand (or the string of a plectron), and of a flute-case at the right.

Ca. 500 B.C.

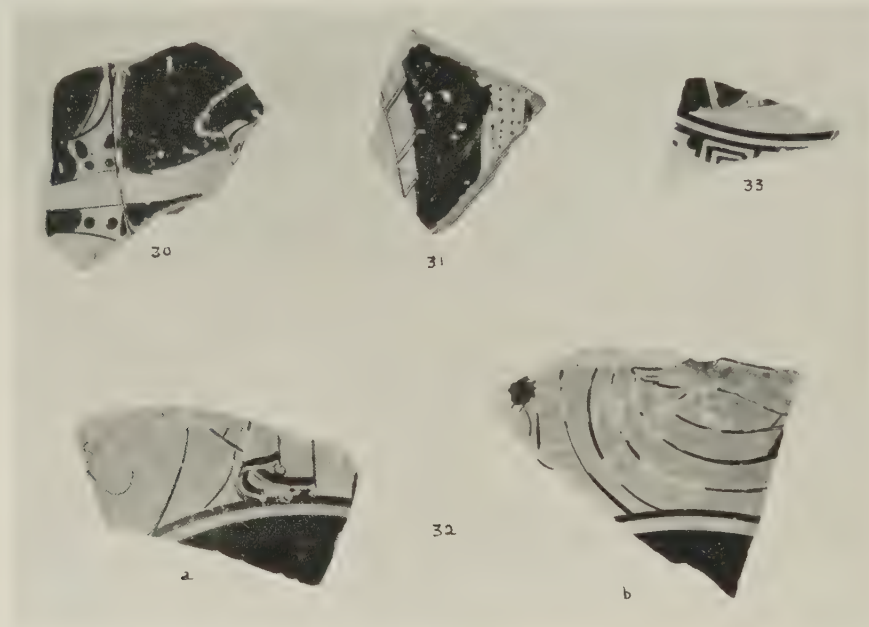


Fig. 20

CUPS

32. Fig. 20

Greatest dim.: *a*, 0.017 m.; *b*, 0.05 m.

Two fragments from the lower part of the side. Trace of reserved circle on the interior of *b*.

A banquet. *a*: a small part of the drapery of a figure reclining to left. Folds of his dark-bordered cloak fall from his shoulders. *b*: the draped thighs, the lower torso, and part of the left arm of a figure to left. The hand doubtless held a cup. The arrangement at the left side of the fragment is unclear.

Ca. 490-480 B.C. Time of Brygos.

33. Fig. 20

Greatest dim., 0.031 m.; T., 0.006 m.

Fragment of the lower side, with traces of a design on exterior and interior. Around the centre on I, meanders and cross square. A reserved line under the scene outside.

I. A figure standing with a staff: the end of the stick, a right foot in front view, and an exergue. Outside, the tip of a foot to left.

Ca. 460 B.C. For the scheme of decoration see Acropolis 370 (Graef-Langlotz, II, pl. 31), and [405] (*ibid.*, p. 36).

COLUMN KRATER

34. Fig. 21

Greatest dim., 0.05 m.; T., 0.004 m.

Fragment from the side. Fairly good glaze on the interior. Burnt. Relief contour. Dilute: stripes on the blankets.

Again a komos: part of the naked torso and arm, a fold of the cloak of a man facing to left, lying on voluminous bed-coverings. In the lower right corner, part of the lip, neck and shoulder of a column krater.

Ca. 490-480 B.C.

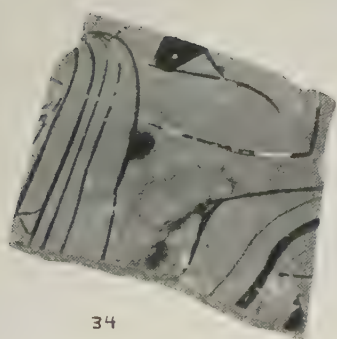
PYXIS LID

35. Fig. 22

Greatest dim., 0.085 m.; T., 0.008 m.

Fragment of the centre and flanged rim; a raised ring at the start of the knob at the top. On the under side, one wide and two narrow bands. Red: fillet in the woman's hair, the object(?) in her right hand, the top of the kalathos. Dilute: dots on the box and the kalathos, bars on the wings, the woman's hair.

A household scene: at the left is the tip of a wing (Eros?). In the centre, a woman to right with a box under her left arm. At the right, a basket.



34

Fig. 21



35

Fig. 22

GRAFFITO

36. Fig. 23

Greatest dim., 0.065 m.; T., 0.01 m.

From the lipped foot of a kylix, with a ring at the juncture of foot and stem outlined above and below by a reserved groove.

Scratched on the under side:

--- ΙΑΔΕΣ ΗΙΕ ---
--- ΑΦΞΕΝ



Fig. 23

For *ἱερὸν*, *ἱερὸς*, or *ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, see Acropolis 1368, 1374, 1376, 1383, 1384; and for the variation *ἱερὰ εἰμι Ἀθηναίας*, Acropolis 1380. The name of the painter has evidently been crowded in after the big inscription has occupied most of the space. Hence the awkwardness and the smaller scale of the letters, the pinched state of the last *sigma* of the name, and the frequent slips at the ends of the strokes. Three letters are missing in the *ἐγὼ* *αφσεν*, and presumably the artist's signature may also lack three, if one restores the entire circle of the foot with *ἱερὸν εἰμι τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, an arrangement which fits the circumference of the circle of the main inscription with less than half a centimetre to spare. "Pasiades" is a tempting although perhaps a dangerous suggestion.¹ We know that he painted as well as made pottery (*Hesperia*, IV, p. 291, no. 169, fig. 39), and the shape of this foot is like one (the decoration otherwise unpublished) in Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 195, no. 149, "of the early archaic period," a description not impossible for the work of Pasiades. To be sure, his writing is always beautiful, but at best the bottom of a cup is an inconvenient place on which to write one's name with beauty.²

¹ Deiniades, for whom Phintias painted a cup (*FR.*, pl. 32 and I, pp. 171–2), and Kalliades, who made the Eos and Memnon cup for Douris, are both later, nor have we any record of either as painter.

² For the most likely interpretation of the main scene on 1, see Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 362, 2, from Tischbein, V, pl. 107. In *Gaz. Arch.*, 1875, pl. 21, are three female spectators with wreaths in their hands. Here then in 1 must almost certainly be the captive youths and maidens viewing the struggle with the Minotaur.

This catalogue was written during a tenure of the Alice Freeman Palmer Fellowship of the American Association of University Women.

M. Z. PEASE

AN ERETRIAN PROXENY DECREE OF THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY

In the *Athenische Mitteilungen*, LIX (1934), Dr. Werner Peek published, along with twenty-seven other inscriptions, the Eretrian proxeny decree which is the subject of this paper. His commentary is brief, and his restoration considerably different from that proposed below.

The inscription was brought to Eretria in 1934 by the museum guard from the farm¹ of the brothers *Πνευματικοῦ* some five miles east of the town. The nearest village was called *Μαγοῦλα* by the guard, but appears on the maps as *Κάτω Μάμουλά*. The decree is cut on a block of Pentelic marble 32 cm. high (not the original height), 23.2 wide (original width), and 14 thick (original thickness). The top of the stone is preserved back of the surface in such a way as to show that there was ample room for one line above the first letters that remain, but not enough for two.

The letters are well cut, and clear where the surface of the stone has not been injured. Just below the middle of the text there is an erasure of some two lines above which the order is irregular, but below which it is *στοιχηδόν*. The letter forms (especially *Μ*, *Ν*, *+*, and *Α*) suggest a date in the first third of the fifth century, and the fact that the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement is not yet firmly established points to the same period.

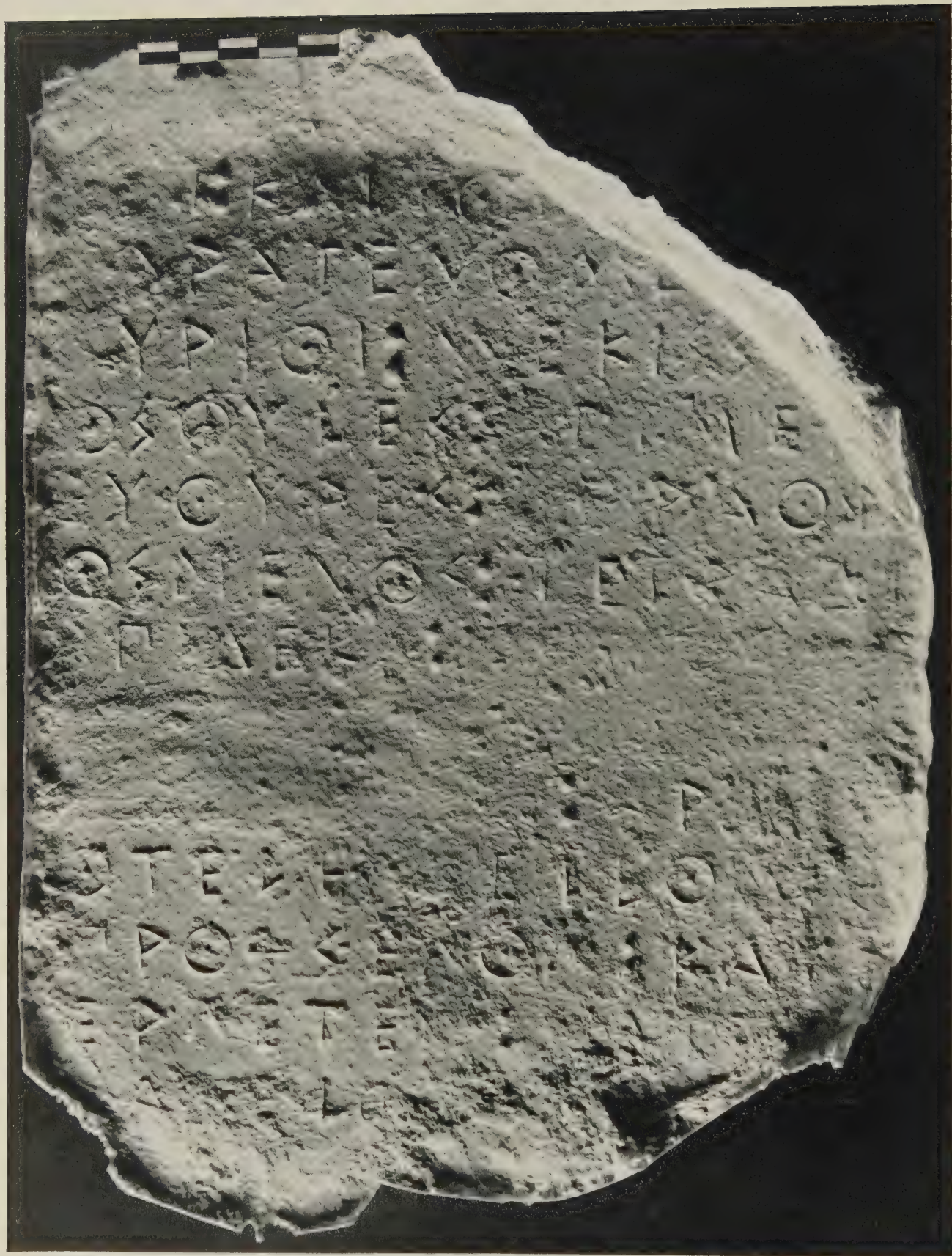
Dr. Peek's restoration is as follows:

	[Name <i>Τελλῶνιο</i> Ethni-]
	[kon]ι : καὶ τοῦ [χσνμ-]
	[π]αραγενομέ[νοι]
	κυρίῳ : Μεκισστ[ίδ-]
5	ος φυλῆς : ἑπιμῆν[ι-]
	ενούρες : Ἡεραῶν-
	ος μῆνός : τετραδί

¹ This property belonged to the guard's family, and he himself had known the stone for some eighteen years. He thought that it might have come originally from the ruins of an old church nearby, which I visited with him, but I could find no other certainly ancient blocks except a late grave stele—the sill-block of a little modern church—reading:

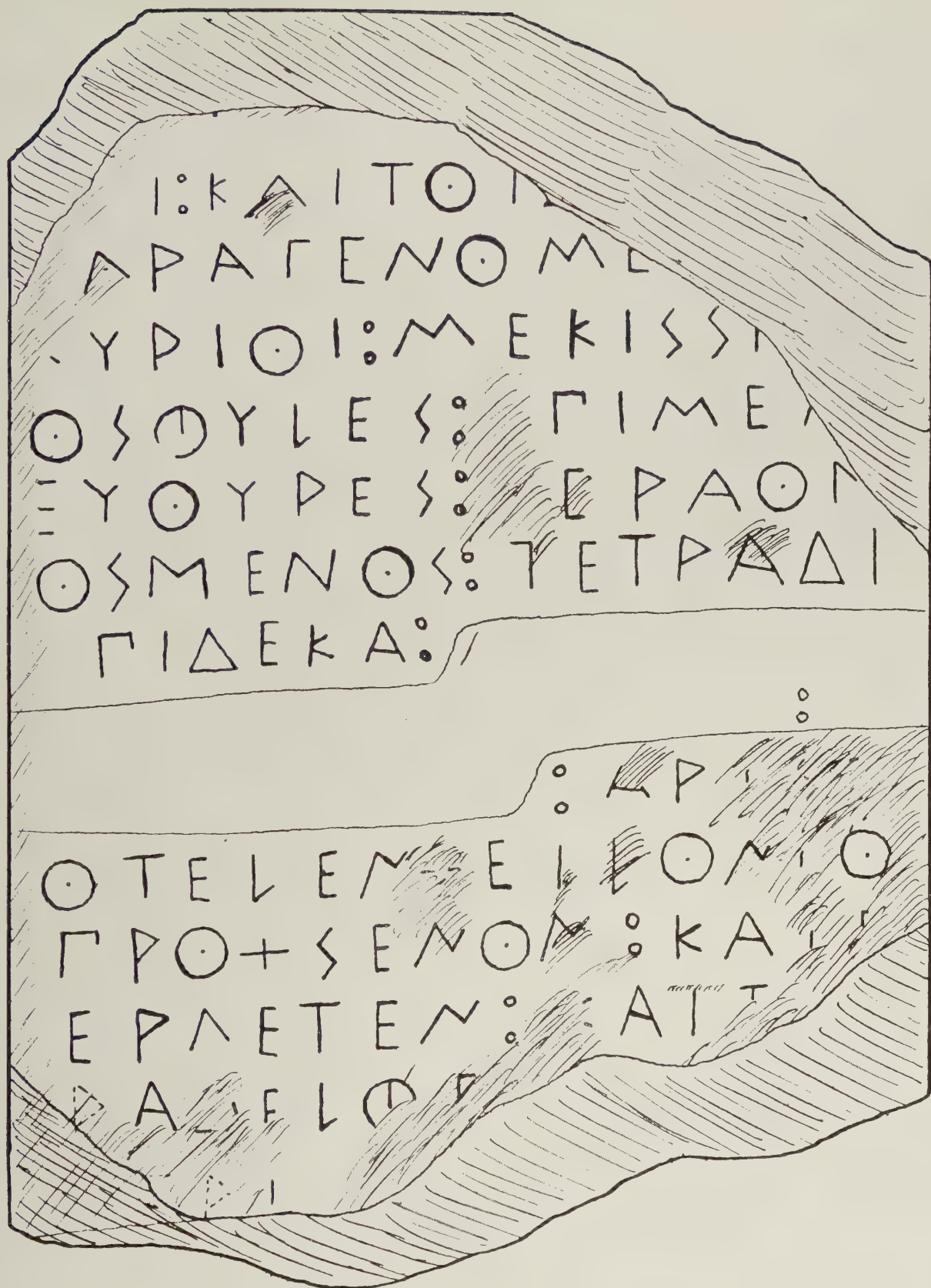
ΤΑΛΛΑΙΟΞ
ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ

This inscription appears not to have been published hitherto.



The Eretrian Proxeny Decree

Photograph of the back of the squeeze reversed as in a mirror. For a photograph of the stone, see *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX (1934), pl. V



The Eretrian Proxeny Decree
Drawing

[ἐ]πὶ δέκα : [Name]
 [εἶπεν· ἐπαινέσαι Να-]
 10 [me καὶ ἐ]ραῖ 'Αρισ[τ-]
 οτέλῃν [Τ]ελλῶν[ι]ο
 πρόχσενον : καὶ [εῦ-]
 εργέτην : [κ]αττ[άπε-]
 ρ ἀδελφῆς α[ι]τ[εῖται]
 15 -----

As this text differs considerably from the one proposed below, both in the readings and in the supplements, it must be commented on in some detail. Since noticing Dr. Peek's article I have been able to examine the stone again, and verify my readings.

Line 1. Peek's restoration depends on the supposed necessity of reading καττάπερ ἀδελφῆ in lines 13-14: "wie seine Schwester . . ., so muß sie vorher genannt sein." See below, p. 277.

Line 2. [χσνμ-]. Peek restores only four letters here in spite of the fact that exactly the same space in the line below (line 3) is filled by five letters, three of them (M, N, and O), of the largest size. In lines 4, 5, 6, and 7 the same space is occupied by seven, six, five, and six letters respectively.

Line 4. Peek explains κνρίδι as meaning "legal guardian" and as referring to the χοροψάλτρια's brother.

Lines 8, 9, and 10. Peek's restoration of the rasura leaves only eight or nine letter-spaces for two names, which is a very improbably short allowance. Nor does his theory that the ἀδελφῆ was a "χοροψάλτρια oder eine Dichterin . . ." who "hat sich später einmal mißliebig gemacht, und man hat ihren Namen getilgt"¹ explain why καὶ ἔναι was erased as well. I was unable to find any traces of the ἐραῖ which he reads—with hesitation—in the end of the rasura.

Line 11. Peek's reading is [Τ]ελλῶν[ι]ο. But this name is not otherwise attested, the third letter is quite certainly *iota*, and the stone is so far preserved that the cross-bar of a *tau* should appear quite clearly. There is no trace of it.

Line 12. The final *upsilon* restored by Peek and necessary to the sense, must have been omitted by the stone-cutter. The available space after the *alpha* of καὶ is exactly the same as after the final N of line 11. In line 11 only two letters filled this space whereas in line 12 one would expect three—καὶ [εῦ-]. But the surface seems sufficiently preserved to show that the *epsilon* was not crowded back against the *iota*, and indeed the corner of this *epsilon* seems to be visible directly under the final O of the line above. In short there is no room for the *upsilon*, and we have here either a case of careless

¹ He does not remark that it is surprising to find such a person publicly honoured at so early a date. His parallels are from the first century B.C. for the χοροψάλτρια (*S.I.G.*,³ 738) and from the end of the third century for the "Dichterin" (*I.G.*, IX, 2, 62 and *S.E.G.*, II, 263).

omission, or an example of that Ionic suppression of the *v* of *ev* before a vowel hitherto so doubtfully attested by inscriptions—the only clear example is ¹*Ἐαλκίδες* on one of the tablets from Styra.

Line 13. Peek restores [x]αττ[άπε]ρ ἀδελφῆ α[ι]τ[εῖται]. Close examination has convinced me that the first word is καὶ and that the *iota* is certain, although there is an injury to the stone which makes it very easy to mistake the letter for a *tau*. The restoration [x]αττ[άπε]ρ is one letter too long and is consequently impossible in this *στοιχηδόν* section of the inscription—it was doubtless made on the supposed analogy of line 12. In any case the form καττάπερ never occurs in Ionic, and κατάπερ² only in East Ionic, never in the Western Ionic of Euboea, which was characterized by the retention of the rough breathing. καθάπερ occurs in the Eretrian decree honouring Herakleitos of Tarentum (*ca.* 360), *I. G.*, XII, 9, 187₁₇.

Line 14. I could find no least trace either of the *alpha* or of the *tau* which Peek hesitantly reads in α[ι]τ[εῖται].

Finally ἀδελφῇ could surely not be used without the article in the phrase καθάπερ ἀδελφῇ αἰτεῖται.

The following is the restoration which I wish to propose instead:³

[ἔδοχσεν : τῆι βο-]
[λῆ]ι : καὶ τῷ [δέμοι]
[π]αραγερομέ[νῳ]
χυρίῳι : Μῆκισστ[ιδ-]
5 ος φυλῆς : [ἐ]πιμῆν[ι-]
ενοῦρῆς : [H]ῆραῶν-
ος μῆνός : τετράδι
[ἐ]πὶ δέκα : [[Ἀ[ριστοτ-]
[ἐλῆν Χειλῶνιο] : [π-]
10 [ρόχσενον]]] : Ἀριτ[υ]
οτέλῆν Χειλῶνιο
πρόχσενον : καὶ ε(ῖ-)
εργέτῆν : καὶ τ[οῦ?]
ρ ἀδελφε[ὸς ἀντῷ]
15 vacat or ερι?

Lines 1, 2, and 3. In these three lines παραγερομένῳ at least seems certain, and gives a line of thirteen letters as in line 6. Most of the lines, however, have fourteen letters,

¹ *I. G.*, XII, 9, 56₈₉. Cf. Blass, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen*, p. 68 (of *Ἐαλκίδες* he asks "Nachlässigkeit?"), Smyth, *The Greek Dialects: Ionic*, § 248, and Collitz, *Griechische Dialekt-Inschriften*, IV, 4, p. 923.

² E.g. at Priene and Halicarnassus, and in Herodotus.

³ Throughout my work on this inscription I have had the valuable privilege of discussing doubtful points with Mr. Sterling Dow of the American School at Athens.

and as the extant part of line 2 contains almost a full letter more than the corresponding section of line 3, line 2 in all probability originally contained the regular fourteen letters. The preserved letters suggest the common introductory formula *ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέμῳ* which fits the space well with twelve letters in line 1 and fourteen in line 2. There is a vertical mark on the stone just above the *kappa* of *καὶ*, which is probably the bottom of the + but seemed hardly certain enough to be included in the text. The fact that line 1 has only twelve letters is to be accounted for by its greater proportion of wide letters,¹ and by the interpunct which is probably to be restored after *ἔδοχσεν*.² Elsewhere in the first half of this inscription the interpuncts follow *ι* or *ς*—the two smallest letters—and crowd the letters which they follow in such a way as not to increase the length of the line at all. But in line 1 the interpunct follows *Ν*, the widest of all the letters, and precedes *Τ* whose centimetre-long cross-bar could not be interfered with. It is probable, therefore, that it took a whole space, like the interpuncts of the second half, which also follow *μ*'s.

Perhaps, as Kinch suggests,³ the fact that the *βουλή* alone is mentioned in the Hegelochos proxyeny decree of 411 (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 187) shows that Eretria, newly freed from Athenian domination, was at that date an oligarchy, but in any case the mention here of both *βουλή* and *δῆμος* shows certainly what has hitherto been assumed without proof, that in the early fifth century the city was a democracy.⁴

Line 3. There are no exact parallels for *δέμῳ παραγενομένῳ κυρίῳ*, "the demos being in regular session," but that is not strange considering the date of the inscription—the phrase must have been the early Eretrian equivalent in some sense of the later Athenian *ἐκκλησία κυρία*.

¹ In the first and irregular part of this inscription, the size of the individual letters has a definite influence on the number in a line. *Ε*, *ι*, and *ς* are regularly half a centimetre or less in width, while *Ο*, *Δ*, *Μ*, and *Ν*, are from 1.1 to 1.7 centimetres wide. Line 4 with seven small letters as against three large ones has a total of fifteen. Line 6, with only four small letters and three large ones, has thirteen. In line 1 there are five small to four large, and a total of twelve plus the interpunct.

² Inscriptions with both interpuncts and introductory formula:

1. Salamis Decree. *I.G.*, I², 1. Tod, 11 (Late 6th cent.).

1. "ἔδοχσεν τῷ δέμῳ [—

11. ἔρχο[ντα] : ταυτ' ἔδοχσ-

12. εν : [ἐπ]ι τῆς β[—

2. Hekatompedon Inscription. *I.G.*, I², 3/4 (485/4 B.C.).

26. ταυτ' ἔδοχσεν : τῷ δέ[μοι ἐπ]ι Φι[—

3. Inscription "De Ludis Eleusiniis." *I.G.*, I², 5 (ca. 475).

1. ἔδοχσ]εν [: τῷ βολῆι] : καὶ [τ]ῷ δέμῳ : —

These three decrees are apparently the only available parallels.

³ *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, 3^{ième} Rapport, 1905, p. 46.

⁴ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1306a 35: καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἐρετρίας δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν τὴν τῶν ἐμπέων Διαγόρας κατέλυσεν ἀδικηθεὶς περὶ γάμων. But there is no indication of date. Gilbert, referring to a quite inconclusive passage in Herodotus, assumed that the change predated the Persian wars ("Nach Her. 6. 100, 101 scheint 490 in Eretria Demokratie geherrscht zu haben." *Handb. der Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, II, p. 67, n. 1), and Newman, commenting on the statement in the *Politics*, repeats his opinion without comment. The conjecture may well be right, but there is still no proof.

Lines 4 and 5. Next, clearly, comes the name of a tribe in the genitive, followed by .πιμεν .ευορες. Remembering that intervocalic rhotacism¹ was an Eretrian characteristic, there is no difficulty in recognising the word ἐπιμηριευούσης. The verb appears first at Delphi in 345/4 (*S.I.G.*,³ 241₉₀) and is always used in the sense of “to be an ἐπιμήριος”—once with τῆς ἐκκλησίας added (at Istropolis, in the first century B.C., *S.I.G.*,³ 708₂). ἐπιμήριος first occurs, *ca.* 450 B.C., in the Milesian law against tyrants (*S.I.G.*,³ 58₅ and ₈, and Tod, 35), where Wilamowitz’s note is “Atticorum προτάρις,” and where the context shows that the ἐπιμήριοι in question must be a panel of the democratic government, in office for a month. Whether, as was apparently the case here in Eretria, the members of the monthly committee all belonged to the same tribe does not appear. ἐπιμηριεύω is not a common verb—though not exactly rare—and it is interesting to find it occurring again at Eretria, some two hundred years later, when eight ἐπιμηριεύοντες whose office is somewhat obscure (Papadakis considers that they are the same as the πρόβουλοι and equates them with the Attic προταριεύοντες), appear beside the archon and the scribe in the preamble of a third-century ephebic list.² They may well represent a survival of the same political institution, in a doubtless considerably modified form.

This certain instance of rhotacism is interesting as being a little earlier than any of the other known examples. Indeed Smyth says (*op. cit.*, § 331): “We may place the introduction of rhotacism in Euboea in the middle of the fifth century before Christ.”³ It must now be put perhaps fifty years earlier.

Line 4. The name of the tribe is clearly Μηρισίς.⁴ This name occurs in Euboea in three other places: (a) As the name of the mountain, Μάκιστος,⁵ about the identification of which there is some doubt. (b) As the name of a deme of Histiaia (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 1189₃₁ and ₃₂) in the late second century; Geyer⁶ reasonably conjectures that this deme was on the slopes of Makistos, on the analogy of other Euboean towns which take their

¹ Plato attributes *final* rhotacism to the Eretrians—οἷσθ' οὖν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντῷ ἡμεῖς μὲν φάμεν σκληρότης Ἑρετριεῖς δὲ σκληρότης; (*Cratylus*, 434c)—but there have hitherto been no examples in the inscriptions. Cf. Smyth, *The Greek Dialects: Ionic*, § 332. But see note on line 14, and compare Buck, *Greek Dialects*, § 97, note a, who cites δωρ ἄν (intervocalic) = *I.G.*, XII, 9, 189.

² *Arch. Del.*, 1915, p. 171.

³ There is no example of rhotacism in the tablets from Styra (vi–v cent.).

⁴ The doubling of the first *sigma* is a common enough device to show that the letter was pronounced with each syllable—cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, § 89, and Smyth, *op. cit.*, § 374. Numerous examples might be cited, e.g., an early inscription from Karystos, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 41—[Α]ριστομένης; and the word Ἰσστιαῖς in the text of the treaty concluded about 400 B.C. between Eretria and Histiaia, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 188. For the form of the genitive cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, § 109, 5: “A transfer” (*i.e.* from the -ις, -ιος, -ι, -ιν declension) “to the type -ις, -ιδος, as frequently in Attic, is characteristic of Euboean proper names in -ις, as Δημοχάριδος.”

⁵ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 289:

ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδας
σελίας παραγγείλασε Μακίστον σκοπιᾶς.

The passage occurs in the description of the beacon chain announcing the fall of Troy. The long α of other dialects appears in Ionic, of course, as η.

⁶ Fritz Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboea*, Berlin, 1903, p. 88.

names from the mountains on which they stand. If this connection is justified it fixes Mt. Makistos in the northern half of the island, and lends weight to the usual identification of it with Kandili.¹ And (c) as a personal name in a third-century Eretrian list of soldiers—*I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 a₃₂: Δοροπίδης Μηκιστοδώρου Δις. All of these names may find their common source in the name of some local Euboean hero—perhaps that Mekisteus who, according to some,² was one of the Seven against Thebes, and whose connection with Euboea has already been suggested.³

Line 6. The next two phrases clearly give the date, by month and day. The month 'Ηραιών⁴ is not otherwise attested for Eretria, but occurs in Tenos—which was once under Eretrian sway⁵ and which shows parallels to three of the other four known Eretrian months⁶—as well as at various places in Asia Minor. Hera had a festival as well as a month at Eretria (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 189₂₇).

Line 8. There is, curiously, no trace of the first letter—*epsilon*—although the surface seems to be well enough preserved to show it if it had been engraved.

Lines 8, 9, and 10. Here the text is interrupted by a neat erasure—an erasure so smooth and shallow as to be hardly noticeable, and yet so thorough that no trace of the original letters can be discovered in it. It comes just where one would expect to find the orator's name, which does not occur elsewhere in the text—a curious omission in so full a preamble. One is tempted also to supply εἶναι in the space thus available, for the second part of the inscription lacks a verb. But why should the name of the orator, and the word εἶναι, have been erased? And are not 29 or 30 letter-spaces too

¹ An identification rejected by Peek, who does not, however, notice this argument. In commenting on Μῆκισστ[ιδ]ος φυλῆς I have, for the sake of completeness, to some extent repeated Peek.

² Apollodoros, III, 6, 3: τινὲς δὲ Τυδέα μὲν καὶ Πολυνείκην οὐ καταριθμοῦσι, συγκαταλέγουσι δὲ τοῖς ἑπτὰ Ἐτέοκλον Ἰφίος καὶ Μηκιστέα.

³ "Erscheint M. in dieser Sage als Argiver, so ist seine ursprüngliche Heimat vermutlich zu suchen in Euböia." Tambornino in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s.v.

⁴ The spelling Βεραῶν is natural enough, for the loss of the ι of αι before a vowel is very frequent in all three branches of Ionic—v. Smyth, *op. cit.*, § 209. Cf. 'Ηρώις in the Eretrian "Decretum de Artemisiis" (4th century), *I.G.*, XII, 9, 189₂₇.

⁵ Strabo, X, ch. 448.

⁶ The known months of Tenos and of Eretria are the following:

<i>Tenos</i>	<i>Eretria</i>
1. Ἀπελλαιών	
2. Ἡραιών	Ἡραιών
3. Βουφονιών	
4. [Κυανοψιών?]	
5. Ἀπατουριών	Ἀπατουριών
6. Ποσιδεών	
7. [Ἀγναιών?]	Ἀγναιών
8. Ἀνθεστηριών	Ἀνθεστηριών
9. Ἀρτεμισιών	
10. [Ταυρεών?]	
11. Θαργηλιών	
12. Ἐλειθυαιών	Ἰπλιών

much for such a supplement at a date when orators invariably appeared without either patronymic or demotic? Moreover, so neat a rasura is very unlikely to have been due to spite, or even to official *damnatio memoriae*, of which there are, in any case, no instances until much later; a mistake on the part of the stone-cutter would seem a more reasonable explanation of it. The most painstaking search for traces of the original letters reveals only one stroke—the first, which is oblique as in *alpha* or *delta*. And there is certainly a clear trace of a punctuation sign above the *sigma* of Ἀριστοτέλεν.

Perhaps when he had finished engraving the date, the stone-cutter accidentally skipped the name of the orator, and εἶναι, and had cut:

Ἀριστοι-
έλεν Χειλῶνιο : π
ρόχσενον :

(29 letters counting the first interpunct as one) before realising his mistake and deciding to erase the letters.¹ Then, lacking the tools for final smoothing, or feeling that Aristotle's name should be written clearly on the true surface, he² continues from the end of his rasura, leaving it to be filled—more or less incompletely—by the name of the orator and the necessary εἶναι.³ The rasura was never filled. This solution of the problem is, of course, only a conjecture, but it is simple, and it fulfills the conditions.

Line 11. Χειλῶνιο—the name Χειλῶνιος does not appear to occur elsewhere, although Χείλων is common, and the termination -ῶνιος occurs occasionally—e.g. Ἀπολλώνιος, Παιώνιος, Τελαμώνιος, etc. The surface is badly injured in the first letter-space, but it is perhaps possible to see the horizontal cross-bar of the *chi*.

Line 12. (v). See the commentary on Peek's restoration of the line.

Lines 13 and 14. ἀδελφε... is not, in all probability, a feminine, but merely the Ionic form of ἀδελφός.⁴ On the analogy of other proxeny decrees, καὶ υἱὸς ἀδελφῆδος αὐτοῦ

¹ Cf. the Oropos proxeny decree *I.G.*, VII, 353 (3rd century). Line 8 reads:

[κα]ὶ οἰκίας ἐγκλησι[ν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ ἀστυ-]

and Dittenberger remarks: "Vs. 8 quae lineis circumscripsi, Lollingius in rasura rescripta esse testatur, quia isopolitiae mentio quadratarii neglegentia ommissa fuisset."

² It is possible that the inscription was finished by a different stone-cutter—perhaps as a result of this mistake. There are the following differences in the script above and below the erasure:

(a) The letters are arranged irregularly above, στοιχηδόν below.
(b) The interpuncts are crowded against the letters which they follow above, but have a whole space to themselves below.
(c) The one *gamma* above the erasure is written: Γ, the one below: Λ.
(d) *Nu* above the erasure appears as Ν and as Ν; below it is always Ν (5 times).

The other letters are, however, as far as one can tell, exactly the same, and Mr. Sterling Dow, who has examined the squeeze, is convinced that both parts were engraved by the same man.

³ There are numerous examples in Attic inscriptions of rasurae made to receive corrections which, for one reason or another, were never engraved.

⁴ In Homer the word appears in two forms only—ἀδελφεός and ἀδελφείος. In Herodotus the only form is ἀδελφός, which exhibits the complete declension with the ε before the ending. In Ionic inscrip-

would be expected here. But there is one letter-space too many between the *tau* of *τὸς* and the *α* of *ἀδελφεὸς*. We must consequently read either *καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφεοῖς* or *καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεὸς* (or *ἀδελφεοὺς*), in which case we have here an example of the occasional appearance in early Ionic of monophthongal *ou* represented on the stone by *ov* instead of by the more usual *ο*. There seem to be only two parallel cases in Ionic inscriptions—*τοῦ* in line 13 of the decree of Amphipolis exiling Philo and Stratokles¹ and *βαρβάρους* in line 27 of the well-known Tean public imprecations.² The choice between these two readings would be easily made in favour of the dative were it not for the possibility that the next line was uninscribed.

ρ.—The faint but convincing *rho* with which the line begins is interesting. It appears to be the only example on stone of the final rhotacism attributed by Plato and others to the Eretrians—cf. the note on p. 279.

Line 15 presents a difficult problem, for it appears to read *.εῤῥῖ vacat*. The *ε* and *ρ* are very doubtful, but the *iota* is either a letter or a most deceptive scratch. In the fifth letter-space the surface is almost perfectly preserved, and it seems incredible that a letter could ever have been cut there. As, however, the inscription cannot be restored if it read either:

13	<i>εργετην : καὶ τ[οι]</i>	13	<i>εργετην καὶ τ[οι]</i>
14	<i>ῥαδελφε[οις . . .]</i>	or	14 <i>ῥαδελφε[ος αὐτο or οὖς αὐτο]</i>
15	<i>.εῤῥῖ vacat</i>	15	<i>.εῤῥῖ vacat</i>

line 15 must have been either entirely uninscribed or else there must have been a letter in the fifth space. I do not think that in the present state of the stone it is possible to decide between these alternatives and the impossibility carries with it the impossibility of deciding between *τοῖς ἀδελφεοῖς* and *τοὺς ἀδελφεὸς* (or *-οὺς*).

On the right hand side of the stone, reading down, and beginning 10 centimetres from the top is the following inscription:

1 *καὶδορ*
 εἰποτε
 ετονεχ
 δυο : τα
 5 *ιν : ταλ*
 vacat
 *Θιερε : τ*³

tions the forms *ἀδελφεὸς* [ς] (Ionia 5th century, Collitz-Bechtel, *Griechische Dialekt-Inschriften*, 5571) and *ἀδελ[φε]οῖς* are certainly attested (Delos 5th century, E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora*, no. 782). *οἰδαλέους* occurs in Archilochus: . . . *οἰδαλέους δ' ἄμφ' ὀδύνῃσ' ἔχομεν | πνεύμονας* (Miller-Crusius, *Anth. Lyr.*, Arch., 9 [55]).

¹ Schwyzler, *Dialect. Graec. Ex.*, 799, wrongly prints *τῶ*.

² Tod, 23. *S.I.G.*,³ 37, 38. Cf. Smyth, *op. cit.*, § 251. An interesting example in early Attic has recently appeared in a 6th century dedication found on the north slope of the Acropolis by Dr. Oscar Broneer, where line 2 reads: . . . *ἀρ[ν]γγυρίου* (*Hesperia*, IV [1935], p. 148).

³ Not *ζ*, as read by Peek.

It is in the same hand as the face inscription—the resemblance to the lower half is especially close—although the letters are perhaps slightly smaller; if the face inscription is complete at line 14 and the side inscription extended no farther, there could have been only about three letters more in each line, but there must of course have been more than that. The six lines fill all the available vertical space.

As the sums involved seem large for a gift, and as some god seems to receive a tithe, we are here, in all probability, dealing with a penalty, perhaps intended to protect the life of the new proxenos. One is tempted to compare the treaty between Eretria and Histiaia¹ (*ca.* 400 B.C.) where lines 10–15 read:

ὁπότεροι δ' ἄμ π-
 αραβαίνωριν τὰς συνθήκ-
 ας ἀποτίνειν τὰ δέκα τάλ-
 αντα· τῶν δὲ δέκα τάλαντω
 ν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἱερὸν εἰ-
 ναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος

and numerous other inscriptions² containing similar provisions. Lines 4–5 might be restored somewhat as follows:

δύο : τάλ[αντα : ἀποτινέτο : τῶν δὲ δυο-] *ca.* 30 spaces.
 ἑν : τάλ[άντων τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον]³ *ca.* 30 spaces.

After line 5 there was left one line uninscribed, and the final line of the text of the lateral face thus stands by itself. It should probably be restored independently of what precedes, and I suggest

ἡιερεῖ : τ[ὸ Ἀπόλλωνος (?) ἡε στέλε ἔστω] *ca.* 28 spaces.

The stele was to be set up in a precinct and thus committed to divine protection. This was, in fact, not an unusual practice with proxeny decrees.

In conclusion, and to recapitulate the foregoing rather detailed discussion, this inscription is of special interest on several counts. It provides two new definite facts—the name of a tribe where none was known before, and the name of a fifth Eretrian month. And it is interesting to have evidence of tribal organisation at Eretria in the early fifth century. Of minor importance, perhaps, is the earlier date for the introduction of rhotacism into Eretria, and the provision of additional evidence for Mekisteus' connection with Euboea.

¹ *I.G.*, XII, 9, 188.

² E.g., *I.G.*, XII, 8, 267₁₄: [χε]λῶνους στατηῆρας ὀφειλέτω ἱερῶς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι

³ These few recognizable words also strongly recall the mutilated fragments of a 6th century law against homicide, written in the Chalcidian dialect and script, from a Sicilian site, published in *Monumenti Antichi*, XX, pp. 830ff.

The inscription is, by about a quarter of a century, the earliest proxeny decree in existence,¹ although it has been known that the institution of the *προξενία* was at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century.²

Its greatest interest, however, lies in the fact that it is the earliest Eretrian decree by more than fifty years, and in the occurrence of the formula *ἔδοχεν τῷ βολεῖ καὶ τοῖς δέμοις*, which may be taken as proof that at the date of publication Eretria was a democracy. We have thus a *terminus ante quem* for the overthrow of the oligarchy by Diagoras.

¹ The earliest proxeny decrees known hitherto are *I.G.*, I², 27, 28, and 36, all of which are to be dated about the middle of the 5th century. Cf. Monceaux, *Les Proxénies Grecques*, p. 69.

² See especially Herodotus, VIII, 136: *Μαροδόσιος . . . ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω πυνθόμενος ὅτι πρόξενός τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης*.

WILLIAM WALLACE

ATHENIAN IMPERIAL COINAGE

PLATES II-IX

A study of the coins found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora has led me to a reconsideration of the dating of the Imperial Athenian issues. Previously these coins have been dated from the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) to that of Gordianus III (238-244 A.D.), but it did not take long to realize that this dating was erroneous.¹

How is it possible for a great city the size of Athens, the most important city in the Greek province, to have existed without issuing coins for a period of about 150 years—from the cessation of the New Style coinage around 30 B.C. to the reign of Hadrian in 117 A.D.? On the face of it, it seems unbelievable that such a metropolis as Athens could have been denied one of the privileges of a free city, that of striking money, over such an extended period of time. It would soon have died a natural death and reverted to the status of a petty village. If the Agora excavations did not prove otherwise, one might say that the Athenians used Roman Imperial currency, or that of some other city that was allowed to coin money at this time, either in Greece or the East.

From a total of 41,290 coins from the Agora excavations, 10,479 have been studied and catalogued, numbers which are indeed large enough to allow us to draw satisfactory conclusions. From a total of 2580 Athenian coins, 902 were of the period of the New Style, while 814 were Athenian Imperial. From these numbers one gathers that there was considerable currency in circulation in Athens in these respective periods to allow such a number to be lost in the streets of the Agora.

With these figures before us, we must now consider what the monetary situation was in Athens from the advent of the Empire until the reign of Hadrian. There are four possibilities: first, the Roman Imperial currency may have been the money in use in Athens; second, Athens may have used the money from some other city in Greece or the East which was allowed to strike at this time; third, the vast amount of New Style currency may have continued to circulate over this period as the local medium of exchange; and fourth, the Athenians may have struck new money in their own right. If it were true that the Athenians used the Roman Imperial currency over a period of nearly 150 years, then we should expect to find a goodly number of early Roman Imperial coins in the excavations, at least a number that would be proportionate to the quantity of coins found

¹ Grateful thanks and appreciation are expressed to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum for his helpful suggestions and for his kindness in reading this article in manuscript; and to Mr. E. T. Newell of the American Numismatic Society for his advice and encouragement.

in other periods of Athenian history. What we actually find is that out of the 10,479 coins from the Agora there are but 3 of Augustus, 1 of Tiberius, 1 of Otho, 1 of Vespasian, 1 of Domitian, and 3 of Trajan—a total of 10 coins to fill a gap of 150 years. One sees immediately from this paltry number that the Athenians could not have used the Imperial issues as their sole currency for this long period.

Secondly, if Athens had used the currency of some other city to serve her needs for almost 150 years, we should expect to find some signs of this importation of foreign money in the excavations. As a matter of fact, no great amount of coinage from any one city outside of Athens has been found. There are more coins from Corinth than from any other city, excluding Eleusis and the Delian Cleruchy, but there are only 26 of these, 10 of which were struck in the Imperial times. So that the possibility that a foreign coinage served the needs of Athens during this period must also be excluded.

The next point under consideration is the possibility of the New Style coinage continuing in circulation over such an extended period as the sole official Athenian local currency. If this had been the case, the result would have been that a large percentage of these coins found in the excavations would have been in such a worn condition that the types would hardly have been discernible. But the preservation of this group of coins refutes this fact, since a large majority of them are not only perfectly legible, but are among the best preserved of any of the bronze coins which we find in the Agora. Not only does the good state of preservation deny the possibility that these New Style coins continued to serve as the sole currency for a period of about 150 years, but the fact that such a practice cannot be paralleled in any of the prominent Roman provincial cities removes this possibility out of the realm of probability.

There remains then the fourth point, and everything points to the conclusion that the Athenians during this period struck money in their own right. It seems inconceivable that Augustus deprived Athens of the right of striking money for long. Is it not highly improbable that the other cities of Greece such as Corinth, Patras, Sparta, and many more should have been allowed this privilege, a mark of independence, when Athens still and always the centre of Hellenic culture should have been denied it? In spite of her sympathy with the opponents of Augustus in the battle of Actium, Athens certainly would not long have been strictly disciplined by Augustus for merely espousing the cause of Antony when a number of other cities had done likewise.

From Cassius Dio we learn that shortly after the battle of Actium, Augustus proceeded towards Athens to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 31 B.C.¹ This same writer tells us in rather vague terms that after Actium, Augustus exacted money from the Greek cities and took away the remnant of authority over their citizens that their assemblies still possessed.² As for Athens Dio says, in another passage (LIV, 7) with more precise details, that Augustus forbade the Athenians to make any one a citizen

¹ Graindor, Paul, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 14; Dio, LI, 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16; Dio, LI, 2, 1.

for money and deprived them of Aegina and Eretria. Nothing is specifically said about their right of striking sovereign money. On the other hand Plutarch (*Antony*, 68) tells us that after the battle of Actium "Caesar put to sail towards Athens; he reconciled himself with the Greeks and distributed the surplus of grain, gathered in view of the war, to the cities which found themselves in a lamentable situation and had been stripped of their money, their slaves, and their beasts of burden."

We know that he did not install himself in Athens, but passed the winter at Aegina.¹ Whether this was because of his displeasure with the Athenians or not we cannot judge. Since it is difficult to reconcile this visit of Augustus with his subsequent voyage to the Orient and the passing of two winters in Samos, it seems that there must have been a second visit in 21 B.C. But one cannot believe that in 21 B.C. Augustus still held the Athenians under strict discipline when already in 30 B.C. he had pardoned the inhabitants of Alexandria (Dio, LI, 16, 3, 4; Plut., *Ant.* 80; *Apopth. Aug.*, 3) who were more guilty than the Athenians.²

When Augustus returned to Athens in 21 B.C. in order to be initiated again or to complete his first initiation, his resentment towards the Athenians should have been dissipated. One can it seems even deduce, from a fragment of Attic decree at the beginning of the Empire, that the reconciliation might have occurred already several years before (*I.G.*, II², 1071). The decree was to celebrate the birthday of Augustus which occurred on the 12th day of Boedromion. It is dated by Graindor close to the year 27/6 B.C., because Augustus already has the title *Σεβαστός*. It so happened that the return of Thrasybulos, the restorer of democracy and liberty to the Athenians, was also commemorated on the 12th day of Boedromion.³ The celebration of his own birthday and the anniversary of this other memorable return to freedom would have been a most appropriate occasion to have reconciled himself with the Athenians and given them a real freedom, carrying with it the sovereign right to strike money. If a reconciliation did not take place on this date, we have the right to assume that it did shortly afterwards, since Augustus is frequently assimilated with Zeus or Apollo Eleutherios, titles he could hardly have appropriated had he not given freedom to the Greeks and Athens in particular where these epithets were most revered.

At this point we can turn to the coins themselves for further evidence. Throughout the Imperial period, Athens, like all other cities in Greece proper, was allowed to strike only bronze money for local use. But the Athenians, when granted the privilege of coining money, seem to have been accorded an exceptional favor; their money did not carry the head of the Emperor,⁴ as did most provincial coinage during the Imperial

¹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

⁴ Graindor, Paul, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 132, n. 3. Mattingly, Harold, *B.M.C. Roman Empire*, I, Intro. p. XXVII: "The right of striking token money appears to have been granted as a general measure, or perhaps rather allowed as a normal right, to every organized city community that chose to exercise it;

period, but still represented the head of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, which had sealed the Athenian coinage almost since its beginning.

This fact only adds to the difficulty of classification. Svoronos in his *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, where incidentally he has brought together an unusually large quantity of Athenian Imperial coins, has unfortunately arranged his long series according to reverse subjects which gives us no clue as to date whatsoever. I have rephotographed all of Svoronos' collection of Imperial coins and arranged them according to the style of head on the obverse. The results of which you will see here illustrated.¹

One can see at a glance the long series of striking with their constant change and deterioration of style and diminution of sizes. We are immediately struck by the two distinct classes of fabric. The first is characterized by a large flan, a metal with a rich bronze tint, and a worn appearance on the great majority of the coins. One need not be told that this is the earlier of the two groups. The second class is a heavier fabric made of a lighter colored metal with a smaller module. It should be noted that in the Agora excavations these earlier coins are very frequently found in the same deposit or in the same stratum with those of the New Style which shows, it seems to me, that the Early Imperial coins must have followed closely those of the New Style, for if an interval of nearly 150 years intervened there would be a natural accumulation of earth which would separate these two series of coins, so that they would never occur together in the same deposit or in the same stratum. The fact that the New Style coins are among the best preserved of the Agora bronze coins, while the Early Athenian Imperial issues are very worn, although both are found together, seems to give rise to difficulties. However, this apparent inconsistency may be explained from the results of chemical analyses which show that the New Style coins have a high tin content causing a hard alloy, while the Early Athenian Imperial issues show a reduction in the percentage of tin and a rise in the percentage of lead content, which would necessarily soften the alloy and thus cause a more rapid erosion of the surface of the coins.²

It was a careful examination of the coins of this earlier fabric that led to this reclassification. A starting point for the series can be arrived at by a consideration of the forms of the reverse inscription. On a considerable number of these early coins only the abbreviated form **AΘH** is used (Plate II and Fig. 1) a tradition carried over from the coins of the Greek period with the use of the **H** instead of the **E**. It is important to note that when the abbreviated form is first changed to **AΘHNAIΩN**, the **AΘH** still retains a conspicuous position at the top of the coin, while the other letters

the coinage was not strictly independent, however, for normally not only the name of the city, but also the portrait of the reigning Emperor appears."

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made to the publishers F. Bruckmann A.-G. München for permission to reproduce the illustrations from plates 82-99 of Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*. Cross-references are listed on pp. 328-332.

² From chemical analyses made under the direction of Prof. E. R. Caley of the Chemistry Dept. of Princeton Univ. the alloy of the New Style coins shows the following percentages: copper 86.38-89.03, tin 10.56-10.60, lead 0.20-2.73; while the Athenian Imperial issues show copper 63.23-77.66, tin 3.75-8.06, lead 13.78-32.51.



Æ Units and Half Units—Athenian Imperial Coinage, Augustan Era—struck AΘH

are relegated to the sides and also the omega has the cursive form ω (Plate III, nos. 1, 2, 3, and 6). The next stage in the development of the inscription is the change in position. Here the letters start in the lower left field and run clockwise, from left to right around the flan inwards (Plate III, nos. 9-24; see also Fig. 2). With this change



Fig. 1. Æ Quarter and Eighth Units—Augustan Era—struck ΑΘΗ

the position of the legend has become permanently fixed for the majority of coins of the entire series, excepting the small fractional issues which because of the limited space on the flan almost always continue the use of the ΑΘΗ. However, the cursive omega is still retained for some time before it is permanently altered to the uncial form Ω (Plate IV). The use of the cursive form of omega prior to the uncial on the Athenian Imperial coins shows that Athens was the exception rather than the rule in this respect, for on other provincial coinages the cursive forms follow rather than pre-

cede the uncial. In epigraphy the cursive forms are common in the second century of our era but in the first century they also occur.¹

These initial developments of the form of the reverse legend took place in a comparatively short space of time judging from the slight variations in style of the obverse head on these respective coins. There are two distinct obverse types that are contemporaneous on these early issues. The one is the bust of Athena wearing a crested



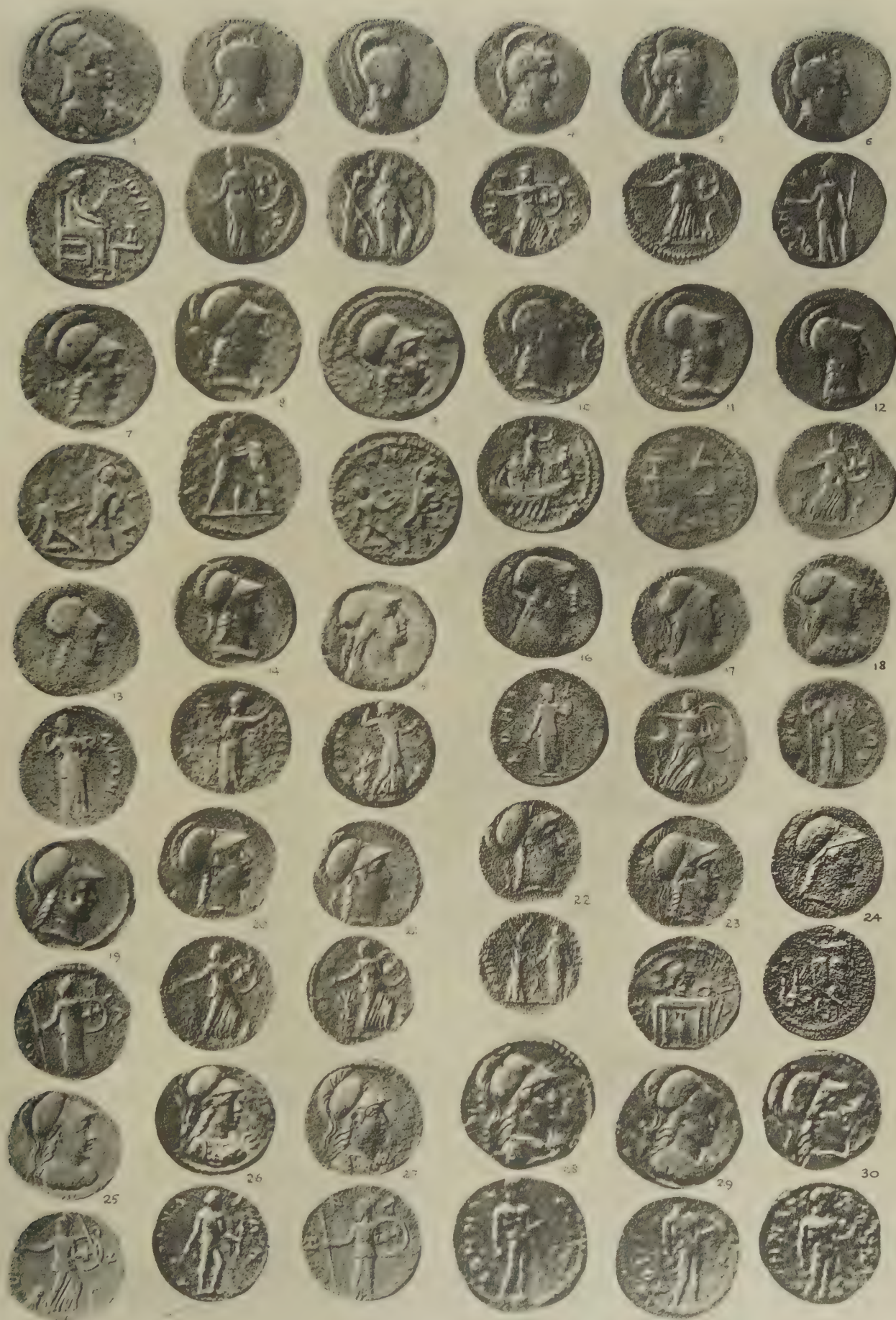
Fig. 2. Æ Half, Quarter, and Eighth Units. Early First Century A.D. struck ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

Corinthian helmet with a small ovoid bowl which is set high on the head (Plate II, nos. 9–10; Plate III, nos. 9–13). It is adorned with a narrow horsehair crest made with radiating parallel lines over the bowl and ending in simple strands in the neck. Athena is wearing the aegis, a conspicuous feature of which consists of serpents standing erect. Athena is here represented as a charming youthful goddess with hair softly waved over the brow, and in back either loosely rolled or hanging. The technique of these earlier coins is much superior to that of the later issues.

¹ Roberts, E. S. and Gardner, E. A., *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, Intro. pp. XVI–XVII. For Augustan inscriptions using the cursive forms see *I.G.*, II², 2338 which is a prytany list dated 27–18 B.C. Also cp. Larfeld, W., *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, II, pp. 483–487.



Æ Units. Early First Century A.D. Showing developmental Stages of Reverse Legend



The second type is equally attractive, portraying the bust of Athena with a close-fitting crested Attic helmet with the characteristic Attic elements of ear and neck guards (Plate II, nos. 14–16; Plate III, nos. 6–8 and 14–15). The details of the helmet are indistinct due to the rubbed condition of these coins. The horsehair crest is broader than on the Corinthian helmet, but made with the same kind of lines, and the hair is also loose on the neck. Here, too, Athena wears the aegis, but a necklace has been added to her adornment. The superior quality of the workmanship and the youthful aspect of the goddess are equally striking in this second type.

Pick has made the interesting suggestion¹ in comparing these coins with the lamps found in the Kerameikos, that when this Athenian Imperial coinage was initiated there was a competition to determine the style of the coin type. The first, that with the Corinthian helmet, drew its inspiration from the statue of Athena Promachos, while the other with the Attic helmet copied the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias. Athena with the Corinthian helmet appears to have found the greater approbation, as it continues unremittingly throughout the course of the Athenian Imperial coinage, while the type with the Attic helmet soon ceased and only appeared again at sporadic intervals. Even in the smaller denominations there seems to have been this struggle to determine the types and here, too, the Corinthian helmet seems to have prevailed (Figs. 1 and 2).

The particular type and style of the coins with the bust of Athena in a crested Corinthian helmet, wearing the aegis with serpents erect, may be approximately dated by a comparison with coins of other cities where Athena is similarly represented. We first find busts resembling ours on two Roman Republican coins. One bears the magistrate's name C. VIBIVS VARVS which is dated by the British Museum *ca.* 38 B.C. (Fig. 3, no. 1).

Denarius Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Re. C. VIBIVS VARVS Hercules standing l., leaning with r. hand on club.

Reference: B.M.C. *Republic*, pl. LVIII, no. 12.

The other with the name of the moneyer C. CONSIDIVS PAETVS is dated *ca.* 45 B.C. (Fig. 3, no. 2).

Denarius Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents standing erect.

Re. C. CONSIDI (in exergue) Victory in quadriga r., holds wreath and palm branch.

Reference: B.M.C. *Republic*, pl. LII, no. 18.

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI (1931), Pick, Behrendt, *Die „Promachos“ des Pheidias und die Kerameikos-Lampen*, pp. 60–63.



Fig. 3. No. 1 Republican Coin—C. VIBIVS VARVS
No. 2 Republican Coin—Moneyer C. CONSIDIVS
PAETVS

Turning to the Roman provinces we find further evidence. From Oea in Syrtica there are coins which are strikingly similar in style and fabric, the obverse sides of which have the bust of Livia, fixing the date either in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius (Fig. 4).¹

Ob. Bust of Livia r.

Re. Bust of Athena with crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents erect (Punic Inscription).

Reference: Müller, *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique*, vol. 2, p. 16, fig. 34.

In Cilicia the city of Aegeae struck coins with a similar bust of Athena and fortunately one of them bears the date ΔΙ, that is the 14th year of the Caesarian era or 34/3 B.C. (Fig. 5, no. 1).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents standing erect.

Re. ΑΓΓΕΑΙΩΝ under goat lying to l.; ΔΙ in field l., above ΕΡ.

Reference: Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, II, pl. XVI, no. 12.

The British Museum dates this whole series in the second and first centuries B.C., and Grose in the McClean collection gives the same dates; but Imhoof-Blumer has the series begin in the 1st century B.C. and continue into the 1st century A.D.

At Adana, another city in Cilicia, this type is again represented on coins dated in the first century B.C. because of their Seleucid fabric (Fig. 5, no. 2).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.

Re. ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ Nike advancing l., in l. hand palm branch; in extended r., wreath; in

ΔΥ
field l., CAN
ΕΥ
MA

Reference: B. M. C. *Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, pl. III, no. 3; p. 16, no. 7.

The series of coins from Apamea in Phrygia also show striking similarity in the style and type of the bust of Athena. These likewise are dated by the British Museum from 133-48 B.C. (Fig. 6).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing aegis and crested Corinthian helmet.

Re. Eagle flying r., over meander symbol, above star and on either side pileus of Dioskuros surmounted by star. Above ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ; below, various magistrates' names.

Reference: B. M. C. *Phrygia*, p. 74f. Type I, pl. X, nos. 2-5.

¹ From a cast of a coin in the British Museum.



Fig. 4. Coin from Oea in Syrtica



Fig. 5. No. 1 Coin from Aegeae, Cilicia, dated 34/3 B.C.

No. 2 Coin from Adana, Cilicia



Fig. 6. Coins from Apamea, Phrygia

A coin from Caesarea in Cappadocia, bearing the early name of the city ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ, which is dated in the reign of King Archelaus 36 B.C. to 17 A.D., also bears testimony that the Athenian type with which we are dealing is a product of the Augustan era (Fig. 7, no. 1).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.

Re. ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ Mount Argaeus, on summit eagle.

Reference: B. M. C. *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, pl. VIII, no. 1; p. 45, no. 2.

And finally from Apamea in Seleucia there is a coin that is dated in the 276th Seleucid year or 36 B.C. that can further strengthen the argument that it was Augustus himself who granted to the Athenians the right to strike money, for the coins bear witness that we are discussing a style and fabric that is characteristic of the 1st century B.C. and the turn of the era (Fig. 7, no. 2).



Fig. 7. No. 1 Coin from Caesarea, Cappadocia

No. 2 Coin from Apamea, Seleucia, dated 36 B.C.

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Re. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ

ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ

ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ

Nike advancing l., in r. hand wreath, in l., palm branch. In field
ΣΟΣ; in ex. ΜΗ?

Reference: B. M. C. *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, pl. XXVII, no. 3; p. 234, no. 7.

Another point must here be mentioned. A number of the coins of these early Athenian Imperial issues seem to bear an inscription on the obverse, a fact that has not been noted before. I first discovered this on coins that were cleaned in the Agora. Periodically we kept getting these early coins where the traces of an inscription could be readily seen. Since these early specimens are all very worn I have not been able to make out the entire inscription, but, in spite of the difficulties which the nominative case raises, the ending is almost certainly CTOC, and the beginning seems, from the observation of a number of specimens, to be ΑΥΓ. The use of the lunate sigma is in keeping with the cursive omega on the reverse legends of the coins.

One may suggest that the reason that this obverse legend is so vague and indistinct is that it was partially erased on the dies at some later date. The Athenians, in their exuberance over the grant by Augustus of the privilege of striking money in their own right, commemorated his name on their coinage. But since this was not a requirement, judging from the extraordinary privilege that had been accorded them of not having to represent the Emperor on their coinage, they later considered this a bad precedent to set and erased it, perhaps at the time of the revolt which comes at the end of Augustus' reign¹ or in the reign of Tiberius, when their zeal for Augustus had cooled.

From the advent of the Empire all traces of the past political glory of Athens had vanished; her artistic bloom had faded; her domain had been diminished; her privileges had been restricted in that she could no longer sell citizenships; the powers of her assemblies were reduced; and it seems right to assume that her finances were shattered. Graindor feels that this state of affairs proves that she was a free city only in name.² This situation could not have been unique in Athens, but was part of the Roman policy, so that although a city was free in name, its administration must be such that it was ultimately dependent upon Rome. The rôle of Athens as an independent city-state was finished; it became only a city enveloped by one province of a vast Empire.³

But if we consider the position of Athens more closely, we find that she was really not so badly off as the above sounds. She was in the most favorable category of Roman provincial cities, for she was among the few *civitates liberae et foederatae* which guaranteed her perpetual autonomy, exempted her from ordinary taxes, and was supposed to give her the right of using her own laws, although they may have been restricted somewhat by Rome. All cities with this status were to be exempt from the interference of governors and were to have the legal right to maintain any sort of political institution they might

¹ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

think fit, but these principles do not seem to have been strictly observed.¹ Athens still was allowed to retain a number of her dependencies such as Oropos and Haliartos in Boeotia on the mainland and her insular domain was still considerably an asset, though restricted by the loss of Aegina and Eretria and by the temporary autonomy given Imbros, Lemnos, Ikos, Sciathos and Peparathos at the end of Augustus' reign.²

One must not lose sight of the fact that it was the natural process of readjustment under the Empire that was responsible for limitations which were put on the freedom of Athens, as well as other cities, and not any particular disfavor that the Emperor had shown her alone; so that to depreciate the liberty, privileges, and esteem which Athens enjoyed under Augustus leads to a misconception of the whole situation.³

In spite of her political losses, Athens never ceased to be an intellectual and artistic centre of great importance. The memory of her illustrious past drew scholars and travellers from all over the Empire to pay homage to her. In the past the Athenians had courted and flattered their conquerors in order to gain their respect and good will, so that it was undoubtedly by this means that they won over Augustus. They bestowed honors upon him at their festivals and made commemorative dedications both to him and to members of his family⁴ which, no doubt, quickly put them in his good graces causing him to visit Athens on a number of occasions and to reconcile himself with them. The mere fact that he allowed them to retain on their coinage an external symbol of their ancient tradition and prestige in the form of the bust of Athena shows that he not only respected their past, but held it in particular esteem or he would have required some device indicating the authority of Rome.

His veneration for their ancient religious ceremonies is certainly evident not only from the fact that he himself desired to be initiated into their Eleusinian Mysteries, but also from his revival, or shall we say stimulation, of the Pythia under the form of the dodecade. Though he created his new official cults as well in Athens, they never replaced or even eclipsed her own ancient religious festivals. There was not in Athens the religious renaissance that took place in Rome during the Augustan era, but her religious zest was not dormant, for by means of her games and festivals she could give expression to the memories of her past renown. Also through the medium of their coinage the Athenians could still make manifest their ancient traditions, the solemnity of their religious ceremonies, and the artistic richness of their quondam glory. Their coinage depicts not only a goodly number of their famous statues, but also important monuments, characteristic symbols of their religious cults, and representations of events and ancient legends, all of which

¹ Arnold, W. T., *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, pp. 233-234.

² Graindor, *op. cit.*, chap. I.

³ Cf. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 130-131. Germanicus' deference to Athens seems to Graindor to prove that the city had not been used to such treatment. Also pp. 40-41. In questioning Cn. Pullius Pollion's position as well as his mission he seems to infer not only that the rights of Athens were disrespected, but also that some special affront from the Emperor was involved.

⁴ Inscribed statue bases of Livia and of Lucius Caesar were found in the Agora in 1936.

enhanced their claim to glory. To us it seems as if their coinage must have served as a device for broadcasting their glorious history.

From this new classification of the Athenian Imperial coins one sees the beginning, the recurrence, and the abandonment of certain types quite clearly defined and thus the significance of many of the reverse types can be better understood. The occurrence of a multiplicity of reverse types within a limited space of time seems to need explanation. The fact that the Athenian calendar seemed crowded with games and festivals, a number of which must have required special issues of money to conduct a really proper celebration, may well account for the variety of types. In a number of instances I have tried to connect the type with a particular festival where the significance seemed apparent.

It is my intention to discuss the types that occur on the early issues first and to point out those which have been used throughout the period of Athenian Imperial coinage and those which are short-lived. We have considerable knowledge about the festivals in the Imperial periods to help us, but it is possible that this can be supplemented by the information derived from the coins.

NIKETERIA

After Augustus granted the Athenians the privilege of coining their own local money, I believe the first issue was struck on a very large module of which the reverse type represents the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the supremacy of Athens (Fig. 8, no. 1). The obverse has the familiar bust of Athena in Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents erect which is encircled by an olive wreath. The reverse has the early form of the legend, merely ΑΘΗ. There are three reasons why this should be the initial issue. The coins are larger in circumference than any other group of coins in this series and that coupled with the fact that the bust is surrounded by an olive wreath certainly indicates a commemorative issue of great importance. But the use of that particular subject—the contest of Athena and Poseidon—seems very significant. What could better symbolize the recent struggle between Athens and Rome with Athens successful in gaining her freedom than this ancient and traditional victory of Athena over Poseidon?

But what is even more striking is that the Athenians had a festival of freedom called the Niketeria held the third day of the month Boedromion which was to commemorate Athena's victory over Poseidon.¹ The representation of this contest between the two deities was peculiar not only to the initial issue of Athenian Imperial coins, but also to a series of early coins struck subsequently to celebrate this festival (Fig. 8, nos. 2–8). The early series alone depicts this scene between the two deities as a contest, while the few later coins on which Athena and Poseidon are represented portray only a peaceful colloquy between them (Fig. 8, nos. 9–11).

¹ Deubner, Ludwig, *Attische Feste*, p. 235, n. 2.

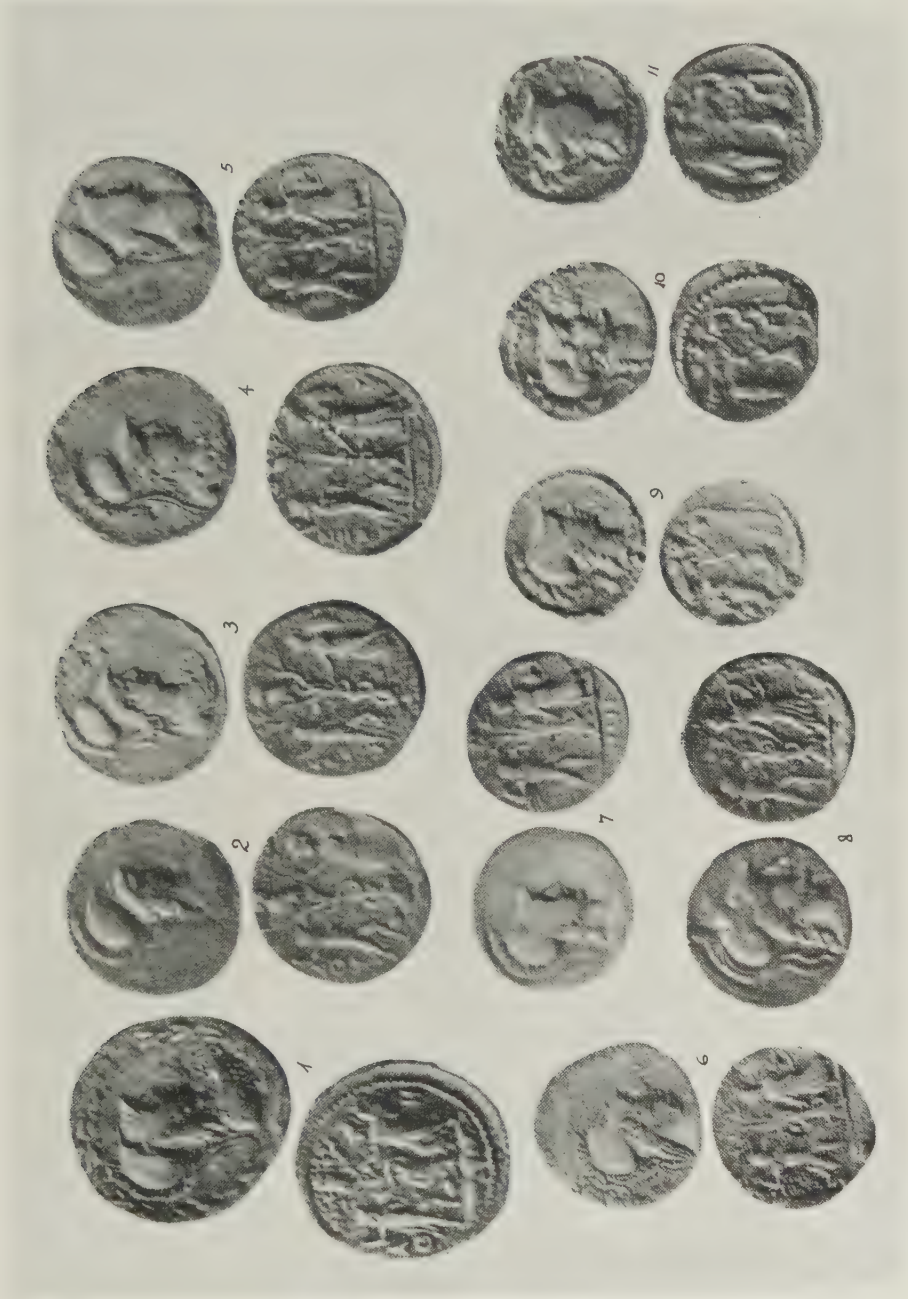


Fig. 8. Series representing contest of Athena and Poseidon

MARATHON FESTIVAL

It was not only legendary victories of the gods that the Athenians recalled on their early Imperial coinage, but historical victories as well where the glory was entirely Athenian. The defeat of the Persians at Marathon loomed large on the horizon, where the Athenian general Miltiades won everlasting fame for the Athenians. The monument of Miltiades at Marathon and the trophy of white marble¹ no doubt gave the inspiration for the coin type on which is represented Miltiades placing a captive Persian before a

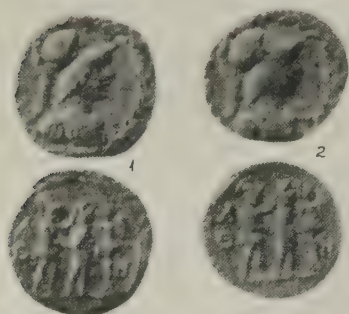


Fig. 9. Coins depicting Miltiades leading a Persian before a Trophy

trophy. The wreath around the obverse of these coins shows that they also were commemorative issues (Plate II, nos. 17-18 and Fig. 9). Since this type is so much smaller in size than that with the contest of Athena and Poseidon and yet has all the similar characteristics, my suggestion would be that these two series are contemporary. The bronze unit represented by the contest of Athena and Poseidon depicts a victory among the immortals, while the half bronze unit, Miltiades at Marathon, reproduces a victory of a mortal man, which, indeed, should be diminished in size and value from its celestial counterpart.

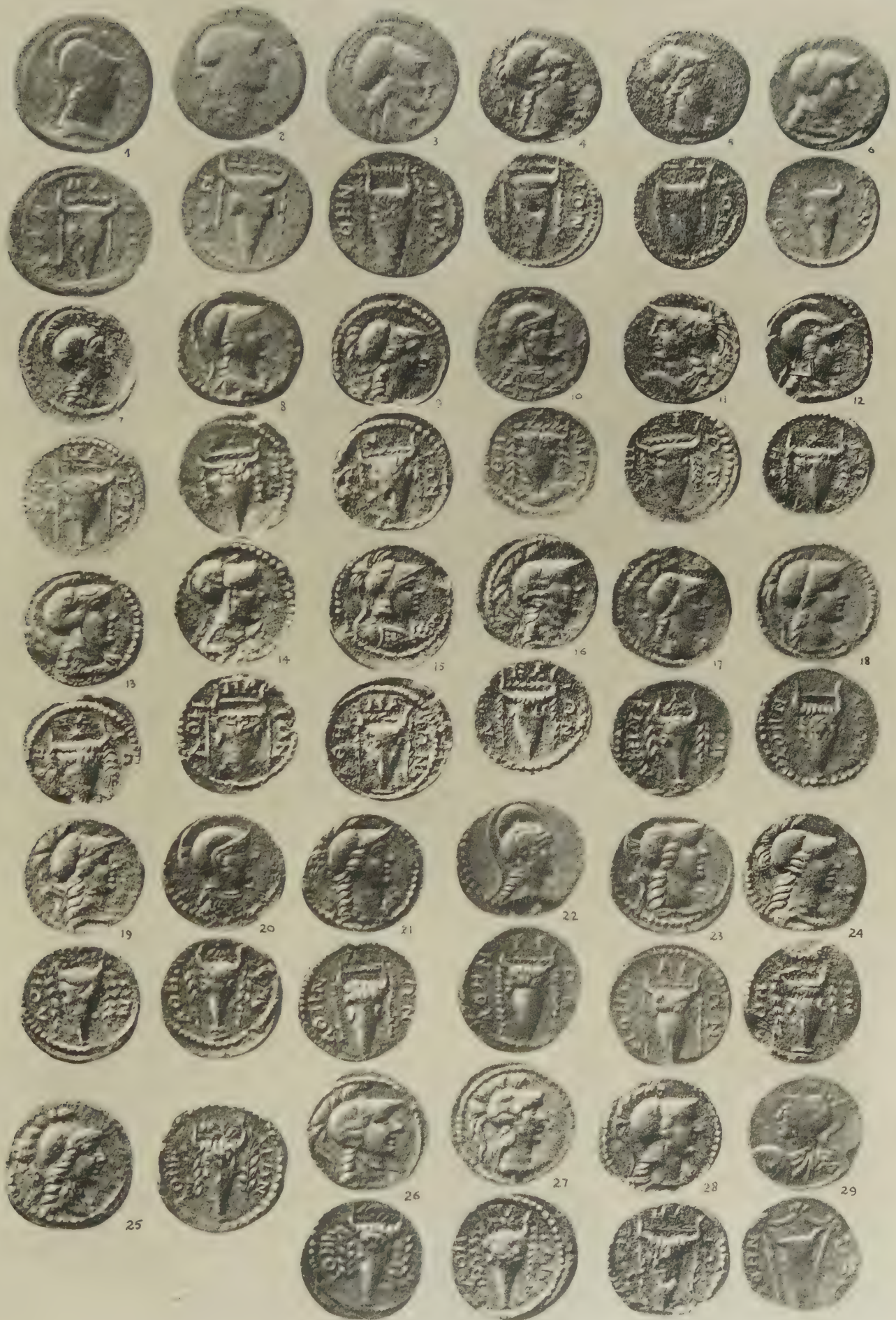
It seems a curious coincidence that the celebration of the victory at Marathon took place on the sixth day of Boedromion just three days after the Niketeria, the festival of freedom in honor of Athena's victory over Poseidon. Though the actual date of the battle of Marathon was in the month of Metageitnion, Mommsen² has made the suggestion that the observance of it was changed to coincide with another existing festival, in honor of Artemis who was goddess of war. Originally the celebration of the Marathon victory was a local fête at Marathon, but later it came to be an Athenian festival at which vows were taken to Artemis Agrotera.³ Essentially this was an ephebic celebration. The fifth day of Boedromion was spent in honoring those who fell at Marathon and the sixth in celebrating the victory. A great military procession of ephebes wended its way to Agrai where the vows were taken in the sanctuary of the warrior goddess Artemis.⁴ That the representation of one of the greatest Athenian warriors, Miltiades, was portrayed on the coins that were struck in honor of this occasion is most appropriate.

¹ Paus., 1, 32, 1 and 5.

² *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 177.

³ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁴ *Le Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), Graindor, "Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire," p. 215.



Series of Coins with Boukranion filleted

Thus the bronze unit representing the contest of Athena and Poseidon struck for the Niketeria and the half bronze unit with Miltiades and a Persian before a trophy struck for the Marathon fête, both of which are obviously important commemorative issues because of the encircling wreath and are similar in style and technique and thus seem to be contemporary, have every right to be considered together, since it is possible that they were struck at the same time in honor of festivals that were only three days apart.

AIANTEIA

But the victories of Themistokles were not forgotten, for he too appears on coins of the early series (Plate II, nos. 2-4, 9, 10, 12, 14-16 and Fig. 10). Dressed in military attire, he stands on the deck of a galley carrying a wreath and a trophy. On the prow is depicted the owl that alighted on the rigging of Themistokles' ship before the battle of Salamis which quieted an argument, since its presence meant the goddess was among them.¹ On the ram of the galley is the serpent that appeared among the ships during the battle and which is, no doubt, a symbol of Cychreus, the early Salaminian hero who originally was probably a serpent himself.² The fact that this representation of Themistokles on a galley appears not only on the early series of coins, but recurs on later issues (Fig. 10, nos. 10-16) leads one to believe that the series was struck on the occasions of the festival which commemorated the victory of the battle.

We know that the Aianteia was the festival that celebrated this event, being held on the 16th day of Mounichion, whereas the actual battle took place on the 12th day of Boedromion. Plutarch³ has connected the Themistoklean festival with the Mounichia, perhaps, because they were celebrated on the same day. Mommsen, however, claims that Plutarch has made a mistake in saying they were one and the same festival.⁴ In the Mounichia the ephebes sacrificed to Artemis Mounichia near the port of that name, after which was held the regatta.⁵ Immediately after this the Ephebes went over to Salamis to celebrate the Aianteia where sacrifices were made to Ajax and where another regatta was held.⁶ Since they were held almost simultaneously there appears to be some connection between these two festivals.⁷ Under the Empire we learn that the Ephebic regattas of the Aianteia were replaced by a naumachia, a naval combat, in which the Athenians honored the heroes of Salamis.⁸ This series of coins would have been a most appropriate one to have been struck on these occasions.

¹ Plutarch, *Themistokles*, XII, 1.

² Paus., 1, 36, 1.

³ *De Glor. Athen.*, 7 (349 F).

⁴ Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 462-3.

⁵ Plutarch, *De Glor. Ath.*, 349 F.

⁶ Cf. Graindor, "Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire," *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 217 f.

⁷ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-4.

⁸ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 69 and 92; also *I. G.*, II², 1996.

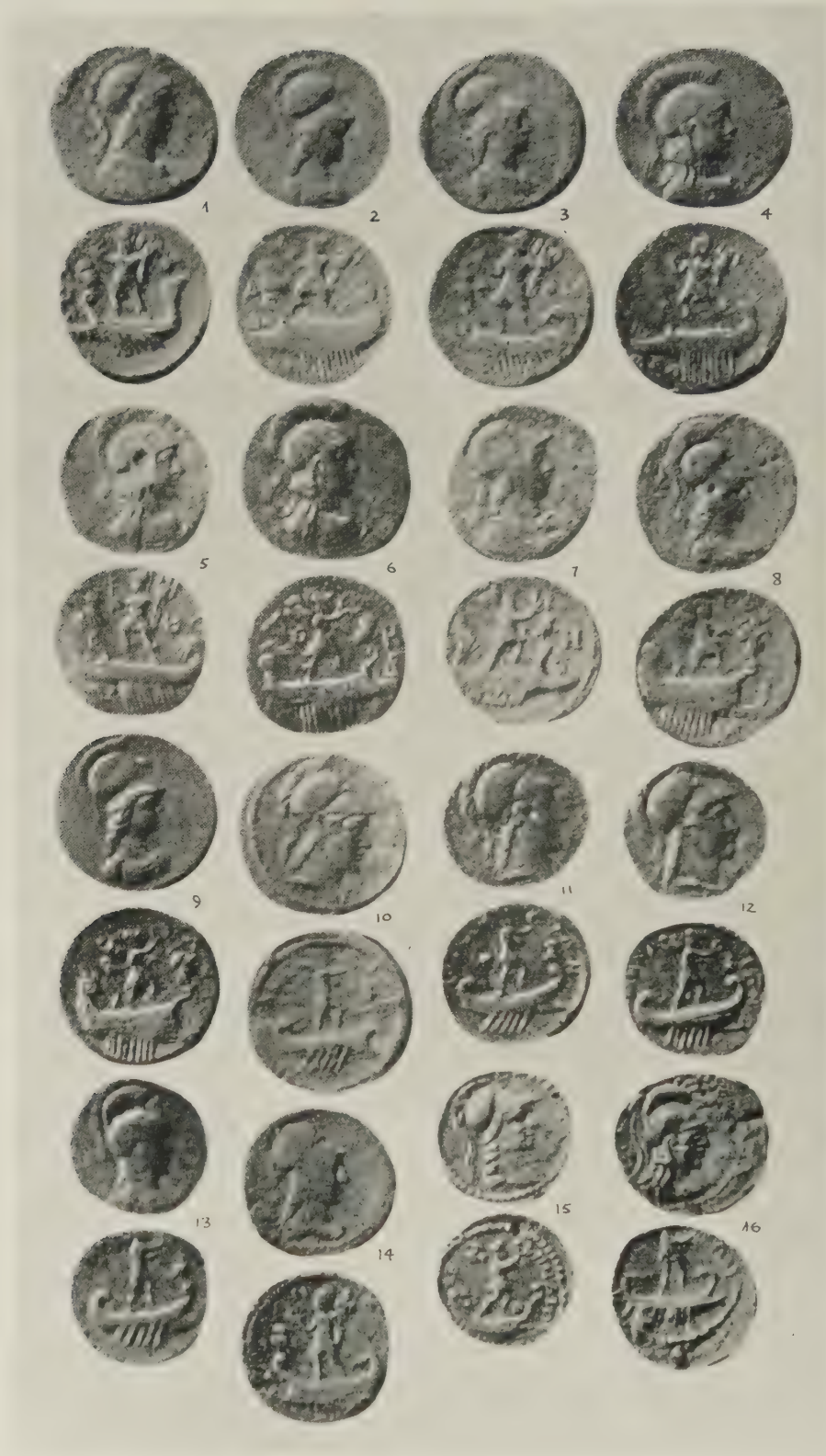


Fig. 10. Series with Themistokles on a Galley

DIPOLEIA

There are other early reverse types that seem to reflect Athenian festivals and games and may well have been struck in commemoration of them. One is that of the boukranion bound with a wreath, a type that is recurrent on a long series of issues of the large bronze units (Plate V). Its significance becomes clear if we consider it in conjunction with an early type that occurs on the quarter unit (Fig. 11). Here we find represented an altar between two olive trees on which is a boukranion bound with a wreath between two kalathoi. This can be nothing else than the altar of Zeus Polias which was northeast of the Parthenon where the ancient and curious sacrifice of the "murder of the ox" (bouphonia) took place on the 14th day of Skirophorion during the celebration of the Dipoleia held in honor of Zeus and Athena Polias.¹ Oxen were driven around the altar where wheat cakes had been laid and the ox that ate the offering was sacrificed. The beast was slain with axe and knife previously wetted with water brought by maidens called "water carriers." The sharpened weapons were handed to the butchers, one of whom felled the ox with the axe and the other cut its throat with a knife. When the ox had been slain, the butchers fled. The ox was then skinned and all present partook of its flesh. When subsequently the hide was stuffed with straw and sewed up; it was set up as a symbol of the heinous crime. A trial then took place to determine who had murdered the ox. The blame was shifted from the maidens, to the butchers, to the implements which had killed the ox and which were accordingly found guilty, condemned, and cast into the sea.² On these small coins we have the altar, the ox's head and the kalathoi which were carried by the maidens. As the multiplicity of details on this fractional issue detracted from the design it was early abandoned in favor of the simpler type of the boukranion alone which we find from the beginning on the large bronzes (Plate II, no. 6; Plate III, nos. 1-3, 6, 14), and which seems a most suggestive symbol to represent the time-honored sacrifice that took place at the celebration of the Dipoleia.

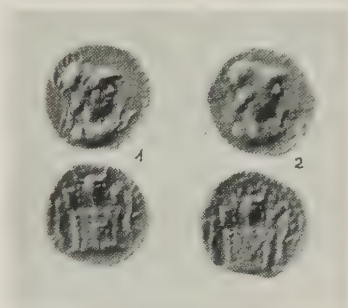


Fig. 11. Coins showing Boukranion on Altar of Zeus Polias

PANATHENAIA

The Panathenaic festival is another that has a long series of coins struck to commemorate it (Fig. 12). The early series of Panathenaic coins are of two types; the first (Fig. 12, nos. 1-3), the large upright Panathenaic amphora on which is perched an owl

¹ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, VIII, pp. 4-5.

with the legend AΘH in the field; the second (Fig. 12, nos. 4–5), an olive tree with an owl amid its branches beside which is a large amphora. The second also has the abbreviated legend. On the later coins of this series these simplified types have developed into a



Fig. 12. Coins struck for the Panathenaia

more detailed composition (Fig. 12, nos. 6–10). The olive tree is large and occupies the centre with the owl and the amphora smaller on either side of it. Occasionally, the symbol of victory the palm branch is represented in the exergue (Fig. 12, no. 11) and on a rare group of coins it appears in the form of a palm tree beside the amphora (Fig. 12, nos. 12–13).

THESEIA

Again it may even be possible to connect the various types depicting Theseus, all of which occur in the early series, with the Theseia which was celebrated from the 8th to the 11th of Pyanopsion, in honor of the ancient and honorable Athenian hero, Theseus.



Fig. 13. Coins depicting the Legends of Theseus

Several of his deeds are represented on the coins. His lifting of the rock depicts the episode at Troezen when as a youth Theseus lifted the rock and found the tokens of his identity which Aegeus had deposited there¹ (Fig. 13, nos. 1-3), a coin type which no doubt derived its inspiration from the statue on the Acropolis illustrative of the story.

¹ Paus., 1, 27, 8.

The type of Theseus and the bull recalls the incident of his driving the bull from the township of Marathon to the Acropolis and sacrificing it to the Goddess¹ (Fig. 13, nos. 4–5). The famous fight with the Minotaur also finds its place in this cycle of Theseus coins² (Fig. 13, nos. 6–10), inspired no doubt by the Acropolis group which had immortalized the legend. Graindor tells us explicitly that the Theseia was still celebrated in the time of Augustus and continued throughout the Imperial period³ from the evidence of inscriptions.⁴ These respective types would have been most relevant for the festival of the Theseia which was held in honor of Theseus.

AGONISTIC FESTIVALS

The long series of coins, which has as a reverse type the Agonistic Table on which is a bust of Athena between an owl and a wreath and under which is an amphora, was struck in celebration of games, a fact that is self-evident from the type (Figs. 14 and 26). Since on the later issues of this series the names of the festivals are written across the top of the table (Fig. 26, nos. 2–14), we are left in no doubt as to their significance. However, it is only on second century coins presumably of the time of Hadrian that these legends occur, a fact that I wish later to consider further. The names of at least two of these festivals are certain, that of the Hadriania (**ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ**) and Olympieia (**ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑ**) (Fig. 26, nos. 2–7; nos. 13–14) and Barclay Head in his *Historia Numorum*⁵ gives another which he says is either **ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ** or **ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ**, but this must be the name that occurs on Svoronos group pl. 91, no. 41–45, where the ending is quite clearly **NIA** which would eliminate **ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ** as a possibility. Furthermore, the Panhellenia (Fig. 26, nos. 8–12) with the Hadriania and the Olympieia were all three new games initiated by Hadrian. It is curious that one type should be used to commemorate at least three separate festivals. But what is even more extraordinary is that a new coin type was not issued in honor of new games, but one that had been in use since the Augustan era was adopted with little change except for the new legends (Plate III, no. 13).

The earliest of these coins of the Augustan period have only the abbreviated legend **ΑΘΗ** and slight variations from the above type. One rare group has a statuette of Athena in place of the bust (Plate II, no. 28, Fig. 14, no. 1); while another has a large owl with a wreath to the right of it on top of the table and an amphora beneath (Fig. 14, no. 2). Since we know that these coins were issued to celebrate agonistic festivals regardless of the character, as deduced from the legends on the later issues, then it is only right to connect them with such festivals in the early Imperial times.

¹ Paus., 1, 27, 10.

² Paus., 1, 24, 1.

³ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 127; "Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire," *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 205.

⁴ *I. G.*, II², 2998, 2999.

⁵ p. 390.

The *Σεβαστοὶ ἀγῶνες* which were created by Augustus¹ and celebrated in honor of each reigning Emperor at least until the time of Claudius when they are mentioned again² might well have had coins of this character struck to commemorate them.

In the first century not far from the Augustan era we also have mention of the *μεγάλα Καισαρῆα Σεβαστά*³ which may or may not be the same as the *Σεβαστοὶ ἀγῶνες*. The title is certainly different and Graindor⁴ believes that they were games in honor of Caesar, one of the benefactors of Athens, which were celebrated periodically, perhaps once every four years, with more splendor judging from the use of the word, *μεγάλα*.

Another agonistic festival of the early Imperial time that may have used these coins for its celebration is the Germanikeia.⁵ The Athenian ephebes fêted Germanicus and



Fig. 14. Agonistic Table represented on Early Athenian Imperial Coins

instituted games which bore his name and should not be connected with the name of Claudius.⁶ Presumably, the Germanikeia was created on the occasion of Germanicus' visit to Athens in 18 A.D., when he was received with great acclaim, and was celebrated possibly annually to commemorate the anniversary of his arrival.⁷

Since we know that the list of agonistic festivals throughout the Imperial period was a comparatively long one,⁸ it is not possible to assume that all used this particular type of commemorative coin, nor is it possible to determine just which ones did, outside of the three which have their names on the table. However, there is one thing that is quite probable which is, that the agonistic games of the first century that have a general

¹ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 11, n. 6; *I. G.*, II², 1069.

² Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 7; *I. G.*, II², 3270.

³ *I. G.*, II², 3531.

⁴ *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 27, n. 2.

⁵ Three times mentioned: *I. G.*, II², 1969, 2024, 2026.

⁶ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 6; also *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), pp. 176 ff.

⁷ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 92; and *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 178.

⁸ *I. G.*, II², 2199; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 237.

nomenclature such as *Σεβαστοὶ ἀγῶνες* or *μεγάλα Καισαρῆα Σεβαστά* and were celebrated for each reigning Emperor, continued to be celebrated in the second century under more specific names honoring each particular Emperor, no doubt instituted by Hadrian in the Hadriana and persisting in the Antoneia, the Philadelphia, the Kommodia, the Severina, and the Gordianeia.

DIONYSIA

However, there are still other first century coin types that reflect festivals which must be discussed before we consider the later coins. During the developmental stage, when the simple abbreviated early form of the legend *ΑΘΗ* changes to *ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ* on the coins and the position of the legend is still in the process of formulation, we find that a new type appears on the reverse, that of the seated Dionysos before an altar (Fig. 15) which also seems to be a type that could be symbolic of an important Athenian festival.



Fig. 15. Series of Coins with Dionysos seated

The Greater or City Dionysia ought also to have a special issue of coins to commemorate it. This great festival was held from the 9th to the 13th of the month Elaphebolion. On the morning of the 9th the image of the Eleutherian Dionysos was taken from its hearth and home, the old temple of Dionysos in front of the theatre¹ and carried by the ephebes in a great procession through the Kerameikos to the temple of Dionysos near the Academy,² and on returning they set it up in the orchestra of the theatre.³ That this image of Dionysos was the archaic zoanon of wood and not the chryselephantine work of Alkamenes is only reasonable, as it seems quite out of the question that a colossal gold and ivory statue could be moved and easily transported through the city.⁴

Coins of the early series with Dionysos seated before an altar (Plate III, nos. 4, 5, and 7; Fig. 15, nos. 1–2) look as if the figure might have been just such an image of wood. Here is portrayed a crude squat figure with all the stiffness that one might expect from an archaic wooden statue. One sees no attempt whatsoever at modelling, but only a linear depiction of the figure which has no artistic merit. Since other figures represented on coins of this same period have none of these characteristics, it seems to me that the subject which inspired this type was responsible for its archaic qualities. On this earliest type of Dionysos coin the letters of the legend are also crudely made and read counter-clockwise outward. The coins of this type from a slightly later period (Fig. 15, nos. 3–4) seem to have better proportions for the statue, yet there still lingers that stiff and angular quality of the earlier type. Considering these various points it seems to me most probable that this series of coins was struck in honor of the Greater Dionysia which we know was still celebrated in the Augustan era and continued at least through the Hadrianic period.⁵

MYSTERIES AT ELEUSIS

A number of types can be readily recognized as having been struck either for the celebration of the great mysteries at Eleusis or the Eleusinia, which were games sacred to Demeter and Persephone and which, though quite distinct from the mysteries, would have similar symbolism related to them. Among the early issues are types which are very short-lived: one represents Demeter standing to the left in a chariot drawn by winged serpents between the two goddesses presumably Kore and Hecate (Plate III, no. 15; Fig. 16, nos. 1–2); another type shows Demeter and Kore standing facing each other (Fig. 16, nos. 3–4); Demeter holds a torch while Kore carries a sceptre in her left hand and probably spears of wheat in her right. These types occur only on the bronze unit, while on the early coins of the half bronze unit are depicted Demeter holding a sceptre

¹ Paus., 1, 20, 3.

² Paus., 1, 29, 2.

³ *I.G.*, II², 1006, 12; also 1008, 14 ff.; 1011, 11 ff.

⁴ Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 392, n. 3; also p. 436, n. 4.

⁵ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 108 and n. 9; *I.G.*, II², 3182, 3112; see also p. 14 of Graindor.



Fig. 16. Coins depicting Eleusinian Symbolism

seated before a serpent (Fig. 16, no. 5); Kore brandishing two lighted torches (Fig. 16, no. 6) and Iakchos dressed in a short garment holding a lighted torch with both hands (Fig. 16, no. 7). It is possible that the inspiration for this last series of coins came from a group of Demeter, Kore, and Iakchos in the temple of Demeter at Athens said to be by Praxiteles. But the depiction of mother, daughter, and sacred child as represented on these coins seems to have been made only at one time, for the figures are all very similar in style. It is possible that in these types of the half bronze unit we may find an allusion to the celebration of the Lesser Mysteries which was a festival of less pomp that took place in the early spring in the month of Anthesterion in the district of Agrae on the Ilissus. These were in honor of Demeter, her daughter Kore, and the child Iakchos, who was identified with Dionysos, and served as a sort of purificatory rite in preparation for the Greater Mysteries which were held at Eleusis in the fall.

A familiar type carried over from the Greek period occurs on the quarter unit of these early Imperial coins, that of Triptolemus seated left in a chariot drawn by winged serpents (Fig. 16, nos. 8-9), a type that was more lasting, since it is also found on the later issues (Fig. 16, nos. 10-11). On early Imperial issues as well as later ones, Demeter is also represented in this same winged chariot (Plate IV, no. 24; Fig. 16, nos. 12-16). These two types are often difficult to distinguish, the only difference being that Demeter is fully clothed and carries a torch and grain, while Triptolemus is half nude and holds sheaves of grain alone. These seem to be the most popular of the Eleusinian types as they alone continue to be used in the latest issues.

Other types also which pertain to the worship of Demeter at Eleusis and which occur solely on the later coins are: Artemis or Hecate brandishing torches in both hands (Fig. 16, nos. 17-18) symbolical of the search for Kore with torches; the pig (Fig. 16, nos. 19-20) which was sacrificed to Demeter, an offering that was believed to have magical import; the spears of grain placed side by side (Fig. 16, nos. 21-22) which may represent the first fruits of the barley and wheat harvest that were presented to Demeter; the two torches (Fig. 16, nos. 23-25) which aided in the search for Kore; the serpent issuing from the cista mystica (Fig. 16, nos. 27-30) which presumably symbolizes the revelation to the mystae of the mysterious object, the serpent personifying the underworld, which was withheld from profane eyes; the kalathos with wheat standing in it (Fig. 16, no. 26) may represent the reward of the victors in the Eleusinian games with measures of barley.¹

This comparatively long series of types can only be associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore, so that unquestionably they must be associated either with the mysteries or with the Eleusinian games.

THARGELIA

There are a number of other types which occur on the series of first century coins that very probably were connected with festivals. Though the connection between type

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, VII, p. 73.

and fête may not be quite so obvious as in the previous discussions, it seems reasonable to make the suggestions at least.

In the Agora we have identified the small temple below the so-called Theseum and to the south of the Stoa of Zeus as that of Apollo Patroös.¹ When the Greek Archaeological Society excavated near this spot in 1907, the excavators found a draped male



Fig. 17. Apollo Patroös and Apollo Alexikakos as represented on Coins

figure and pieces of a lyre which led to the identification of this statue as the Apollo Patroös by Euphranor.² On an altar found in Athens there is sculptured in relief an image of Apollo Patroös holding a lyre.³ Certainly the coin type with Apollo standing facing (Fig. 17, nos. 1-7) with his head turned to the left, wearing a long chiton with diplois and holding a lyre in his left arm and a patera in his outstretched right hand must be identified with that of Apollo Patroös. The earliest coin of this type is a half

¹ Paus., I, 3, 4.

² *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 352 ff.

³ Daremberg and Saglio, I, p. 320; fig. 380.

bronze unit where the legend is merely abbreviated **AΘH** (Fig. 17, no. 1). There is also a series of bronze units slightly later in date which have the full legend (Fig. 17, nos. 2-4), as well as several series of a much later epoch (Fig. 17, nos. 5-7).

This type with the representation of Apollo Patroös ought to belong to the festival of the Thargelia which was one of the chief fêtes of Apollo at Athens. And although the Thargelia was held in honor of the Pythian Apollo,¹ the association with the Patroös is explained by a reference in Demosthenes: *τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατροῦός ἐστι τῇ πόλει.*² We are told that during the course of the festival of the Thargelia there were human expiatory sacrifices made for the purpose of purifying the city of contagious diseases and allaying the plague, as well as all other catastrophies.³ Apollo Alexikakos was certainly the Averter of evil and his statue by Kalamis stood outside the Temple of Apollo Patroös.⁴ Is there any connection between the two? If so then the coin type which can be identified as Apollo Alexikakos (Fig. 17, nos. 8-13) with the god standing to the right holding a branch of laurel and a bow may also be connected with this festival.

Apollo was the special protector of Augustus⁵ and not only did the Emperor institute the sending of the dodecade to Delphi in connection with the celebration of the Pythia, but he must also have stimulated the cult of Apollo Pythios at Athens.⁶ One can readily see how popular the cults of Apollo were at Athens in the first century of our era, if one reviews the various epithets under which Apollo was worshipped in that period: Agyieus, Delios, Hypoacraios, Patroös, Pythios, and Kerkyoneus.⁷ Claudius assimilated himself with Apollo Patroös⁸ and Nero was called the "New Apollo."⁹ Certainly then, it is not hazardous to assume that our Athenian Imperial coins with the representations of Apollo were struck either for the celebration of the ancient festival of Apollo, the Thargelia, or of new festivals in honor of this god in his various aspects.

CHLOEIA

It may be possible to connect the series of half bronze units with the representation of Demeter Chloe with the festival of the Chloeia¹⁰ which was celebrated in honor of Demeter whose sanctuary was on the Acropolis.¹¹ It was solemnized in the spring when

¹ Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 198.

² Demosth., 18, 141.

³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. IX, p. 253.

⁴ Paus., 1, 3, 4.

⁵ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 155, n. 2.

⁶ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 139, § 2; also p. 147.

⁷ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 107-108.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 67; also Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 419.

¹¹ Paus., 1, 22, 3, and Frazer's *Commentary*.

the blossoms began to appear, hence the name *Χλόεια*. The coin type depicts Demeter seated right on a rock (Fig. 18), with her left arm extended to the column which is in front of her. This type occurs only on the early series where the cursive omega is used. The legend *ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ* is arranged in four lines behind the figure.



Fig. 18. Demeter Chloe as represented on Coins

ASKLEPIEIA

Again the coin type with the figure of Asklepios leaning on a serpent staff (Fig. 19) may have been issued to celebrate the Asklepieia which was held in Athens, where no doubt the great festival of Epidauros was imitated with processions and games on the 8th day of the month Elaphebolion. Though it is only mentioned once in inscriptions,¹ we see that this coin type was used in the first century (Fig. 19, nos. 1–3) and again at a later date (Fig. 19, nos. 4–10), perhaps in 266/7 the time of the inscription.²

HERAKLEIA

Just so the coin type with the replica of the Farnese Herakles (Fig. 20) on it may have served to commemorate the Herakleia. This type occurs on a first century series (Fig. 20, nos. 1–2) and then not again until a much later date (Fig. 20, nos. 3–5).

KYΘΟΙ

Another type that seems to suggest a festival of which we have some knowledge appears on the late coins with the representation of Hermes nude, advancing to the left, carrying in his left arm the caduceus and in his outstretched right hand a money bag;

¹ *I.G.*, II², 2215.

² Graindor, *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 212.



Fig. 19. Asklepios leaning on a Serpent Staff



Fig. 20. Farnese Herakles depicted on Coins

on his head is the petasos (Fig. 21). Hermes was one of the patrons of the ephebes and they offered sacrifices to him on the 13th day of Anthesterion at the fête of the Chytroi. From the last decade of the second century we have an inscription (*I.G.*, II², 2130) that mentions the two agoranomes—ephebes organizing the celebration of the Chytroi (*Kύθροι*). There is only the one mention of it in 192/3 A.D. and whether it was celebrated at this specific time for some unique circumstance or not we do not know.¹ We have evidence that when this festival was celebrated in the Greek period, there were

games in connection with it.² Since this is a day consecrated to the dead with sacrifices made to the chthonic deity, Hermes, it would be appropriate to have games similar to the funeral games. Graindor has supposed that the inscription from imperial times, 192/3 A.D.,³ should be interpreted as referring to a true Agon.⁴ Since the coins which represent Hermes belong only to the late period it seems possible that they might have been struck for this festival which was celebrated in 192/3 A.D.



Fig. 21. Hermes with Caduceus and Money Bag

ZEUS TYPES

It is a little difficult to draw the line between the celebration of specific festivals and the commemoration of particular events, because the latter might easily have been honored with a festival. We know that the friendly monarchs and allies of Rome decided to complete the Olympieion at Athens in honor of Augustus⁵ and it is certain that work was actually done on the building at this time.⁶ There is a short and rare issue of early Athenian Imperial coins that could have been struck on this occasion, that of Zeus enthroned to left, holding a Nike in his right hand (Fig. 22, nos. 1–2). We know that the colossal gold and ivory statue was not set up in the building until the time of Hadrian,⁷ when this great temple was finally completed, but in the Augustan era the conception of such a statue must surely have been in the minds of those concerned and they must have envisaged a statue similar to that of the

¹ Graindor, *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 214.

² Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 401.

³ *I.G.*, II², 2130, col. II, l. 14.

⁴ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁵ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 81.

⁶ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 178, n. 2; Fraser, A. D., *Art Bulletin*, IX (1921), pp. 5 and 8.

⁷ Paus., I, 18, 6.

masterpiece of Pheidias at Olympia. If we compare the first century Athenian coin with the Imperial coins from Elis (Fig. 22, no. 3) on which the Pheidian Zeus is represented, we find that they agree detail for detail. But the style of the first century Olympian Zeus coin type seems later than the Augustan style and the uncial omega is here in use; therefore, one must suppose that it was not struck to commemorate the revived building



Fig. 22. Various Aspects of Zeus as represented on Coins

of the Olympieion in the Augustan period, but for a celebration of the ancient festival of the Olympieia about the middle of the first century for some specific purpose on one isolated occasion, since the great revival of this festival did not occur until the Hadrianic era.

On a later series of coins, which are certainly of the second century and are equally rare, we find another representation of Zeus seated (Fig. 22, nos. 4-5), this time to the right, but here he is seated on a diphros and not on the thronos of the earlier type and in his right hand he holds the eagle instead of the Nike. Why is it not possible that this type was copied from the statue set up in the Olympieion by Hadrian rather than the earlier one which has traditionally been connected with this statue of gold and

ivory, but cannot have been struck on the occasion of its dedication, because it has all the first century characteristics?

There is still another first century coin type (Fig. 22, nos. 6-8) that portrays the figure of Zeus naked standing to the right holding a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand and a patera in his left which is extended over an altar. Is it not possible to connect this type with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?

THE ACROPOLIS

One of the most important types on all the Athenian Imperial series is that on which the Acropolis is depicted (Plate VI). It is important not only because it commemorates a specific event which can be dated, but also because it places chronologically the styles of the obverse head. It serves as a point around which one can build.

It has long been inferred that, because of the prominence of the steps leading to the Acropolis, this type was struck to commemorate the paving of the staircase with white marble. By very cogent arguments Graindor has shown that this event must be assigned to the reign of Claudius.¹ That this Emperor was a benefactor of Greece we know from dedications² and also from the fact that he restored to Greece statues that Caligula had carried off.³

If the coin type is not connected with this event, it has no significance. Picard was the first, presumably, who suggested that the coins must date from the reign of Claudius, because of the detail of the prominence of the steps.⁴ No other explanation seems in the least plausible.

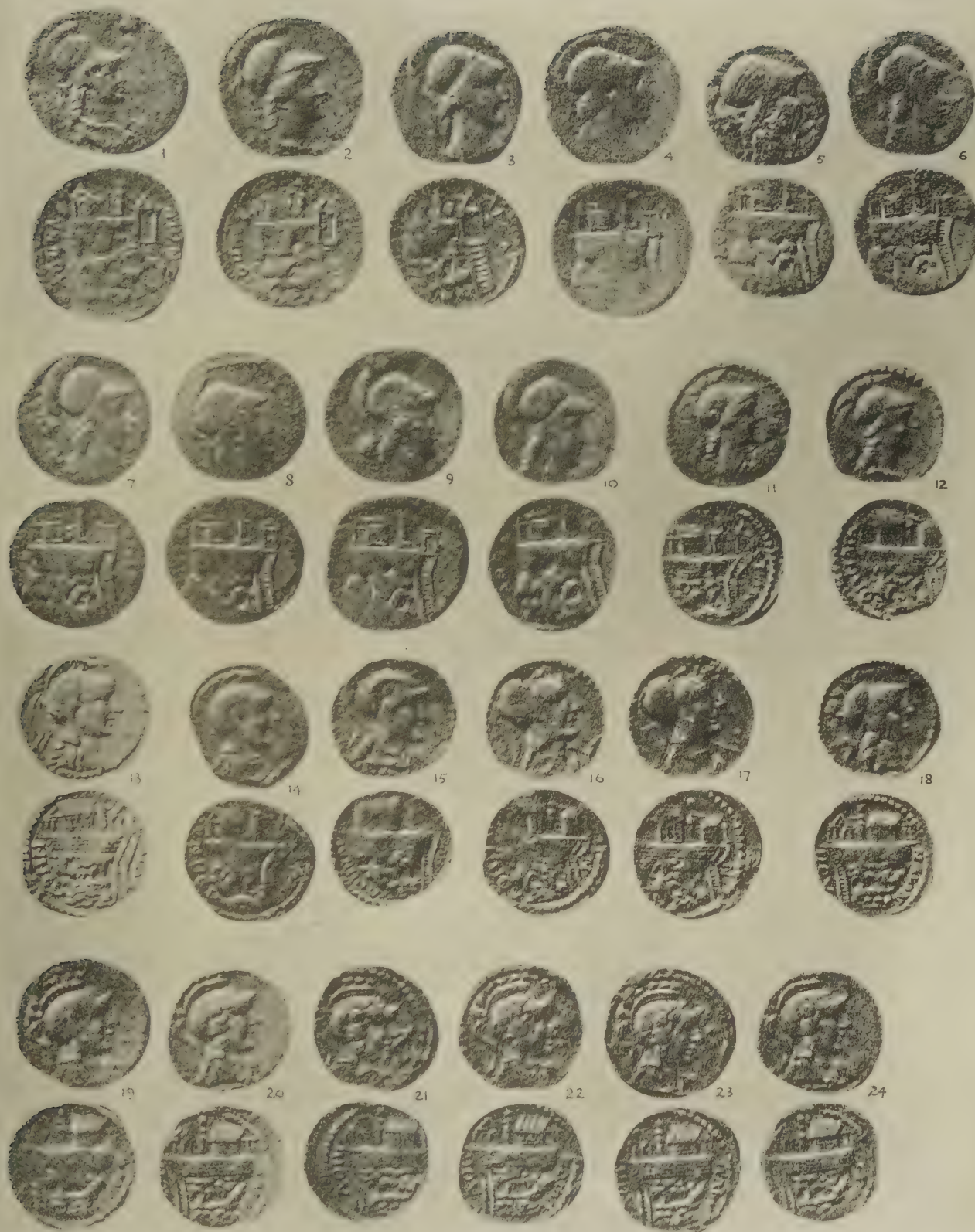
Obviously the series of coins featuring the Acropolis are not all from the same period. However, it is possible to suppose that the earliest types are to be placed in the reign of Claudius who initiated the project and that the others follow in sequence, having been struck during the course of the construction in recognition of Claudius' beneficence to the Athenians and ceasing when the work was finished. But it seems quite improbable that such a piece of work would have been in progress for any great length of time, a prolonged period adequate to cover all the changes in style that occur on the obverse head of Athena. Indeed, it seems safer and more reasonable to divide the series depicting this type into the two separate groups already differentiated by the fabrics. The first group (Plate VI, nos. 1-10) includes the coins with the large modules, dark metal, thin fabric, and superior technique that I have already particularly specified as first century types. The second group (Plate VI, nos. 11-24) is characterized by the coins of heavier

¹ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 160 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ Paus., 9, 27, 3; Dio, LX, 6, 8; *I.G.*, II², 5173, 5174, 5175, 5176, 5177.

⁴ Picard, *L'Acropole*, p. 17.



Series of Coins depicting the Acropolis

fabric, lighter-colored metal with a smaller module which are later and in this case I should say Hadrianic, as I shall try to prove below.

It seems most probable that this earlier group can rightly be associated with the construction period of the steps, for in style they fit into this period very exactly. The two earliest coins of this series are of particular importance. The first (Plate VI, no. 1; Svoronos, pl. 98, no. 19) has the bust of Athena in Corinthian helmet and aegis which we proved was similar to other busts of Athena occurring on coins that can be dated in the Augustan era. The reverse legend of this coin has ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, still using the cursive form of the omega. This issue must have been limited, as I have been able to locate only this one coin of this particular style. This type is followed by one with the head of Athena in Corinthian helmet with narrow horsehair crest and with her hair loose over the brow and in back (Plate VI, no. 2; Svoronos, pl. 98, no. 20). The reverse legend of this coin also still uses the cursive omega. The other coins of this type made of the earlier fabric show the change to the uncial form of omega Ω. From this we are certain that all the developmental stages of the reverse legend can be dated from the Augustan era to the early years of Claudius' reign. We may be a little surprised to see that this early obverse bust of Athena continued in use as late as the reign of Claudius, but one has only to recall the long series of coins from Aegeae in Cilicia which were dated by Imhoof-Blumer from the middle of the first century B.C. to at least 47/8 A.D., when we have another dated coin still using this same early bust of Athena which is strikingly similar to our coin of the reign of Claudius 41–54 A.D. (Fig. 23, cf. Plate VI, no. 1).¹ Since this type of bust occurs only once on the Athenian coins with the representation of the Acropolis on them, we can assume that this type was discontinued in the early years of the reign of Claudius.

It seems probable then that the entire early group of the Acropolis type should be dated in the reign of Claudius coinciding with the construction period of the steps (Plate VI, nos. 1–10; Svoronos, pl. 98, nos. 19–29). But how shall we account for the second group? From the styles of head portrayed on the obverse, they do not seem to follow consecutively the early group, but rather there seems to be a considerable break before the type is used again. In examining the details of the Acropolis on the reverse of this second group, it may be noted that the steps now are not represented in such prominence, as on the earlier type, and in the latest series of this second group (Plate VI, nos. 18–24)



Fig. 23. Coin from Aegeae in Cilicia, dated 47/8 A.D.

¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, II, pl. XVI, no. 14.

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents erect.

Re. ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae. Above l., ΑΠΙ, below ΔΡ (= 94 year of Caesarian era or 47/8 A.D.).

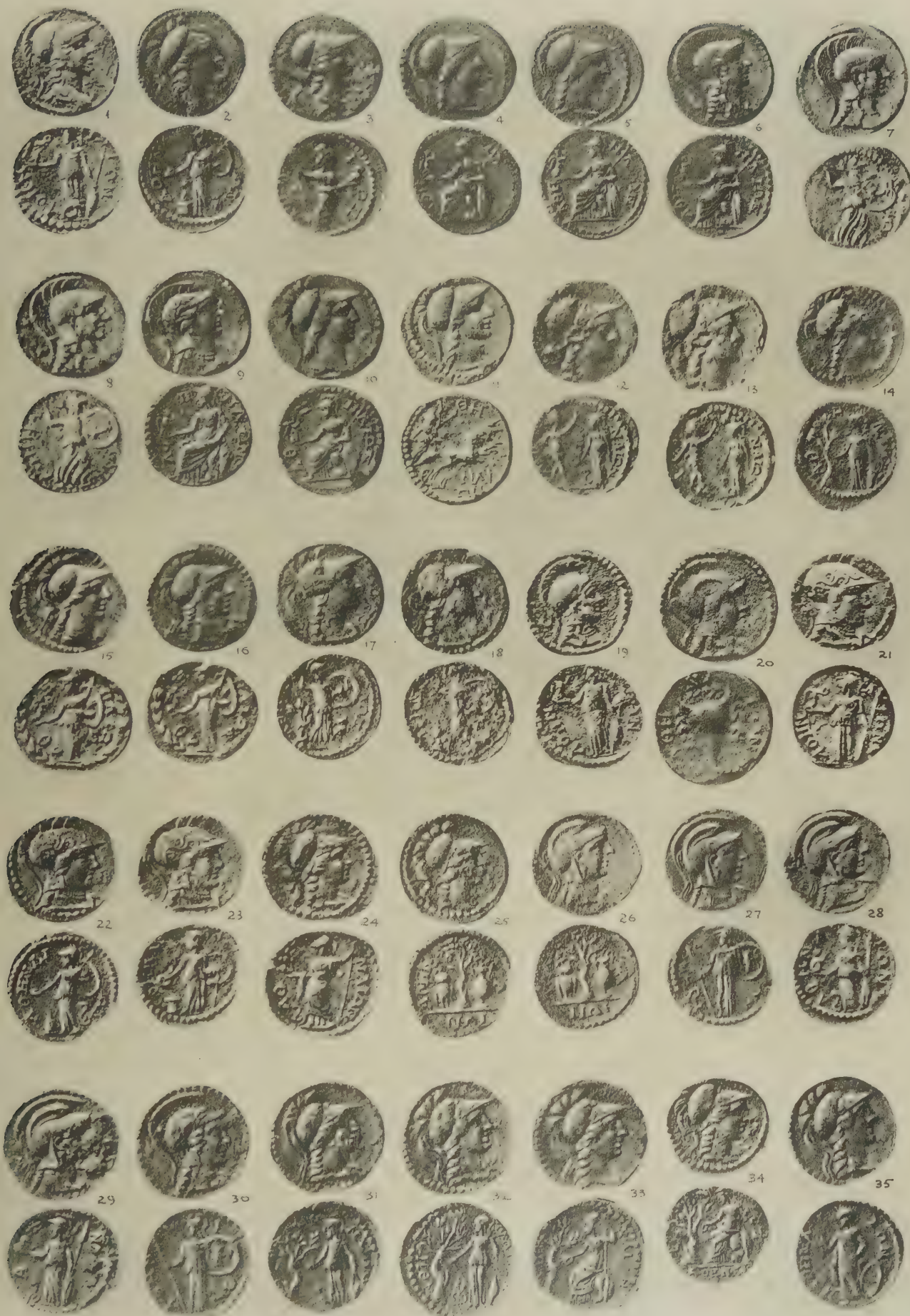
they have even changed position. A view of the Acropolis as seen from the northwest was changed to a view from the southwest. Could this second group of Acropolis coins which presumably date in the second century have been struck in commemoration of some reconstruction done on the Acropolis and not for the commemoration of the paving of the steps at all?

At this point we must discuss the character of second century coins to which we have referred so often. The fabric has already been differentiated from that of the first century; the flans are smaller and thicker and made of a lighter colored metal. This characteristic second century fabric continues to be used in the third century. There is no evidence as yet to show that this change took place in the Hadrianic period; it is possible that it is somewhat earlier.



Fig. 24. Athena Heads showing Style of the Hadrianic Period

One of the most frequent obverse types of the Hadrianic period (Fig. 24) is the bust of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet which has been pushed slightly back on the head, and has its ovoid bowl obviously lower than on the earlier coins. The crest has now a fan-shape formed by radiating lines starting from a central point on the bowl and it is usually wider than the earlier crests. The transition from the narrow horsehair-crest made by parallel lines to this more advanced style of fan-crest is to be found on coins of the earlier, darker fabric (Fig. 25). On the second century coins the treatment of the hair has changed; the soft naturalness has been lost and the face is now framed by more set locks over the brow, usually slightly rolled. In back the hair has been twisted into a narrow roll the separate tresses of which are differentiated. Naturally this detracts from the softness of the effect. The goddess is no longer the youthful maiden of the early Imperial coins; but this change in aspect was already apparent on coins of the second half of the first century. Though in the Hadrianic period she still has a serene, sweet, idealistic appearance, on the later coins she developed a hard, austere expression that is anything but pleasing (see Plate VII).



Series of Coins from the Second Century A.D.

Obviously one may well ask, "How does one know that this style belongs to the Hadrianic period?" Previously we have discussed the coins with the Agonistic table which are inscribed across the top of the table **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ**, **ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑ**, and **ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ** (Fig. 26, nos. 2-14) in connection with the festivals, but now I should like to consider their date.

We found that not only was one coin type used to honor these three festivals due to their agonistic character, but also that a familiar first century type was selected (Fig. 26, no. 1), altered only by the use of the new legends, to be used in the celebration of totally new games. Why should these names of the games occur on the table if it were not when they were first initiated by Hadrian? Certainly at that time rather than at some future date they have significance and reason. These names alone dif-

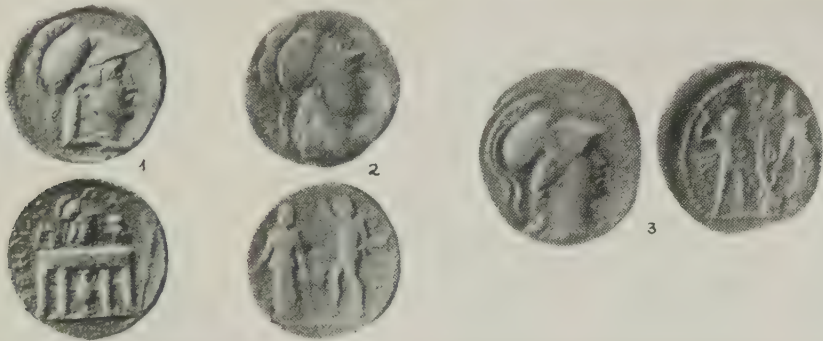


Fig. 25. Athena Heads illustrating Transition to Fan-crests

ferentiate these coins from similar ones used for other *ἀγῶνες*. The Hadrianic period is the logical time for this distinction to have been made at the creation of new games.

Another point that should be noted is that the form of the table on this particular group of coins (Fig. 26, nos. 2-14) is but a later development of the form on the first century coins (Fig. 26, no. 1). It is a simple heavy-topped table with straight, short legs ending in a simplified claw. The top has been slightly thickened and the legs shortened from the first century type. Later the table develops a much more sophisticated form (Fig. 26, nos. 15-17).

It is also significant that formerly when scholars believed that the series of Athenian Imperial coins were initiated in the Hadrianic period, the natural sequence of style necessitated their placing these particular coins, with names of festivals on the agonistic table, about the reign of Gordianus III, 238-244 A.D.¹ They had thus allowed a period of about 137 years from the very earliest styles to those which we see depicted on this

¹ Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 390; Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, pp. 101 and 116.

particular series of coins. But since we have dated the earliest coins in the Augustan era and those with the names of festivals on the agonistic table in the Hadrianic, our



Fig. 26. The Agonistic Table as depicted on Hadrianic Coins and Later

interval of style development between the two is about 144 years, which shows that the calculations for style development are almost the same.

Fortunately, it so happens that in each of the groups with the festival names on the tables one can connect the reverse dies: in the first group with **AΔPIANEIA**, Fig. 26,

nos. 2–7 are all connected by the same reverse die;¹ in the second with ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ, Fig. 26, nos. 8–12; nos. 8–9 and nos. 10–11 have respectively the same reverse dies² and although Fig. 26, no. 12 is not from the same die it must be contemporary,³ as the helmeted head of Athena is somewhat similar to Fig. 26, no. 5;⁴ in the third group with ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑ, Fig. 26, nos. 13 and 14⁵ are also struck with the same reverse die. Thus, we have represented just in this small group a number of different styles of obverse head that must all be approximately contemporary and of the Hadrianic era.

Moreover, we see a revival of the bust of Athena wearing the Attic helmet (Fig. 26, no. 9) which is close-fitting with round bowl set low on the forehead. In front is depicted a pegasos or griffin. This characteristic helmet has the usual neck and ear guards and is crowned by a broad fan-crest. The hair is rolled in back with loose tresses hanging over the shoulder. It is a very pleasing head of small proportions and occurs very infrequently on these Imperial coins. A more elaborate helmet, certainly a variation of the Attic helmet, also occurs on this series. It has a large bowl, prominent visor, long neck-guard, and fan-crest (Fig. 26, no. 12). On the side of the bowl is a heavy sickle-shaped ridge that may possibly be the right crest, as seen from the top, of a triple-crested helmet. It is more ornate than any helmet we have seen hitherto on these Athenian Imperial coins. On this particular series of agonistic coins we find for the first time on the bronze unit the head of Athena turned to the left wearing a fan-crested Corinthian helmet (Fig. 26, no. 7).

Thus these coins were struck first, for the Hadrianeia which opened the new era of Hadrian⁶ which was in commemoration of Hadrian's first visit to Greece in 124/5 A.D. in the month Boedromion;⁷ second, for the Olympieia which marks the point of departure of the new Olympiad in the year 131/2, Hadrian's third visit to Greece, when the temple of Zeus Olympios was consecrated;⁸ and thirdly, for the Panhellenia which was to commemorate the foundation of the temple of Zeus Panhellenios and the creation of the new union of Greek states called the Panhellenion with Athens as the capital. This union not only enhanced the dignity and brilliance of Athens, but also "served to unite both European and Asiatic Greeks and to revive the memories of the great civilizing mission of Hellenism in the past."⁹ The first Panhellenia should have been celebrated in 137 A.D.¹⁰ The Grand Panhellenian games, without doubt, were held every fifth year, but similar games less important in character should have taken place every year.¹¹

¹ Svoronos, pl. 91, nos. 33–38.

² *Ibid.*, nos. 43–44 and 41 and 45.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 39–40.

⁶ Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, pp. 3 ff.; also p. 4, n. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 39.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁹ Tod, M. N., *J.H.S.*, XLII (1922), pp. 175–176; Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, p. 53.

¹⁰ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 53; *Inscr. von Olympia*, p. 347, no. 237.

¹¹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 108.



Fig. 27. Panathenaic Coins of the Hadrianic Period and Later

Hadrian did not content himself alone with the creation of new eras and new games to commemorate them, but also he revived the old by ushering in a new era of the Panathenaic celebrations which probably fell about 130/131 A.D. Dittenberger has seen the beginning of this new era in the promise made by Herodes Atticus to build the stadium all in white marble when he was agonothete of the Panathenaia. But presumably this agonothesia and the construction of the stadium are later than 130/131 A.D.¹

¹ Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, p. 48; and *Herode Atticus*, p. 65.

As we have already seen the coins struck for the celebration of the Panathenaia were those with the olive tree between an owl and an amphora (Fig. 27). We noted that the Panathenaic types of the Augustan period laid more stress on the Panathenaic amphora (Fig. 12, nos. 1-5) and that in the group which depicted the olive tree (Fig. 12, nos. 4-5) the amphora beside it was of considerable proportions.

A careful examination of the entire series of Panathenaic coins reveals a curious fact which is, that between the Augustan and Hadrianic periods none of these types exists. Also throughout this period there is no mention of the Panathenaia in inscriptions. One can hardly believe that this ancient festival ceased entirely, but it may have been overshadowed by other celebrations, so that it dwindled in importance and no coins were issued in celebration of it. Or possibly other types which are not so easily recognizable served to commemorate this fête in the interim. However, it is noteworthy that when in the Hadrianic period this type with the olive tree between owl and amphora was revived, the early form of the legend **AΘH** occurs on the coins in the exergue (Fig. 27, nos. 1-5), but its use was not of long duration.¹ This revival of the old tradition is quite characteristic of the Hadrianic era. In this group Fig. 27, nos. 1-4 are connected by the same reverse die.² The obverse heads of Athena are similar in style to those with the names of the festivals on the agonistic table which were obviously Hadrianic and the type (Fig. 27, no. 3) with Athena in the closefitting crested Attic helmet³ is presumably from the same obverse die as Fig. 26, no. 9.⁴

When the use of the abbreviated legend **AΘH** changes to the full legend in this Hadrianic group (Fig. 27, nos. 6-7),⁵ the **AΘH** still occupies the exergue as in the previous group, while the other letters **ΝΑΙΩΝ** read counter-clockwise around the flan. The later coins of this Panathenaic group dispose of the letters of the legend in various ways (Fig. 27, nos. 8-11).

THEATRE OF DIONYSOS

There is still another rare and important group of coins that I would place in the Hadrianic period,—those which portray the Theatre of Dionysos on the reverse. Unfortunately there are so few of these coins in existence that our deductions of style must be more or less tentative. From the three coins that we know which have approximately the same style of Athena head, we see the Corinthian helmet with a developed broad fan-crest and the hair twisted over the brow and in back which are certainly second century characteristics, as is also the fabric (Fig. 28, nos. 1-3). However, this exact type of head cannot be connected with any other series of coins from which we can derive a more definite dating. We might almost say it is a style group by itself.

¹ Svoronos, pl. 90, nos. 8-12.

² *Ibid.*, nos. 9-12.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 91, no. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 90, nos. 13-14.

But certainly the reverse type, the representation of the Theatre of Dionysos, must have some particular significance. Why was this type used and when would it have been most appropriate? In the Theatre of Dionysos, the twelve tribes set up a statue of Hadrian in each of twelve kerkides and in the middle, the place of honor, a thirteenth was set up by the Areopagus, the Demos, and the Boule.¹ These statues were erected for an event which can be none other than Hadrian's agonothesia of the Dionysia in March 125 A.D.² He was twice agonothete of the Dionysia and to fill these functions he dressed in the local costume.³ Dio's mention of the agonothesia of the Dionysia refers to the celebration in 132 A.D. and should not be confused with that of March 125.⁴

Graindor points out that the statues were appropriately erected in the theatre because that was the place of assembly for the people, and that their number implies that the



Fig. 28. Coins depicting the Theatre of Dionysos

creation of a thirteenth tribe, Hadrianis, was contemporary with their erection. There is no reason for doubting that the new order of things was established in 124/25 A.D.⁵

We know that under Hadrian the Theatre of Dionysos underwent some modifications. Graindor believes that the reliefs which adorn the front of the stage should also be assigned to the reconstruction of the time of Hadrian because the academic style of the sculpture accords with the practice of that period.⁶ Also, it has been supposed that it was in his time that an imperial loge to which one ascends by a stair, the construction of which necessitated the displacement of a number of the seats of honor, was installed between the two kerkides situated to the east of the marble throne reserved for the priest of Dionysos.⁷

¹ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 102.

² Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, pp. 18-20.

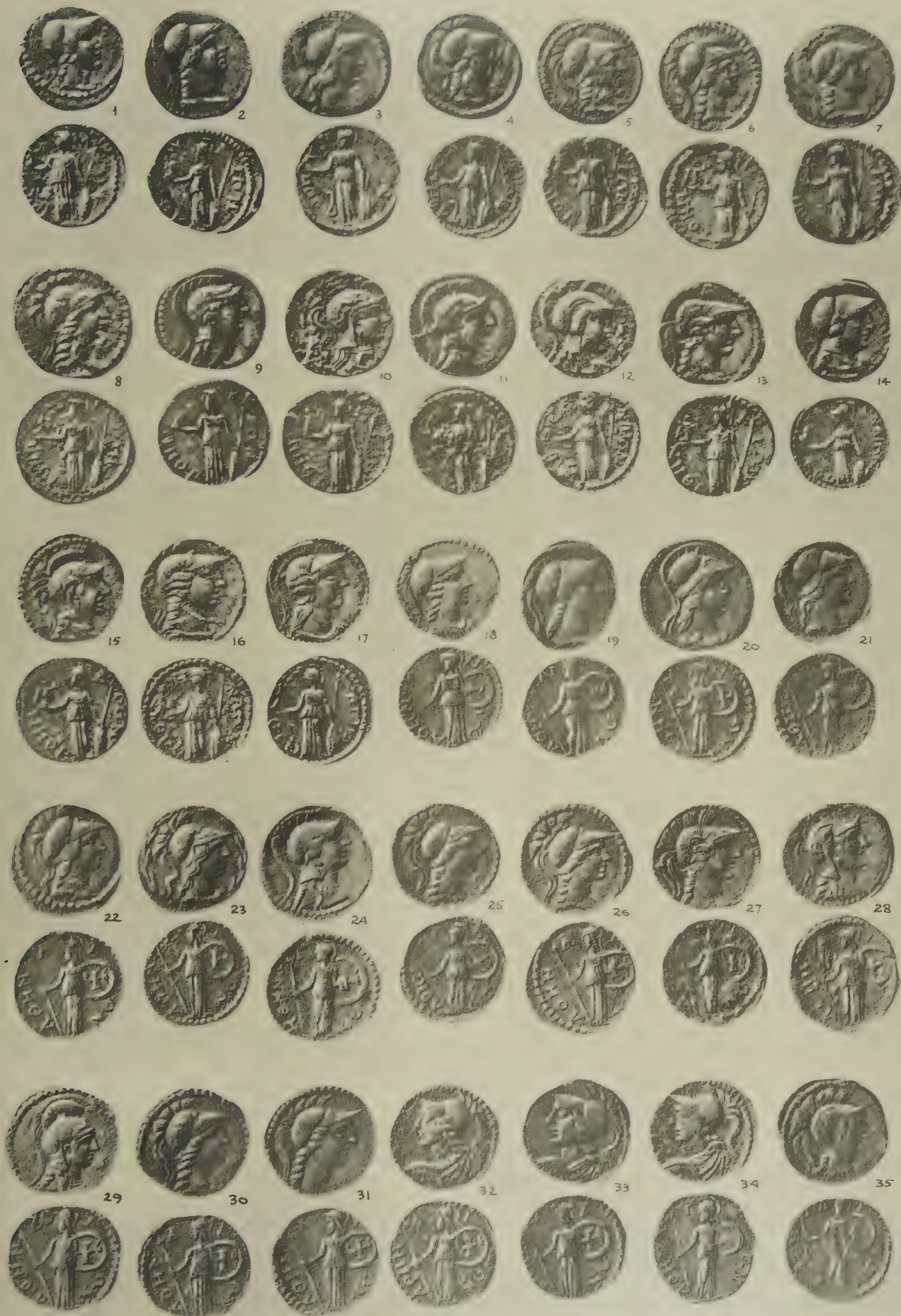
³ *Ibid.*, p. 246; also p. 5, n. 3 and p. 54; Dio, 69, 16, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 277; also *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 199 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6.



Series of Second and Third Century Coins representing Athena Parthenos and Athena Promachos

In the newly remodelled theatre, adorned with many statues of the Emperor, Hadrian, who was numbered among the eponyms of the city¹ and who was then agonothete of the Dionysia, amid the reunited assembly of the people, created the new tribe of the Hadrianis which was destined to commemorate the work accomplished by the great benefactor of Athens. Certainly such an occasion would have required a new issue of coins and none could be more appropriate than those representing the theatre of Dionysos, for this type would have had real significance on such a great occasion.

Hadrian's generosity to Athens opened up a new life for the Athenians; the festivals were celebrated with more splendor than ever.² Athens seemed to gain a renewed confidence to face the future, though she was already among the immortals. "Always poor in money, but rich in glory and as free as a city incorporated in the Empire could hope to be, Athens enjoyed more than ever, in calm and security, an old age surrounded by sympathy, respect, and honors."³ The second century coinage reflects this renaissance not only in its more abundant coinage, but also in its multiplicity of new types which were inspired by the many masterpieces of sculpture that had adorned her sanctuaries for generations.

The Hadrianic period seemed to set the mould for the reverse types that occur on the coinage of the second and third centuries. From that time on there is very little variation in detail on the numerous reverse types. The long series of coins with the representations of Athena Parthenos (Plate VIII, nos. 1-17)⁴ and Athena Promachos (Plate VIII, nos. 18-35)⁵ show admirably the fixity of the respective types. The natural outcome of this permanency of type led obviously to the most stereotyped forms which were extremely monotonous.

These same tendencies are apparent in the styles of the obverse head which become more and more fixed, hard, and expressionless. The head and bust of the goddess are used alternately; the crests of the helmet have a tendency to become broader and more elaborate; the hair becomes more rigid and artificial looking due to the hardness of line and the inclination for more substantial twisting of it over the brow and in back. All these characteristics which are in the process of formulation throughout the styles of the second century had developed to the extreme in the styles of the third century.



Fig. 29. Two Second Century Coins with same Reverse Die

¹ Paus., 1, 5, 5.

² Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, p. 286.

³ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁴ Svoronos, pls. 82 and 83.

⁵ Svoronos, pl. 86.

It is perhaps unexpected to find a predilection for elaborate helmet forms beginning as early as the first half of the second century, but we are certain that this is the case from the fact that in the Panathenaic series we have a coin with the head depicted in



Fig. 30. Coins showing Archaizing Tendencies of Third Century

a simple form of Corinthian helmet (Fig. 29, no. 1)¹ with a rather narrow fan-crest and with the hair loose over the brow and softly rolled in back, a type that is truly characteristic of the first half of the second century. But this coin is connected by means of the

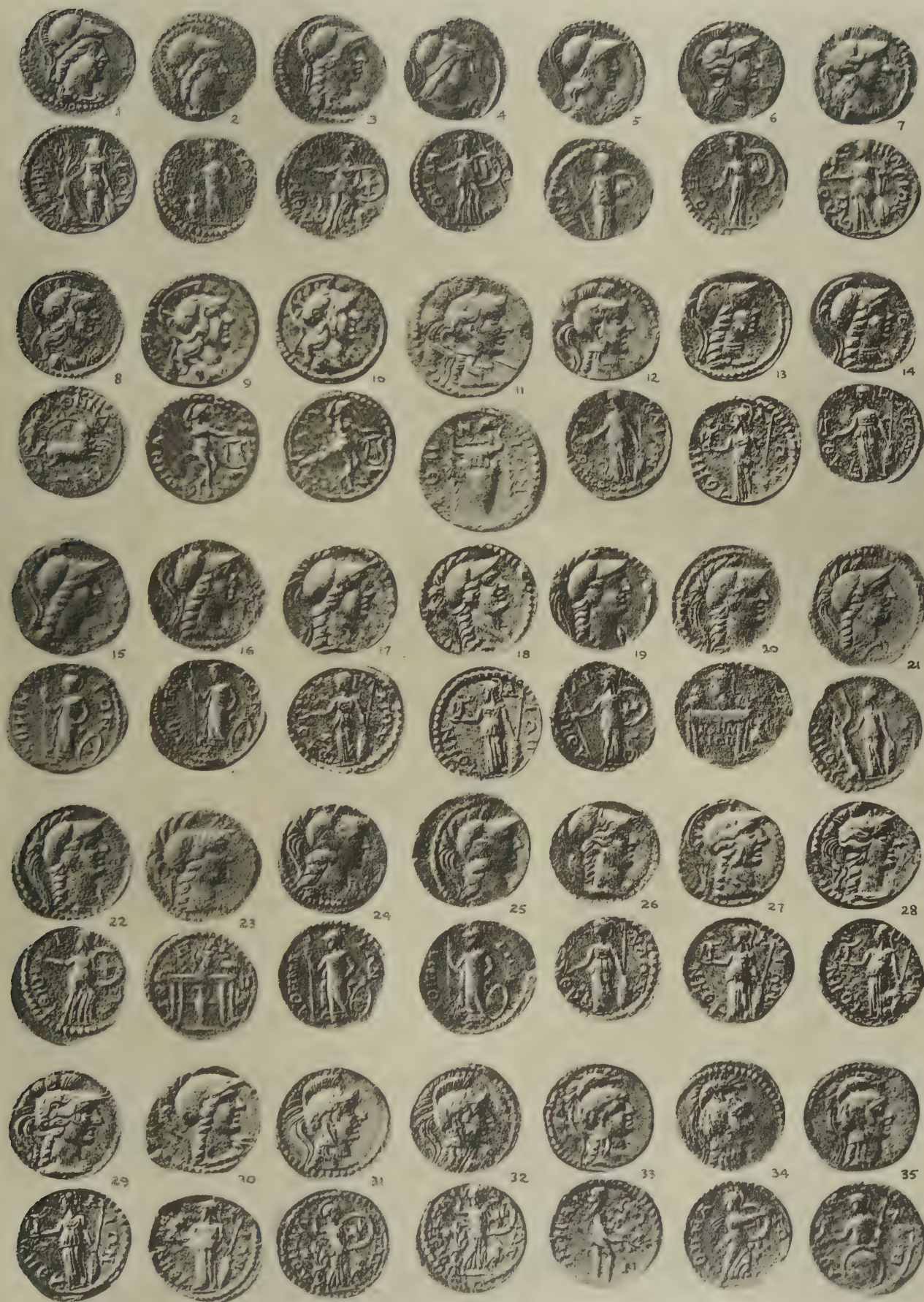


Fig. 31. Third Century Coins of Athens and Alexandria compared

same reverse die to one with a hybrid Attic helmet (Fig. 29, no. 2)² with bowl elaborately decorated with spirals and an ornate neck-guard. The goddess is also wearing a double strand of beads which adds to the elaboration of the style. On Plate VII one can see

¹ Svoronos, pl. 90, no. 2.

² Svoronos, pl. 90, no. 5.



Series of Coins from the Third Century A.D.

the various forms of helmet that are current in the second century, some simple and unadorned, others with triple crest or decorated visors or bowls, sometimes both.

The style of the third century obverse types (Plate IX) may be characterized by saying that all the deterioration and elaboration of style that we saw initiated in the second century were carried to the utmost extreme. Often when details peculiar to an earlier epoch were sought, such as narrow horsehair-crests formed by parallel lines (Fig. 30, nos. 1 and 3) or loose hair over the shoulders of the goddess (Fig. 30, nos. 2-3), the rendering shows the most severe rigidity. The faces have at this time an unpleasant austerity, hard in line and unrelenting in aspect. The severity of the twisted roll of hair is most comparable to a lifeless rope (Plate IX, nos. 13-22, 28, and 30). There are a number of hybrid formations of helmets that are overly decorated with broad flaring single (Plate IX, nos. 7, 11, 12, and 29) or triple crests (Plate IX, nos. 31-35).

One type in particular of these excessively ornate helmets can be dated fairly accurately. An Attic helmet (Plate IX, nos. 33-35 and Fig. 31, nos. 1-2) worn by Athena has a round close-fitting bowl with triple-crest.¹ On the side is a pegasos or griffin; over the forehead standing erect are the heads of four horses; and on the ear and neck-guards is still more decoration. An added adornment is the double strand of beads around the neck of the goddess. Almost this identical head is found on coins from Alexandria dated in the reign of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea 222-235 A.D. (Fig. 31, no. 3).² Other examples of third century types can be seen on Plate IX.

Fortunately the Athenian Imperial coinage ceased after the middle of the third century, so that we are saved from the horrors that might have developed from this already debased style. This cessation should be placed after the reign of Gallienus 253-268 A.D. when concurrently all over the empire the provincial coinages disappear.³

¹ Svoronos, pl. 82, especially nos. 20 and 26.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI (1931), pp. 73-74, pl. I, no. 6; also compare Imhoof-Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 127, pl. Y, XXV, coin struck under Julia Mamaea; B.M.C. *Alexandria*, p. 207, no. 1603, pl. IV, has name of Severus Alexander in obverse legend ΑΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΟΕΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC; also cf. Milne, *Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 72, no. 2886, struck under Severus Alexander.

³ Mattingly, Harold, *Roman Coins*, pp. 212-213.

REFERENCES FOR PLATES AND FIGURES¹

Plate II	No. 1 . . . Pl. 89	No. 4	No. 11 . . . Pl. 89	No. 6	No. 21 . . . Pl. 96	No. 35
	" 2 . . . " 97	" 2	" 12 . . . " 97	" 1	" 22 . . . " 96	" 36
	" 3 . . . " 97	" 23	" 13 . . . " 89	" 2	" 23 . . . " 96	" 17
	" 4 . . . " 97	" 3	" 14 . . . " 97	" 24	" 24 . . . " 90	" 36
	" 5 . . . " 89	" 5	" 15 . . . " 97	" 14	" 25 . . . " 90	" 37
	" 6 . . . " 99	" 6	" 16 . . . " 97	" 11	" 26 . . . " 90	" 39
	" 7 . . . " 95	" 16	" 17 . . . " 97	" 33	" 27 . . . " 90	" 32
	" 8 . . . " 95	" 19	" 18 . . . " 97	" 32	" 28 . . . " 91	" 47
	" 9 . . . " 97	" 5	" 19 . . . " 96	" 30		
	" 10 . . . " 97	" 6	" 20 . . . " 96	" 34		
Fig. 1	No. 1 . . . Pl. 87	No. 40	No. 10 . . . Pl. 89	No. 22		
	" 2 . . . " 87	" 41	" 11 . . . " 94	" 13		
	" 3 . . . " 89	" 19	" 12 . . . " 88	" 23		
	" 4 . . . " 88	" 30	" 13 . . . " 88	" 25		
	" 5 . . . " 88	" 31	" 14 . . . " 88	" 26		
	" 6 . . . " 88	" 46	" 15 . . . " 88	" 27		
	" 7 . . . " 88	" 49	" 16 . . . " 88	" 28		
	" 8 . . . " 88	" 52	" 17 . . . " 88	" 29		
	" 9 . . . " 88	" 43				
Plate III	No. 1 . . . Pl. 99	No. 3	No. 9 . . . Pl. 95	No. 24	No. 17 . . . Pl. 88	No. 57
	" 2 . . . " 99	" 5	" 10 . . . " 87	" 15	" 18 . . . " 83	" 30
	" 3 . . . " 99	" 4	" 11 . . . " 82	" 3	" 19 . . . " 83	" 29
	" 4 . . . " 92	" 9	" 12 . . . " 83	" 32	" 20 . . . " 82	" 1
	" 5 . . . " 92	" 11	" 13 . . . " 88	" 56	" 21 . . . " 87	" 17
	" 6 . . . " 99	" 2	" 14 . . . " 99	" 1	" 22 . . . " 87	" 16
	" 7 . . . " 92	" 12	" 15 . . . " 94	" 4	" 23 . . . " 82	" 31
	" 8 . . . " 85	" 4	" 16 . . . " 92	" 13	" 24 . . . " 82	" 30
Fig. 2	No. 1 . . . Pl. 93	No. 38	No. 8 . . . Pl. 89	No. 37		
	" 2 . . . " 93	" 41	" 9 . . . " 95	" 13		
	" 3 . . . " 93	" 34	" 10 . . . " 96	" 19		
	" 4 . . . " 95	" 6	" 11 . . . " 89	" 23		
	" 5 . . . " 95	" 7	" 12 . . . " 96	" 47		
	" 6 . . . " 93	" 35	" 13 . . . " 93	" 21		
	" 7 . . . " 93	" 47	" 14 . . . " 94	" 47		
Plate IV	No. 1 . . . Pl. 92	No. 15	No. 11 . . . Pl. 98	No. 21	No. 21 . . . Pl. 85	No. 34
	" 2 . . . " 86	" 4	" 12 . . . " 85	" 10	" 22 . . . " 87	" 19
	" 3 . . . " 87	" 20	" 13 . . . " 92	" 38	" 23 . . . " 88	" 61
	" 4 . . . " 85	" 17	" 14 . . . " 83	" 37	" 24 . . . " 94	" 21
	" 5 . . . " 85	" 18	" 15 . . . " 84	" 36	" 25 . . . " 85	" 8
	" 6 . . . " 87	" 13	" 16 . . . " 92	" 22	" 26 . . . " 93	" 8
	" 7 . . . " 96	" 16	" 17 . . . " 85	" 35	" 27 . . . " 86	" 1
	" 8 . . . " 95	" 27	" 18 . . . " 92	" 43	" 28 . . . " 95	" 10
	" 9 . . . " 96	" 15	" 19 . . . " 86	" 2	" 29 . . . " 95	" 12
	" 10 . . . " 97	" 16	" 20 . . . " 85	" 33	" 30 . . . " 95	" 11

¹ All references are to Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, unless otherwise noted.

Fig. 8	No. 1 ... Pl. 89	No. 3	No. 5 ... Pl. 89	No. 11	No. 9 ... Pl. 89	No. 16
	" 2 ... " 89	" 1	" 6 ... " 89	" 12	" 10 ... " 89	" 17
	" 3 ... " 89	" 7	" 7 ... " 89	" 13	" 11 ... " 89	" 18
	" 4 ... " 89	" 8	" 8 ... " 89	" 14		

Fig. 9	No. 1 ... Pl. 97	No. 34
	" 2 ... " 97	" 35

Fig. 10	No. 1 ... Pl. 97	No. 4	No. 9 ... Pl. 97	No. 20
	" 2 ... " 97	" 7	" 10 ... " 97	" 15
	" 3 ... " 97	" 8	" 11 ... " 97	" 18
	" 4 ... " 97	" 12	" 12 ... " 97	" 17
	" 5 ... " 97	" 13	" 13 ... " 97	" 26
	" 6 ... " 97	" 25	" 14 ... " 97	" 10
	" 7 ... " 97	" 22	" 15 ... " 97	" 28
	" 8 ... " 97	" 21	" 16 ... " 97	" 27

Fig. 11	No. 1 ... Pl. 87	No. 42
	" 2 ... " 87	" 43

Plate V	No. 1 ... Pl. 99	No. 7	No. 11 ... Pl. 99	No. 22	No. 21 ... Pl. 99	No. 19
	" 2 ... " 99	" 8	" 12 ... " 99	" 32	" 22 ... " 99	" 21
	" 3 ... " 99	" 9	" 13 ... " 99	" 31	" 23 ... " 99	" 20
	" 4 ... " 99	" 23	" 14 ... " 99	" 35	" 24 ... " 99	" 38
	" 5 ... " 99	" 24	" 15 ... " 99	" 34	" 25 ... " 99	" 10
	" 6 ... " 99	" 16	" 16 ... " 99	" 26	" 26 ... " 99	" 12
	" 7 ... " 99	" 30	" 17 ... " 99	" 18	" 27 ... " 99	" 29
	" 8 ... " 99	" 28	" 18 ... " 99	" 11	" 28 ... " 99	" 37
	" 9 ... " 99	" 27	" 19 ... " 99	" 25	" 29 ... " 99	" 14
	" 10 ... " 99	" 15	" 20 ... " 99	" 17		

Fig. 12	No. 1 ... Pl. 90	No. 35	No. 8 ... Pl. 90	No. 7
	" 2 ... " 90	" 38	" 9 ... " 90	" 20
	" 3 ... " 90	" 40	" 10 ... " 90	" 17
	" 4 ... " 90	" 33	" 11 ... " 90	" 22
	" 5 ... " 90	" 34	" 12 ... " 90	" 30
	" 6 ... " 90	" 19	" 13 ... " 90	" 31
	" 7 ... " 90	" 1		

Fig. 13	No. 1 ... Pl. 95	No. 25	No. 6 ... Pl. 96	No. 1
	" 2 ... " 95	" 28	" 7 ... " 96	" 5
	" 3 ... " 95	" 29	" 8 ... " 96	" 7
	" 4 ... " 95	" 17	" 9 ... " 96	" 31
	" 5 ... " 95	" 20	" 10 ... " 96	" 32

Fig. 14	No. 1 ... Pl. 91	No. 46
	" 2 ... " 91	" 48
	" 3 ... " 88	" 58

Fig. 15	No. 1 ... Pl. 92	No. 10	No. 5 ... Pl. 92	No. 17
	" 2 ... " 92	" 8	" 6 ... " 92	" 18
	" 3 ... " 92	" 16	" 7 ... " 92	" 19
	" 4 ... " 92	" 14	" 8 ... " 92	" 20

Fig. 16	No. 1 ... Pl. 94	No. 1	No. 11 ... Pl. 94	No. 27	No. 21 ... Pl. 94	No. 53
	" 2 ... " 94	" 2	" 12 ... " 94	" 28	" 22 ... " 94	" 54
	" 3 ... " 94	" 16	" 13 ... " 94	" 29	" 23 ... " 94	" 49
	" 4 ... " 94	" 17	" 14 ... " 94	" 19	" 24 ... " 94	" 50
	" 5 ... " 93	" 37	" 15 ... " 94	" 20	" 25 ... " 94	" 51
	" 6 ... " 93	" 46	" 16 ... " 94	" 37	" 26 ... " 94	" 36
	" 7 ... " 93	" 32	" 17 ... " 94	" 44	" 27 ... " 94	" 32
	" 8 ... " 94	" 7	" 18 ... " 94	" 45	" 28 ... " 94	" 33
	" 9 ... " 94	" 8	" 19 ... " 94	" 11	" 29 ... " 94	" 34
	" 10 ... " 94	" 30	" 20 ... " 94	" 15	" 30 ... " 94	" 35

Fig. 17	No. 1 ... Pl. 93	No. 4	No. 8 ... Pl. 93	No. 15
	" 2 ... " 93	" 1	" 9 ... " 93	" 16
	" 3 ... " 93	" 2	" 10 ... " 93	" 17
	" 4 ... " 93	" 3	" 11 ... " 93	" 18
	" 5 ... " 93	" 5	" 12 ... " 93	" 19
	" 6 ... " 93	" 6	" 13 ... " 93	" 20
	" 7 ... " 93	" 7		

Fig. 18	No. 1 ... Pl. 89	No. 38
	" 2 ... " 89	" 39
	" 3 ... " 89	" 40
	" 4 ... " 89	" 35
	" 5 ... " 89	" 36

Fig. 19	No. 1 ... Pl. 98	No. 1	No. 6 ... Pl. 98	No. 3
	" 2 ... " 98	" 2	" 7 ... " 98	" 4
	" 3 ... " 98	" 5	" 8 ... " 98	" 10
	" 4 ... " 98	" 7	" 9 ... " 98	" 9
	" 5 ... " 98	" 6	" 10 ... " 98	" 8

Fig. 20 Nos. 1—5 ... Pl. 95 Nos. 1—5

Fig. 21 Nos. 1—3 ... Pl. 92 Nos. 27, 28, 29

Fig. 22	No. 1 ... Pl. 92	No. 1
	" 2 ... " 92	" 2
	" 3 ... B. M. C. (Pelop.) p. 76, no. 160; pl. XVI, no. 6	
	" 4 ... Pl. 92	No. 3
	" 5 ... " 92	" 4
	" 6 ... " 92	" 5
	" 7 ... " 92	" 6
	" 8 ... " 92	" 7

Plate VI	No. 1 ... Pl. 98	No. 19	No. 9 ... Pl. 98	No. 28	No. 17 ... Pl. 98	No. 36
	" 2 ... " 98	" 20	" 10 ... " 98	" 29	" 18 ... " 98	" 37
	" 3 ... " 98	" 22	" 11 ... " 98	" 30	" 19 ... " 98	" 38
	" 4 ... " 98	" 23	" 12 ... " 98	" 31	" 20 ... " 98	" 39
	" 5 ... " 98	" 24	" 13 ... " 98	" 32	" 21 ... " 98	" 40
	" 6 ... " 98	" 25	" 14 ... " 98	" 33	" 22 ... " 98	" 41
	" 7 ... " 98	" 26	" 15 ... " 98	" 31	" 23 ... " 98	" 42
	" 8 ... " 98	" 27	" 16 ... " 98	" 35	" 24 ... " 98	" 43

Fig. 24	No. 1 ... Pl. 87	No. 26
	" 2 ... " 83	" 25
	" 3 ... " 86	" 24
	" 4 ... " 96	" 9

Fig. 25	No. 1 ... Pl. 88	No. 60
	" 2 ... " 89	" 29
	" 3 ... " 89	" 15

Plate VII	No. 1 ... Pl. 82	No. 11	No. 13 ... Pl. 89	No. 31	No. 25 ... Pl. 90	No. 21
	" 2 ... " 87	" 9	" 14 ... " 87	" 23	" 26 ... " 90	" 26
	" 3 ... " 83	" 36	" 15 ... " 83	" 24	" 27 ... " 86	" 13
	" 4 ... " 88	" 4	" 16 ... " 83	" 26	" 28 ... " 83	" 14
	" 5 ... " 88	" 3	" 17 ... " 81	" 39	" 29 ... " 83	" 38
	" 6 ... " 88	" 5	" 18 ... " 84	" 40	" 30 ... " 86	" 14
	" 7 ... " 84	" 41	" 19 ... " 82	" 21	" 31 ... " 87	" 24
	" 8 ... " 84	" 42	" 20 ... " 99	" 33	" 32 ... " 87	" 25
	" 9 ... " 88	" 2	" 21 ... " 82	" 22	" 33 ... " 87	" 36
	" 10 ... " 88	" 1	" 22 ... " 87	" 11	" 34 ... " 87	" 37
	" 11 ... " 88	" 21	" 23 ... " 86	" 42	" 35 ... " 87	" 3
	" 12 ... " 89	" 33	" 24 ... " 83	" 39		

Fig. 26	No. 1 ... Pl. 88	No. 59	No. 10 ... Pl. 91	No. 41
	" 2 ... " 91	" 33	" 11 ... " 91	" 45
	" 3 ... " 91	" 34	" 12 ... " 91	" 42
	" 4 ... " 91	" 35	" 13 ... " 91	" 39
	" 5 ... " 91	" 36	" 14 ... " 91	" 40
	" 6 ... " 91	" 37	" 15 ... " 91	" 4
	" 7 ... " 91	" 38	" 16 ... " 91	" 23
	" 8 ... " 91	" 43	" 17 ... " 91	" 31
	" 9 ... " 91	" 44		

Fig. 27	No. 1 ... Pl. 90	No. 9	No. 7 ... Pl. 90	No. 14
	" 2 ... " 90	" 10	" 8 ... " 90	" 23
	" 3 ... " 90	" 11	" 9 ... " 90	" 16
	" 4 ... " 90	" 12	" 10 ... " 90	" 25
	" 5 ... " 90	" 8	" 11 ... " 90	" 6
	" 6 ... " 90	" 13		

Fig. 28	Nos. 1-3 ... Pl. 98	Nos. 44, 45, 46
---------	---------------------	-----------------

Plate VIII	No. 1 ... Pl. 82	No. 12	No. 13 ... Pl. 82	No. 23	No. 25 ... Pl. 86	No. 20
	" 2 ... " 82	" 25	" 14 ... " 82	" 39	" 26 ... " 86	" 8
	" 3 ... " 83	" 7	" 15 ... " 82	" 16	" 27 ... " 86	" 12
	" 4 ... " 83	" 6	" 16 ... " 82	" 41	" 28 ... " 86	" 16
	" 5 ... " 82	" 13	" 17 ... " 82	" 40	" 29 ... " 86	" 15
	" 6 ... " 82	" 27	" 18 ... " 86	" 22	" 30 ... " 86	" 6
	" 7 ... " 83	" 5	" 19 ... " 86	" 19	" 31 ... " 86	" 7
	" 8 ... " 82	" 10	" 20 ... " 86	" 9	" 32 ... " 86	" 18
	" 9 ... " 82	" 17	" 21 ... " 86	" 21	" 33 ... " 86	" 17
	" 10 ... " 82	" 19	" 22 ... " 86	" 11	" 34 ... " 86	" 29
	" 11 ... " 82	" 18	" 23 ... " 86	" 10	" 35 ... " 86	" 5
	" 12 ... " 82	" 42	" 24 ... " 86	" 28		

Fig. 29 Nos. 1—2 ... Pl. 90 Nos. 2 and 5

Fig. 30 No. 1 ... Pl. 87 No. 30
 „ 2 ... „ 87 „ 34
 „ 3 ... „ 83 „ 13

Fig. 31 No. 1 ... Pl. 82 No. 20
 „ 2 ... „ 82 „ 26
 „ 3 ... *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI (1931), Pick, *Die „Promachos“ des Pheidias und die Kerameikos-Lampen*,
 pp. 73–74; pl. I, no. 6.

Plate IX	No. 1 ... Pl. 87	No. 29	No. 13 ... Pl. 82	No. 6	No. 25 ... Pl. 87	No. 5
	„ 2 ... „ 87	„ 6	„ 14 ... „ 82	„ 38	„ 26 ... „ 82	„ 37
	„ 3 ... „ 85	„ 22	„ 15 ... „ 87	„ 1	„ 27 ... „ 82	„ 8
	„ 4 ... „ 85	„ 26	„ 16 ... „ 87	„ 2	„ 28 ... „ 82	„ 9
	„ 5 ... „ 86	„ 27	„ 17 ... „ 82	„ 36	„ 29 ... „ 82	„ 11
	„ 6 ... „ 86	„ 36	„ 18 ... „ 82	„ 5	„ 30 ... „ 82	„ 7
	„ 7 ... „ 83	„ 3	„ 19 ... „ 86	„ 39	„ 31 ... „ 84	„ 37
	„ 8 ... „ 88	„ 17	„ 20 ... „ 91	„ 30	„ 32 ... „ 84	„ 38
	„ 9 ... „ 93	„ 24	„ 21 ... „ 87	„ 27	„ 33 ... „ 93	„ 18
	„ 10 ... „ 93	„ 25	„ 22 ... „ 85	„ 27	„ 34 ... „ 85	„ 40
	„ 11 ... „ 99	„ 36	„ 23 ... „ 91	„ 3	„ 35 ... „ 83	„ 18
	„ 12 ... „ 83	„ 4	„ 24 ... „ 87	„ 4		

JOSEPHINE P. SHEAR

VASES AND KALOS-NAMES FROM AN AGORA WELL

A collection of graffiti on vases, found in a well in the Agora during the 1935 campaign,¹ has provided a fresh grouping of Attic kalos-inscriptions, and has added new names to the list. Our brief inspection of this material falls into three parts: we must consider the few figured pieces found in the well, the inscriptions as such, and the shapes of the vases, plain black-glazed and unglazed, on and in connection with which the inscriptions appear.

The black-glazed table wares and substantial household furnishings with which the well was filled had only three figured companions. Of these the most interesting is illustrated in Figure 1.

Preserved is more than half of one side of a double-disk, or bobbin.² On it, Helios rising in his chariot drawn by winged white horses, is about to crest the sun-tipped waves. This theme, familiar from black-figured lekythoi, here finds its most elaborate expression. Our composition refines upon the solidity and power of the Brygos painter's Selene,³ to which it is most nearly related. The delicately curving wings of the horses, echoing the rim-circle, provide a second frame for the figure of the god. Beneath the horses, all is tumult. Wave upon wave seems ready to engulf so dainty a team. But above, remote from confusions, stands the charioteer, confident and serene, his divine nature indicated by the great disk of the sun lightly poised upon his head.

The contest between natural forces and the divine is a well-loved theme of Greek art; but it is rare to find, as here, an element and not its personification, represented. For the composition, our artist has to thank his predecessors, but by his emphasis on the turbulent waves he has added a dramatic content to the picture, which earlier representations of the rising sun-god altogether lack.

¹ *Hesperia*, V (1936), p. 36. This well was discovered some distance beneath the flooring of the large Stoa which occupies the northwest corner of the Agora Excavations. Its relation to its surroundings will be discussed by Dr. H. A. Thompson in his forthcoming publication of the buildings along the west side of the Agora [*Hesperia*, V (1936), no. 4]. The filling of the well was homogeneous, fragments from above joining to those from lower down.

² Inv. P 5113; diam. of disk 0.113 m. Streaky glaze on the back; the full thickness of the hub, about 0.007 m., is preserved; cf. *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XXIII, 1928, pp. 303–306.

This piece seems hardly to belong in a series of vases for household use. It is moreover fragmentary, and, by comparison with the other contents of our well, badly battered. Since the well-diggers cut through the level of burning left by the Persian sack of 480–479 B.C., the disk here described may have fallen into the well from this burned stratum, and may thus have come originally from the same deposit as the two cups found at that same level a few paces away, in 1931 [*Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 217 ff.]. In this case, all three pieces may have been dedicated in a small sanctuary, traces of which have survived both the Persian destruction, and the erection of the Stoa above them.

³ Berlin 2293; J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*, Tübingen, 1925 [*Att. V.*], p. 176, 6; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, pp. 257–258; pl. 160.

The style is that of a painter who came to maturity during the great days of ripe archaic painting. His ideal is a lacy magnificence, here perfectly achieved. Set beside the simplicity and economy of the white cup found in the Agora in 1931 (p. 336, note 6,



Fig. 1. Agora P 5113

below) such elaboration seems labored and old-fashioned. This contrast of personalities, the one looking back to the archaic manner, the other forward to the classical style, is further emphasized by the fact that technically the two pieces have much in common. The black brush outlines are similar, and the treatment of details, whether in purple, as

the charioteer's cloak, or in dilute glaze, used for wings and waves, bears close comparison. But the painter of the disk, for all his conservative outlook, betrays in various ways, such as his use of the transitional profile eye, the fact that he worked at a date at least as late as that of the painter of the cup. We cannot go far astray in assigning this new piece to one of the immediate followers of the Brygos painter, active at about 480.

If we are to gain an idea of the full splendor of the painter's plan we must, in the mind's eye, attempt a restoration of his disk. The upper part, above the sun-god's head, has suffered severely from an iron stain which obscures the outline of the sun-disk, and its rays. Below, the broad curving bands which outline the waves in added relief have for the most part lost their surface. Where a surface is in part preserved, as on the two bands at the furthest right, it shows a dull pinkish brown color, identical with the

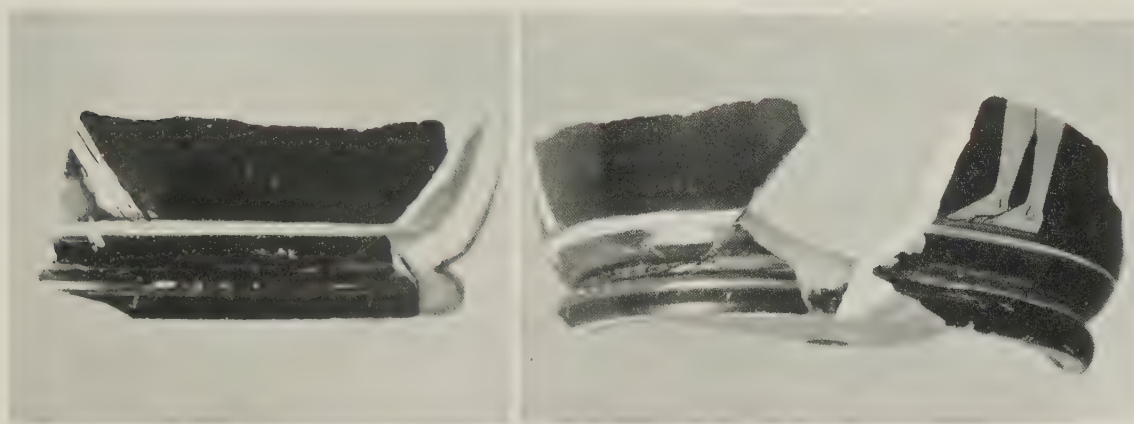


Fig. 2. Agora P 5115 (Actual Size)

surface to be seen on other white-ground vases where gold applied over details in added relief has flaked away from its sizing. There is no speck or scrap of gold remaining on our disk, and it may be thought that the artist intended nothing of the sort, whether for the sun's rays, which show the same pinkish brown surface, or for the waves upon which they strike. But where the painter has so carefully shaded the unembossed portions of the waves in a thin golden glaze wash,¹ it would seem surprising if he had left their crests in a dull and characterless brown, a treatment for which, moreover, we should be at a loss to find comparisons. We must at all events endeavor to correct the impression, derived from the photograph, that the crests of the waves were white. They show white only where the surface has been rubbed away, exposing the heavy slip used to provide relief. There seems no reason why we should deny our painter his vision of the sun's full glory.

¹ For the use of dilute glaze to indicate water, compare a lekythos showing Helios in his chariot, in the National Museum, Athens, *J.H.S.*, XIX (1899), pp. 265–269, and pl. IX.

Our other figured pieces are of a much simpler sort. One of them is a fragment¹ showing the feet of two youths (Fig. 2) in a palaestra scene. The style suggests the Telephos painter;² the date should be in the decade 480–470. The small neck amphora³ of Figure 3 is distinguished chiefly by its rather odd lip, a plain affair more suggestive of pelikai than of neck-amphorae. The painter apparently cared as little for niceties of style as the potter. His decoration, a fleeing woman on either side, is typical of the coarse work of about 470, and reflects the final decay of the archaic tradition.



Fig. 3. Agora P 5114

Among the plain black-glazed vases, we may give precedence to a group of kylikes with straight offset lip, the shape most characteristic of our well. The four varieties in which this cup was found are shown in Figure 4.⁴ The crisp metallic product at the lower right is here an isolated occurrence; the other three versions are distinguished simply by variations in the thickness of the stem, the swing of the handles, and the presence or absence of a moulded ring at the stem's top. This shape, which has been assigned to the years between 480 and 450,⁵ is common enough in plain black glaze, but rarer in figured pieces. It traces its descent from the lip-cups of the sixth century; and should be clearly distinguished from the ordinary concave-lipped cup of archaic times. An immediate predecessor, the Agora white-ground cup, is shown in Figure 5.⁶ Decorated analogies for the simplest

¹ Inv. P 5115: H. preserved, 0.032 m.; diam. of base, 0.08 m. Ring foot; shiny black glaze inside. Relief contours. Probably from a skyphos of Type B, with one vertical and one horizontal handle, the not very common squat version with bulging lower wall exemplified by a skyphos in Paris: A. de Ridder, *Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, no. 845 (Phot. in German Institute, Athens). Among the uninventoried fragments from our well is a vertical handle which may belong.

² *Att. V.*, pp. 225–227.

³ Inv. P 5114: H. preserved, 0.206 m.; diam. 0.167 m. The foot is wholly restored in plaster. No relief contours; dull and mottled glaze. On either side a running female figure, she on B (lower part only preserved) wearing chiton without himation. For the style and date compare a rhyton in Würzburg: E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich, 1932, pl. 203, no. 628.

⁴ Inv. P 5116, 5126, 5132 and 5131: H. 0.073–0.083 m.; diam. 0.133–0.14 m. Seven other examples, more or less complete, were found, and a large number of fragments from cups of the same sorts. Plaster restorations on these and the other vases illustrated can be seen in the photographs. Of the cups, the standard variety, in respect both to shape and glaze, is that of P 5126. The ordinary foot is that seen from beneath in Figure 16 (P 5128); P 5131 has a foot flat and reserved beneath.

⁵ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* [C.V.A.], Oxford, 1, pl. 48, 8; additional references in C.V.A., University of Michigan, text to pl. 18, 22; C.V.A., Sèvres, III L, pl. 23, 2.

⁶ *Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 225 and 229; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), p. 482, no. 13; H. Philippart, "Les Coupes Attiques à Fond Blanc," *L'Antiquité Classique*, V (1936), pl. 6. The Agora possesses a second cup of this



Fig. 4. Four Black-glazed Kylikes



Fig. 5. Agora P 43 (Scale *ca.* 1:2)

shapes of our Figure 4 occur among the vases of the two decades immediately following the Persian sack of 480/79; one such, shown in Figure 6, we may assign to the painter

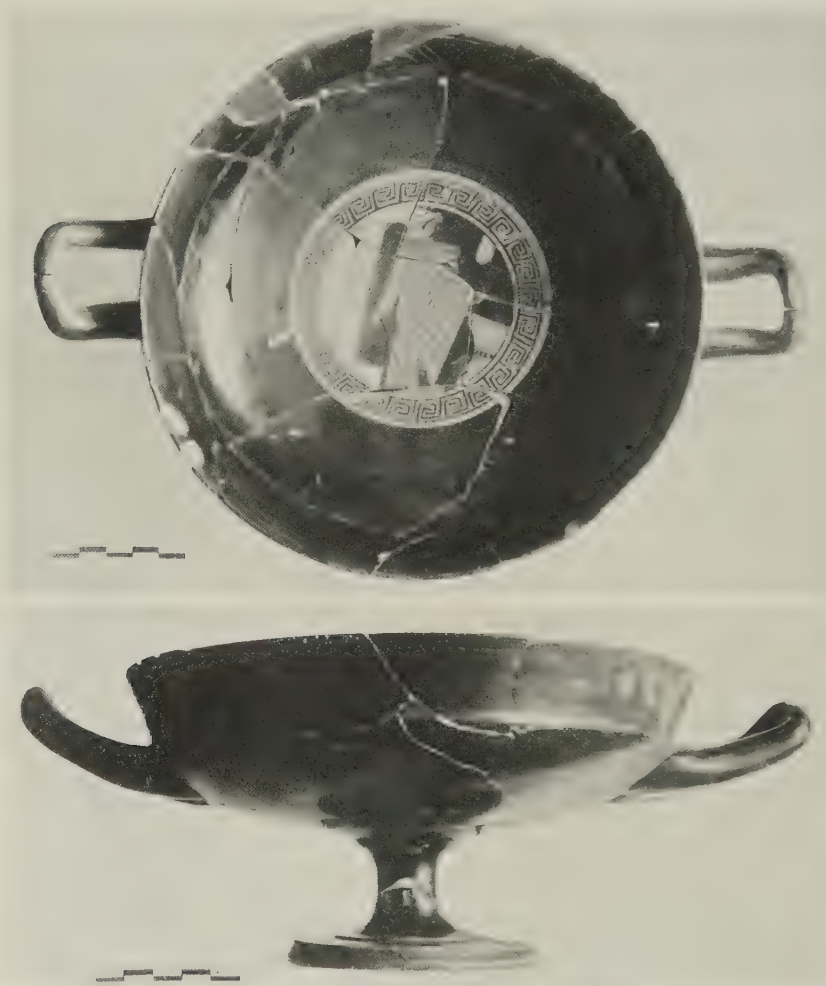


Fig. 6. Red-figured Kylix

distinctive shape, plain black, (Inv. P 2747) from a pre-Persian context. Compare also a cup with red-figured interior, to be seen in Berlin, F 4042: Inside a bull, left. The foot a thin torus.

Many representations on vases indicate the popularity of the straight-lipped cup; but it seems uncertain to what extent such representations may be accounted reliable for any detailed study of the shape: on a kylix attributed to Makron (Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie 320: *Att. V.*, p. 216, 78; K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten*, Vienna, 1892, p. 40) one of the participants in the drinking party shown on the exterior holds a cup with offset lip. On the one side, the lip shows a markedly concave profile; on the other, it is perfectly straight. Again, the Colmar painter, on a cup of about 480 (Louvre G 135: *Att. V.*, p. 228, 15; E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1922, pl. 113) represents a cup of the straight-lipped sort; but it is a cup remarkably tall of stem and shallow of bowl, to be compared with our P 5131 (Fig. 4). Possibly the appearance of this variety may be set earlier than is suggested below.

of the Yale Cup.¹ The same form, in plain black, has been found in late archaic contexts in the graves from the North Cemetery in Corinth.² The somewhat more elaborate version seen at the lower left in our illustration finds a good parallel in a figured cup of about 470.³ For our most complicated piece a silver cup, found in South Russia,⁴ provides comparison; the engraved decoration of its interior, a seated Nike, suggests the red-figure of the decade 470–460. Most of our cups may have been in use throughout a good part of the second quarter of the century, but this shallow-bowled metallic version is probably, typologically, the latest of the series.

The progress of our cup-shape, from a stout deep-bodied type to a shallower and lighter form, seen in Figure 4, is emphasized when we seek out comparisons from later



Fig. 7. Stemless Cups from two Agora Wells

contexts. Of the two stemless cups shown in Figure 7, that to the left⁵ comes from the group we are here considering; that to the right⁶ from a later Agora well, filled up in the succeeding quarter of the century.

¹ Athens, in private possession: H. 0.102 m.; diam. 0.208 m. Relief contours; a heavy milto-wash on the reserved parts of the foot, and in the handle-spaces; largely worn off the interior. With the medallion, compare the name-piece in New Haven: Yale 165: *Att. V.*, p. 271, 1; P.V.C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, Yale, 1922, p. 109, fig. 37. Elsewhere, also, this painter sometimes uses the straight-lipped shape here illustrated; cf. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 216: *Att. V.*, p. 272, 17.

² Especially useful is Grave no. 66, with a lekythos by the painter of the Bowdoin box. Compare also Graves 383 and 395. I am indebted to Professor and Mrs. Shear for the opportunity of examining photographs of these unpublished grave groups.

³ W. Kraiker, *Die rotfigurigen attischen Vasen*, Berlin, 1931, no. 128, pp. 36, 37, and pl. 22.

⁴ *Compte Rendu* pour l'année 1881, Saint-Petersbourg, 1883, pl. I, 1, 2. This cup has the shallow body, and the ring at the top of the stem, of our P 5131, and although it has the concave, not the straight lip, and the handles are far more widely and more sharply swung than the potter's craft reasonably permits, the general character and proportions well indicate its closeness to our series.

⁵ Inv. P 5137; H. 0.05 m.; diam., as restored, 0.12 m. Graffito beneath, inside the ring foot. See below, p. 352, note 4. Two others similar, one of them with a flat base instead of a ring foot, have been inventoried from this well.

⁶ Inv. P 2290; *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 507, no. 34. The stemmed shape, which corresponds with the stemless cups of this sort, appears in two examples in Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*,

Useful comparisons for other familiar shapes may also be drawn from among the vases on the Agora shelves. The six skyphoi shown in Figure 8 come from three separate deposits, the two to the left¹ from a group to be dated before 480; those in the centre² from our present well; and those to the right³ from the same deposit as the stemless cup cited above. The development of the skyphoi of "Corinthian" type, seen in the upper row, is sufficiently clear. We may note the slight downward progress of the level



Fig. 8. Skyphoi from three Agora Wells

Berlin, 1885, nos. 2765 and 2766), decorated with careful stamped ornament. Providence, *C.V.A.*, pl. 27, 6 is another, but undecorated; the very widely swung handles here closely imitate metal.

¹ Inv. P 1325: H. 0.108 m.; max. diam. 0.15 m. Inv. P 2732: H. 0.093 m.; diam. 0.116 m. These two vases, and also the cup Inv. P 2747, p. 336, note 6, above, come from the "Rectangular Rockcut Shaft" discovered in 1932, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI (1932), p. 392. For the inclusion of this material here I am indebted to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, who will publish the find as a whole.

² Inv. P 5141: H. 0.098 m.; max. diam. 0.126 m. Inv. P 5145: H. 0.128 m.; diam. 0.153 m. One other, of the first-named, Corinthian type, was found fairly complete; and fragments of several more. Of the Attic type, only the example illustrated has been inventoried.

³ Inv. P 2299: *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 505, no. 23; Inv. P 2297: *ibid.*, no. 21.

of greatest circumference, which in the sixth century had been the rim itself, and the gradual drawing in of walls at top and bottom. Changes in the heavier Attic type are relatively elusive, but the example from our well serves to indicate the transition from the simple single curve of the earlier piece to the perceptible double curve of the later.

Figure 9 shows various plain black-glazed vases¹ all from our present well. The stemmed bowl is a stouter and simpler shape than that of related pieces which sometimes carry figured decoration, and which have been assigned to the decade 470-460.² It may be



Fig. 9. Black-glazed Vases

¹ From left to right, above: Inv. P 5147, H. 0.043 m.; diam., as restored, 0.10 m.; base and profile complete; walls largely restored. P 5134, H. 0.073 m.; diam. 0.177 m. P 5151, H. pres. 0.08 m.; diam. 0.041 m.; two rows of short strokes on the reserved shoulder. Below: P 5148, H. 0.034 m.; diam. 0.057 m. P 5150, H. pres. 0.065 m. P 5152, H. 0.062 m.; diam. as restored 0.08 m. P 5149, H. 0.036 m.; diam. 0.073 m. Inventoried, but not illustrated, is a fragmentary askos, similar to P 5152, but much larger (P 5153: diam. of base, 0.118); also a fragment of a large black-glazed plate with flaring rim and plain ring foot, the rim and floor ornamented with reserved bands (P 5146: diam. est. ca. 0.33 m.).

² *C. V. A.*, Oxford, I, pls. 3, 8 and 47, 1. Our example has the plain cup lip. Cf. G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, IV, Rhodes, 1931, p. 65, fig. 40; p. 112, fig. 101; also *C. V. A.*, Sèvres, III L, pl. 23, 4. *C. V. A.*, Compiègne (IV Eb: called Campanian), pl. 24, 23, appears from the illustrations to be a stemmed bowl with the offset lip of our cup-series, Figure 4.

one of the earlier pieces of our group. The plain bowl is of interest because of its rarity in the fifth century.¹ The fragmentary squat jug differs little from figured examples of about 480.² The small black lekythos, ornamented with two red lines, may likewise be set in the vicinity of 480.³ Of the two "salt cellars," that shown to the left below is particularly neatly made; the flat top of its wall, reserved above, suggests that it may have had a lid.⁴ Both it and its fellow, shown to the right below, appear to preserve, in the scraped groove above the base, a reminiscence of the thickening at the top and bottom of the wall characteristic of earlier examples; there is no trace as yet of the flaring rim of later types.

Fashion seems a clumsy explanation for these orderly changes: there is no reason, comprehensible to us, why the potter of one generation, or decade, should have differentiated his product thus subtly from that of his predecessor. It may be argued, indeed, that the differences which we enumerate are without chronological significance. But as each successive deposit emerges from Agora cistern, grave or well, it brings its shelf-full of consistent evidence to a defence of the minutiae of shape-history.

Samples of the household pottery appear in Figure 10.⁵ Commonest is the deep krater,⁶ covered inside and on the rim with a glaze wash, and ornamented with bands around the unglazed exterior. The two varieties illustrated, the one larger, with uptilted handles, the other smaller, with straight handles, provided a very large proportion of the pottery fragments with which our well was packed. Variants appear: we note the bowl with ribbon handles and exterior flange for a lid, and also a fragment from a krater apparently like the ordinary smaller variety, but with a simple thickening at the top of the wall, instead of a rim, and with the stub of a handle springing from a point

¹ An Agora example (P 7890) from a context of the first years of the fifth century is considerably shallower and broader in proportion to its height than the example shown here, and almost entirely without in-curve at the rim. Cf. also Jacopi, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fig. 81.

² L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings*, Boston, 1931, pl. 8, no. 20; by the Brygos Painter, *Att. V.*, p. 182, 87.

³ I am indebted for this information to Miss Emilie Haspels who in her forthcoming *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* will compare such pieces with similar but more carefully made examples from the workshop of the Sappho and Diosphos painters.

⁴ A small pyxis (P 7299) similar in size and shape to this "salt-cellar" but flanged outside for a lid, comes from a context of the second half of the century.

⁵ From left to right, above: Inv. P 5139, H. 0.042 m.; diam. 0.13 m. P 5185, H. 0.105 m.; diam. 0.13 m. P 5186, H. 0.065 m.; diam. 0.15 m. P 5159, H. 0.11 m.; diam. est. ca. 0.225 m. P 5154, H. to top of handle, as restored, 0.22 m.; diam. as restored, ca. 0.18 m. P 5156, H. 0.112 m.; diam. 0.325 m. P 5155, H. 0.16 m.; diam. 0.259 m.

Below: P 5163, H. 0.265 m.; diam. 0.372 m. P 5173, H. 0.379 m.; diam., as restored, 0.291 m. P 5184, H. 0.26 m.; diam. 0.365 m. P 5160, H. 0.259 m.; diam. 0.372 m.; cf. Figs. 17 and 18.

Not illustrated is a household mortar (P 5187: H. 0.042 m.; diam. 0.13 m.), its inner surface roughened for grinding; here, as is the case with similar objects from later contexts, it is made of a coarse greenish-buff fabric, probably imported.

⁶ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 512, fig. 25, no. 94, shows the krater illustrated here at the lower right in relation to similar pots of different periods.

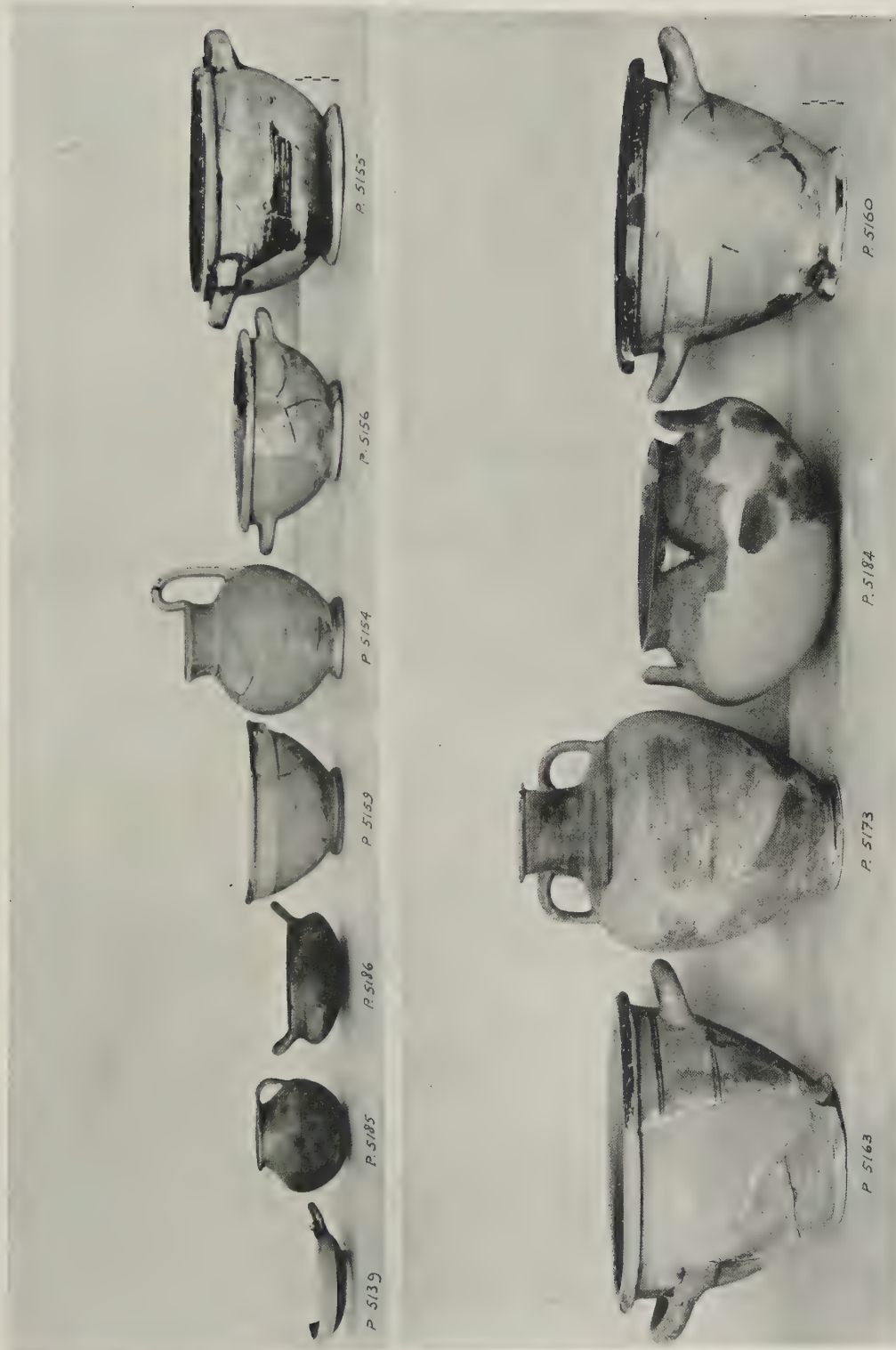


Fig. 10. Kitchen and Household Wares

directly beneath this thickening. The one-handed cup needs no introduction; the well-made partly glazed oinochoe¹ and amphora² are not too remote from figured parallels.

The thin-walled cooking pots, made of a greyish brown highly micaceous fabric, complete a practical kitchen equipment; but even in the ample days of empire-building one may reasonably enquire what household could be so vast, or so lavish, as to demand the great spouted cauldron, which dwarfs all other cooking vessels the Agora has thus far produced. The deep basin—bath-tub, laundry-tub, or krater—shown in Figure 11³ is indeed only once again as large. It provides a particularly interesting addition to our knowledge of ancient household arrangements: long familiar from representations on vases, it now



Fig. 11. Basin

³ Inv. P 5189, H. 0.565 m.; diam. at rim, 0.78 m. Small flat bottom; two lug handles beneath a flat projecting rim. Coarse light buff clay, extremely heavy fabric.

⁴ Inv. P 5174, H. 0.565 m.; diam. 0.391 m.; graffito on shoulder, **AMA**. P 5175, H. 0.57 m.; diam. 0.391 m.; graffito on shoulder, **XAR**. Figured examples elaborating on this shape occur at least from the time of the Kleophrades-Maler to that of the Achilles painter: Munich 2344: J. D. Beazley, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, Berlin, 1933, no. 5, pl. 3; and Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 357: *Att. V.*, p. 371, 2; *Monuments Piot*, VII (1900), pls. 2, 3 (this with a plain lip similar to that of our small amphora, Figure 10, and with twisted handles). Representations of our wine-jars in use cover an even longer period: compare for instance the boy on a column krater in New York (M. M. 21.88.82: J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928, *V. Pol.*, pl. 7, 2) who carries just such a jar in one hand, and in the other a straight-lipped drinking cup; fifty years and more later the silen pouring wine into a krater, on the Lycaon painter's bell-krater in Goluchow (*V. Pol.*, pl. 24) holds a very similar amphora. The fabric of our wine-jars is a fine red to brown clay, not certainly Attic. It seems reasonable to assume that wine made in Attica might have been brought to Athens in skins or tuns; a bottled vintage suggests importation. But jars such as ours could well have been bought for storage, and filled and refilled by the owners. It should moreover be noted that neither in shape nor in fabric do the wine-jars illustrated here link on directly to the series of imported amphorae with stamped handles which begin to appear in Athens in the third quarter of the century: *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 202, fig. 1 and pp. 303–4, nos. 1–2.

appears in its own right. No less recognizable are the wine-amphorae⁴ (Fig. 12), the plump short-necked variety apparently in use in Athens throughout the first half of the fifth century. And finally we must include a trough-like object (Fig. 13)

¹ The shape approaches that of Beazley's Type IV; the body of our jug is plumper and less tapering than the shape used by the Chicago painter, Caskey, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, nos. 40–43; *Att. V.*, p. 355, 1–4.

² If we were to add to our vase the ornamental elements of broad profiled lip and foot, we should have a pot in shape very close to a plump neck amphora in London, attributed to the Alkimachos painter (B.M. 283: *Att. V.*, p. 297, 18 bis; *C.V.A.*, British Museum, III I c, pl. 17, 2).



Fig. 12. Wine Amphorae

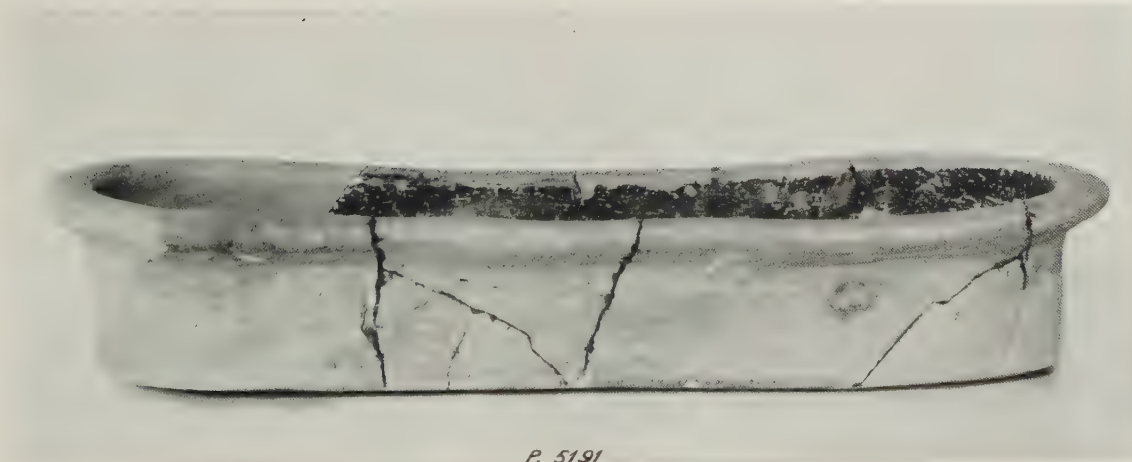


Fig. 13. Larnax

of the sort usually described as a larnax, a coffin for a small child,¹ but perhaps originally intended for a domestic use.

We may now take leave of the vases themselves, and turn rather to the inscriptions which appear on them. None of the figured pieces is inscribed; the graffiti, of which no less than forty-two occur, appear either on plain black-glazed pieces, or on kitchen and household wares. In some cases there is more than one inscription on a single vase. These inscriptions are of very varying sorts, ranging from a few letters roughly scratched to elaborate statements of praise or blame. One is an ostrakon,² scratched

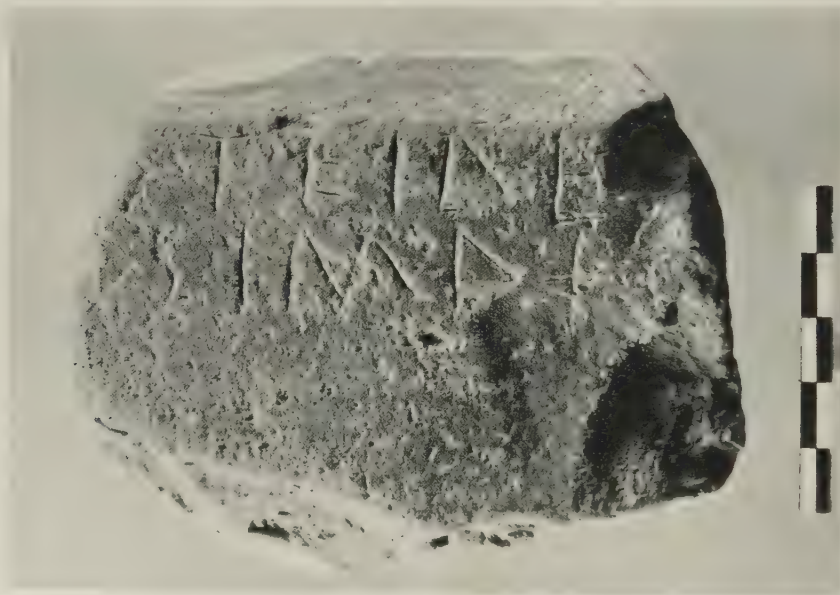


Fig. 14. Ostrakon of Aristеides. P 5190

on a fragment of roofing tile (Fig. 14). The name of Aristеides which it bears assigns it to the ostrakophoria of 483, and thus provides a formal terminus *post quem* for the filling up of our well. Another inscription, on which appears the name of Sosias, has been published by Professor Shear.³ For completeness' sake, a photograph is included here (Fig. 15). The inscriptions including other names are listed below.

¹ Inv. P 5191, H. 0.14 m.; W. 0.312 m.; L. 0.78 m. Brown glaze, inside only. Many similar examples have been found in the Athenian Kerameikos, used for children's burials of the sixth and fifth centuries; *Arch. Jahrb.*, XLVII (1932), *Beiblatt*, p. 203, fig. 10. It has been suggested to me that these objects, whose fabric, and interior glazing, are very close to that of many a household pot, were made originally as kneading troughs. This explanation of the origin of the shape would entitle it to a place among our kitchen wares.

² P 5190: max. diam. 0.107 m. The inscription is on the concave side of the tile, which alone is covered with a red glaze.

³ *Hesperia*, V (1936), p. 36, fig. 36. The shape of the vase on the base of which this inscription appears is that of the small semi-glazed krater with straight handles, shown here in Figure 10.



Fig. 15. Agora P 5157 (Slightly reduced)

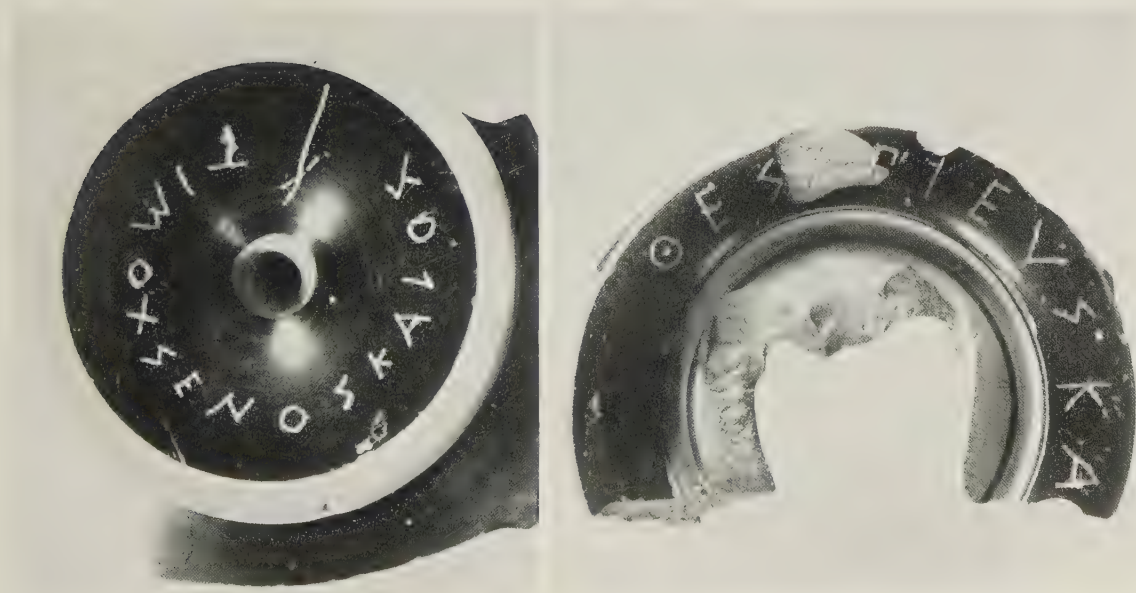


Fig. 16. Kalos-inscriptions 1 and 2 (Actual Size)

1. (P 5128) *Τιμόξενος καλός* (Fig. 16)

Neatly scratched on the underside of a black-glazed kylix base, the shape as in Figure 4. See below, 6.

2. (P 5144) *Θεσπιεύς καλός* (Fig. 16)

Very carefully inscribed on the underside of the foot of a skyphos of Corinthian type, as in Figure 8. Whether we have here to do with a name, or rather with "the boy from Thespieae," is uncertain.

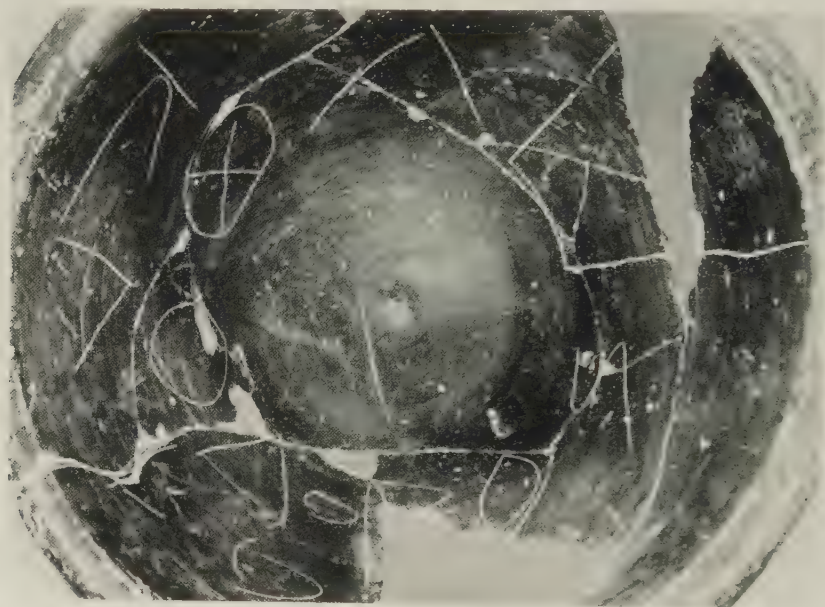


Fig. 17. Kalos-inscription 3, *a* (Scale *ca.* 1:4)

3. (P 5160) *a* *Πυθώδορος καλός* (Fig. 17)
b *Ἀλ(λ)καῖος καλός τὸ δοκεῖ Μέλιντι* (Fig. 18)
c *Μεθερε*

Inscribed on a partly glazed krater (Fig. 10, at lower right): *a*) on the inside in large letters with the tops down, *b*) on the underside, and *c*) on the outside in large letters with tops down.

Pythodoros, though a common fifth century name, has not hitherto appeared as kalos. The archon of 432/1 (*I.G.*, I², p. 286) may possibly be here celebrated as a boy. *Πυθώδορον εἴμι* occurs on the foot of a black-glazed kylix found on the Acropolis (B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen aus der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1933, II, 1506).

Alkaïos is praised on an amphora attributed to the Achilles painter (Berlin 2332: *Att. V.*, p. 372, 13, reverse in *J.H.S.*, XXXIV (1914), p. 185, fig. 5 n; W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 158). Not a common name, it is borne by an archon of 422/1 (*I.G.*, I², 311), and it appears also on a sepulchral monument of the late fifth century (*I.G.*, I², 955). For the phrasing of our inscription compare "*Ἰππεος καλός Ἀριστομέδει δοκεῖ*" (*C.I.G.*, 541, scratched in the unbaked clay of a tile; D. M. Robinson, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXV [1934], p. 135); also, on a red-figured alabastron in the British Museum, *Ἀφροδισία καλὴ τῶς(?) δοκεῖ*

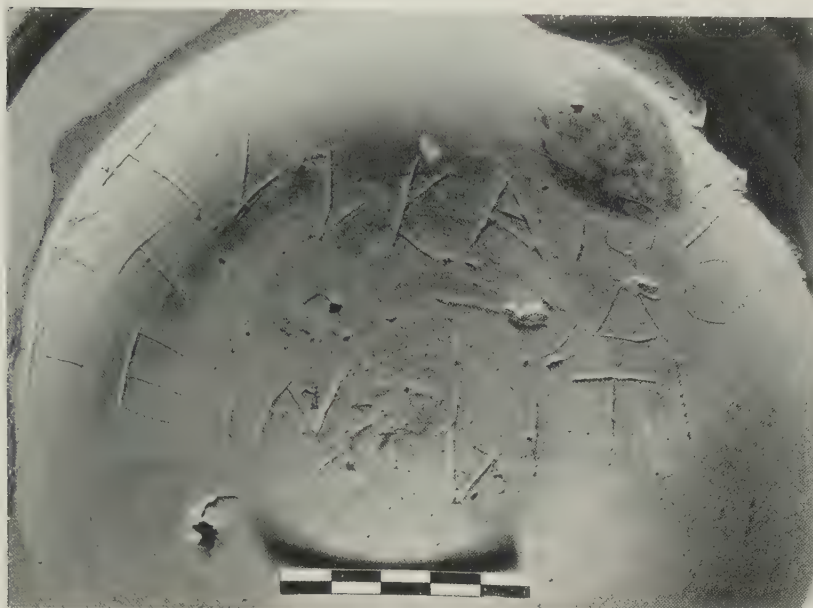


Fig. 18. Kalos-inscription 3, *b*



Fig. 19. Inscription 4

Εὐχέλρω (B.M. E 718; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, p. 278); and *καλὴ δοκεῖς* (P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, Gütersloh, 1894, p. 109, 90). *Melis* is hardly a name; it may well be a term of endearment.

Methere is likewise no name; it is probably some reference to the effects of the contents of the pot, but what the form may be is uncertain. *Α[νδ]ρὸς μεθερ[α]* appears in one instance inscribed above the head of Dionysos (Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 200, 182). Compare also Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, 1493, and p. 131.

4. (P 5167) *Ἀλκαῖ(ος)* (Fig. 19)

Scratched on the underside of a partly glazed krater. The inscription is complete as it stands.

5. (P 5169) *Ἀλκαῖος κατάνυ[γον]* (Fig. 20)

Inscribed on the underside of a partly glazed krater. Compare the Sosias inscription, Figure 15.

6. (P 5164) *Θεοὶ Θερικλῆς καλός* (Fig. 21)

Θεοὶ Π. ξονος καλός

Τιμόξενος καλός

Χαρμίδης καλός

Incised on the underside of the floor of a partly glazed krater. The space had first been divided into squares, like a checkerboard, by vertical and horizontal lines. The last two rows of squares are uninscribed.

The invocation *Θεοί*, which appears at the beginning of the first two lines, is much more common in inscriptions on stone than on pots. Compare, however, a Nolan amphora in the British Museum (B.M. E 291; C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases*, III, London, 1896, p. 213, on which this exclamation is painted as if issuing from the lips of the aged Phineus. This vase is further inscribed "Charmides kalos."

Charmides (Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 142) gives his name to the Charmides painter (*Att. V.*, pp. 129–130); he is praised also by the Nikon painter (*Att. V.*, p. 131), and by the painter of the Munich cups (*Att. V.*, p. 476). But although unusually well known from vases, the name is not particularly common in other connections. It appears on a sepulchral monument of the late fifth century (*I. G.*, I², 960), and it occurs as the name of a Treasurer of the Other Gods in the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, in 420/19 (*I. G.*, I², 370).

Timoxenos (Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 146) is only less often praised. He is cited twice by the Charmides painter: once, as here, on the same vase with Charmides (*Att. V.*, p. 129, 3; p. 130, 5); and once by the Nikon painter (*C. V. A.*, Providence, pl. 15, 1 and p. 24). As in the case of Charmides, the name reappears twice: once on a sepulchral monument, of 425/4 (*I. G.*, I², 949); and again as that of the *ἐπιστάτης* on the occasion when the treaties with Rhegium and Leontini were proposed by Kallias son of Kalliades, 433/2 (*I. G.*, I², 51, 52).

Therikles, who here appears as the contemporary of Timoxenos and Charmides, is otherwise unknown; the name in the second line is uncertain.

We thus find gathered together on this single group of closely related vases the names of Alkaios, Charmides, Pythodoros, Therikles, Thespious, and Timoxenos. Timoxenos and Charmides are already known to us as contemporaries of Glaukon, Leagros' son. The vases on which they are praised, separately and together, belong either to



Fig. 20. Inscription 5



Fig. 21. Kalos-inscription 6 (Scale *ca.* 2:3)

the last stage of archaic painting or to the transition to the classical style.¹ Alkaïos, who is here praised (and reviled) with such enthusiasm, belongs in the only connection in which we have hitherto met him, to a slightly later time, the years of the early activity of the Achilles painter;² his name provides the latest association of anything in the collection we have been considering. It seems probable no less from these inscriptions than from the vases themselves that our well-group was in use during the seventies and the sixties, and was discarded somewhere about 460. We may remark that of the names listed above, three—Alkaïos, Pythodoros, Timoxenos—reappear in connection with various political activities some forty years later.³ Where the name is a common one we can of course draw no conclusions; we may, however, recall that the Leagros kalos of about 500 was Leagros the general in the sixties, and we may reasonably assume that the same gap between youthful charm and political distinction, or responsible office, pertained later in the century.

In addition to these inscriptions, our graffiti include several uncertain scrawls; a scrap of some number written on the rim of a partly glazed krater,]HP[; a comment, ΟΦΕΛΙ, on the usefulness of a cup⁴ (Fig. 7, at left), and a variety of one, two and three letter combinations. It is perhaps arguable whether XA (three times), XAP (once, on a wine amphora: Fig. 12, at right), or ΣΟ (twice), have any connection, respectively, with the Charmides and the Sosias more formally named. We must also list AMA, on the wine-amphora Figure 12, left, and, each from beneath the foot of a kylix of the ordinary type, the combination BI, NA and HXM.

In view of the large number of plain black-glazed cups in the Acropolis collection inscribed with a variety of letter-combinations of this sort,⁵ the same combination only occasionally appearing more than once, we need hardly expect to find price-marks, or other trade indications, in these graffiti. It is easier to suppose that during a lull in a party one of the participants turns his cup upside down, and writes on it some name

¹ The activity of the Charmides painter and the Nikon painter has been assigned to the years 480–470: *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 1, text to pl. 17, 6 and to pl. 34, 3; on the associations of the painter of the Munich cups, cf. *V. Pol.*, p. 35 and p. 47.

² About 460: E. Buschor, in *F.R.*, III, p. 293. The useful overlap, which we note in our group of names, between individuals cited by the latest archaic, and also by the earliest classical painters, appears elsewhere, as for instance in the case of Kleinias, who is praised by the Alkimachos painter (*Att. V.*, p. 296, 3) and whose name appears also on vases of the "Meletos group" (*Att. V.*, p. 372, 4, 5, 10).

³ To these names we might add that of Kallias the son of Kalliades; possibly the same as the contemporary of Timoxenos and Charmides praised as fair by the Nikon painter, *Att. V.*, p. 131, 6. See above, p. 350, no. 6.

⁴ Dr. J. H. Oliver tells me that we may read *ὠφέλι* for *ὠφέλιμον*. The same form of the lambda appears on the base of the statue of Kallias Didymion (*I.G.*, I., 198) set up in Olympia after his victory in the pankration in 472, and signed by the Athenian sculptor Mikion; W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der attischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 431.

⁵ Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, nos. 1517 ff. ΣΟ, which does not appear in this form among the published pieces from the Acropolis, is common elsewhere, especially on late black-figured vases: R. Hackl, *Mer-kantile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen*, Munich, 1909, p. 32, nos. 221–247. Cf. also the series from Eleusis, Hackl, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

of interest to himself; or he may scratch simply initials, his own or those of some one else. And perhaps he is anxious to be sure of taking his own cup home with him again: many representations on vases, of revellers going to and fro, suggest that the fifth century Athenian, when invited out, brought his own cup with him more often than not. Sorting out unlabelled plain black glaze would indeed be a tedious business for early morning hours.

The ligature $\Delta\epsilon$ presents a somewhat different problem. It appears sixteen times in our well-group, most often on the black glaze kylikes of the sort illustrated in Figure 4, but also on three of the partly glazed household pots. On the cups, whereas other graffiti are set inconspicuously beneath the foot, this ligature appears in a large number of instances on the floor of the cup itself (Figs. 22, 23), where it cannot fail to be seen by the drinker. It can hardly be a maker's mark, for it definitely mars the appearance of the cup. There seems no reason to doubt that it is a mark of ownership: here we have a host, and a determined one, who has indeed provided cups for his guests, but does not wish to lose them. It is tempting to enquire who this host may have been. We have inspected his mammoth



Fig. 22. Agora P 5120 (Actual Size)

kitchen equipment; his dinner service no less suggests hospitality on an unusual scale. A cup in the National Museum (N. M. 1229) provides a possible clue. It is a kylix of the same shape as ours, probably from the same shop as our more solid versions, and it carries, scratched around the underside of the foot, the word $\Delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\iota\alpha$. The probability that this inscription, and with it our ligature,¹ has an official connotation is strengthened when we recall the pots and standard measures of the fourth century on which the painted inscription

¹ That the same ligature occurs elsewhere, on vases from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, no. 1517, N 394 and no. 1523, N 454) and even on vases found in Italy (Hackl, *op. cit.*, p. 43, nos. 469-471) has no particular bearing on the special problem of our find. Pieces with this marking, found on the Acropolis, and also from time to time in parts of the Agora excavation other than our well, may have strayed, in spite of labels, but there is of course nothing to prevent this combination of letters being used as an ordinary personal abbreviation, in just the same way as the other combinations noted here.

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ¹ appears, along with the sign and seal of Athens. As parallels for the method of marking public property by informal graffiti, we may refer to the vases found on the Acropolis,² where many plain black pieces are inscribed *ἱερόν* or *ἱερά* (*τῆς Ἀθηναίας*).

It is not necessary to assume that all of the vases from our well belonged to the state. The small dwellings or industrial establishments which existed in this corner of the Agora down to the end of the third quarter of the century could perhaps account for a part of the filling. But our array of *delta-epsilons* certainly suggests that a large portion of the vases here illustrated may have been broken in the course of meals at the public expense, during the two decades just after Salamis.

¹ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 346, fig. 5.

² Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, no. 1368 ff. The suggestion is there made (p. 119) that these graffiti may be the inventory marks of the sanctuary, rather than dedications. Note that abbreviations appear, as **HIA** (nos. 1388, 9), and **HIE** (no. 1397). The same method of marking was used at Eleusis, where the scratched letters **HIEPON** may be seen on the foot of a black glaze cup (Inv. 4194).

These Acropolis inscriptions are frequently in conspicuous places, sometimes indeed, as our ligature, on a cup floor (nos. 1383, 1386). But this arrangement is not in itself sufficient to determine public ownership, as the names or initials of individuals do occasionally appear scratched in a similar location.

LUCY TALCOTT

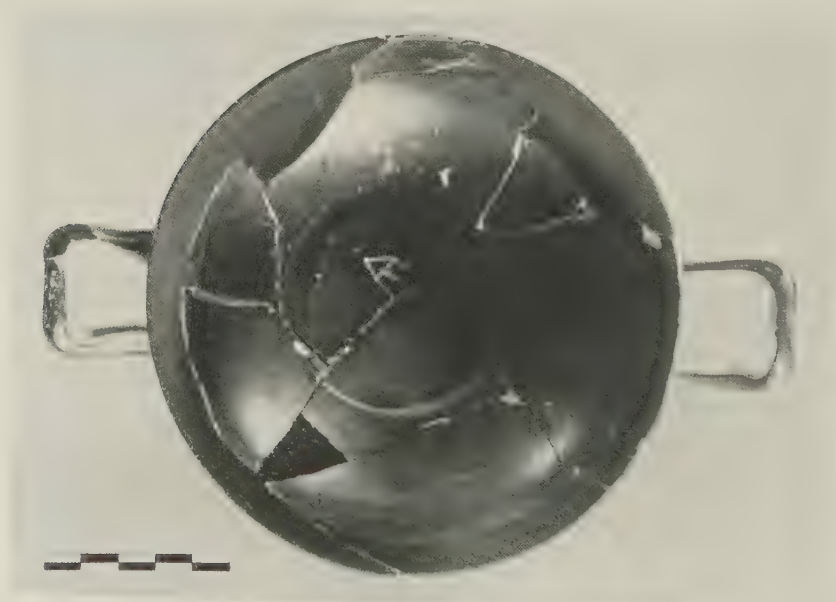


Fig. 23. Agora P 5117

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

This report on the epigraphical discoveries made in the American Excavations of the Athenian Agora continues those which have appeared in previous volumes of *Hesperia*, and gives a preliminary discussion of seventeen texts arranged approximately in chronological order.

HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON

1. Two contiguous fragments, forming part of a base of Pentelic marble, found on March 23, 1936, in a modern or Turkish fill in Section P. The upper surface and a small portion of the right lateral face have been preserved.

Height, 0.104 m.; width, 0.323 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 3872.

The inscription is not *stoichedon*, but the last eleven letters of line 2 (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space on the stone of 0.230 m. The tops of the letters in line 1 are 0.015 m. below the level of the top surface of the stone.



No. 1. Upper Right Corner of the Tyrannicide Base

Line 1	[ἐ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόος γένεθ' ἐνὶκ' Ἀριστογείτον ἡλίπαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ] ἡ Ἀρμόδιο[ς]
Line 2	[- ----- πα]τρίδα γέν' ἐθέτεγ

The inscription contains the ends of the pentameter lines from two elegiac couplets, and is to be identified as the dedicatory epigram cut on the base which carried the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton in the Athenian Agora. The first couplet of this epigram has been preserved in Hephaistion's *Ἐγχειρίδιον* in the chapter entitled *περὶ ἀποθέσεως μέτρων* (Hephaistion, 16 [29] = Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III⁴, Simonides 131), where it is quoted to show the metrical difficulty of using the name *Ἀριστογείτων* in hexameter verse:

Πᾶν μέτρον εἰς τελείαν περατοῦνται λέξιν· ὅθεν ἐπὶ ληπτὰ ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα Σιμωνίδου
ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων
ἢ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόβος γένεθ', ἤνικ' Ἀριστο-
γείτων Ἰππάρχον κτεῖνε καὶ Ἀρμόδιος
καὶ πάλιν Νικομάχου τοῦ τὴν περὶ τῶν ζωγράφων ἐλεγείαν πεποιηκότος
οὗτος δὴ σοι ὁ κλεινὸς ἀν' Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν Ἀπολλό-
δωρος· γινώσκεις τοῦνομα τοῦτο κλίων.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνάγκην—οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει.

Hephaistion's quotation makes possible the restoration of the first couplet of the Agora text, and the Agora text supplies part of the second couplet which was not quoted by Hephaistion. The discovery of the inscription shows that the epigram was genuinely ancient, but its attribution to Simonides does not rest on good authority, and it should be classed with those anonymous epigrams collected by the compilers of anthologies and grouped under the name of the great poet.¹

For the present text, especially, the long-standing association between Simonides and Hipparchus makes Simonidean authorship more than usually dubious.²

The approximate width of the base which carried the inscription can be determined by the spacing of the letters, for we know that the first couplet was written entirely on one line, and that it contained (in Attic script) sixty-six letters. Since eleven letters can be measured from the stone as requiring 0.230 m., the sixty-six letters of line 1 must have required approximately 1.38 m. This is ample width for a statue base for two statues, and indeed would be an argument, if there were no other evidence, that the base with which we have to deal supported a group rather than a single figure. Probably the inscription began with the left edge of the stone, just as it ended with the right,

¹ See Geffcken's article on Simonides in Pauly-Wissowa and the extensive bibliography there quoted; also Oliver, *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 490.

² Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 18, 1; [Plato], *Hipparchus*, 228 C; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, VIII, 2. Sandys, in his commentary on Aristotle, makes what seems to me a misleading statement when he says that Simonides (with this poem) "celebrated the death of his patron Hipparchus." Many stories have been told of Simonides' love of wealth (cf. Aelian, *loc. cit.*) but so far as is known he was not by the ancients accused of ingratitude. Geffcken (Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Simonides 2) follows Wilamowitz (*Sappho und Simonides*, p. 211) in claiming these verses as a toast, a "Trinkspruch," but the discovery of the epigraphical text vindicates them, as they were claimed in antiquity, as a dedicatory epigram.

and the spacing of the letters was so calculated as to span the available distance evenly.¹ A further deduction may be made that the two figures, which must have faced the spectator as he read the inscription, stood side by side² and not one behind the other.

The question naturally arises whether the base now in part preserved should be associated with the earlier group of the tyrannicides made by Antenor or with the later group made by Kritios. The choice of date for the inscription must thus be either 510/09 (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 17) or 477/6 (Marmor Parium: ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀδριάντου). In spite of the fact that letter forms alone cannot give formal proof one way or the other in the last years of the sixth century or in the very early years of the fifth century, there are certain close similarities between the inscription here published and the Marathon epigrams, the Hekatompedon inscriptions, and the Leagros base (No. 2, below) which make the later date the more probable. There are also differences between this inscription and known earlier documents, like the first Attic decree (*I.G.*, I², 1) and the Kallimachos dedications (*I.G.*, I², 609) which seem to exclude it from a date so early as 510.

The Leagros base can be dated with great probability not long before the Persian capture of Athens.³ Leagros died while serving as general in 464, he was a contemporary of Themistokles, his name appears on καλός-vases of the late sixth century, and he could hardly have been of age to make an important dedication by the altar of the Twelve Gods in the very centre of the Athenian market before the time of Marathon. This is, of course, somewhat hypothetical reasoning, but the span of his life is well-known, and it is fairly well established that Leagros could have been only about thirty-five years of age in 490.⁴ His dedication to the Twelve Gods is recorded below as No. 2.⁵ One can see in the photograph that the letter theta is made with a circle which contains at its centre another much smaller circle. This very exceptional form of the letter occurs also on the Harmodios inscription here published, and gives the first close link in time between them. Furthermore, this theta is not a variant of the cart-wheel theta (⊕) but an elegant form of the dotted theta (⊙), in which the dot was replaced by the small circle. This again is an argument for the late date of the Leagros base and of the Harmodios dedication, for the cart-wheel theta was still being used in the first Attic decree (Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 12) which was passed after the dedication of Antenor's group of the tyrannicides, and it continued to have favor down into the fifth century, appearing in both the verses for Kallimachos, before and after Marathon (cf. Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 17).⁶

¹ As, for example, was done with the Peisistratid inscription on the altar of Pythian Apollo. Cf. *I.G.*, I², 761 = Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, no. 11.

² For this judgment see also Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 199.

³ For Leagros, see *P.A.*, 9028.

⁴ See E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik*, pp. 48-54.

⁵ See also Shear, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 356-357.

⁶ Cf. Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1934, pp. 111-117.

But in private dedications, the dotted theta can be found in the late sixth century,¹ though it is rare, and one would have to content himself with the admission that the letter-form is not necessarily characteristic of 477 as against 510, were it not for the fact that this very exceptional form found on the Leagros base and in the Harmodios dedication has the elaborate small-circle dot, which in a more elaborate form still is also found in the punctuation of two other definitely dated inscriptions, both of them after Marathon, where we wish (from our knowledge of Leagros' life) to put the Leagros base. Instead of the usual dot-punctuation both the Marathon epigrams (Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 18) and the Hekatompedon inscriptions (485/4: Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 19) use the tiny circle with a compass point in the centre. All the known examples on stone of a very peculiar epigraphical eccentricity are thus dated after the battle of Marathon,² one date being definitely 485/4. It is probable, therefore—and so much may, I think, be legitimately claimed—that the Harmodios and Aristogeiton base here published was made for the new statues of Kritios to replace the old base which had been destroyed or damaged when the Persians carried off the first group made by Antenor. The other letters are not so significant, but they are not out of place in 477.

The epigram on Antenor's base, like the epigrams of Simonides and of Aeschylus on the cenotaph for those who fell at Marathon, was not available to the collectors who made the anthologies.³ But the Marathon monument was not replaced after the Persian destruction, as were the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The natural assumption is that the inscription from the old base was carved again on the new, so that even though the stone and the lettering of the epigram are of 477 the epigram itself is probably the same as that of 510.

DEDICATION BY LEAGROS TO THE TWELVE GODS

2. Inscribed statue base of Pentelic marble found on March 19, 1934 *in situ* set against the west face of a poros foundation, the temenos wall of the altar of the Twelve Gods, in Section H'.

Height, 0.56 m.; width, 0.56 m.; length, 0.785 m.

Height of letters (not *stoichedon*), 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 1597.

¹ See Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 13; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, especially p. 115.

² Two inscriptions on bronze bowls from the Acropolis, published with facsimile drawings in *J.H.S.*, XIII (1892/3), pl. VI, nos. 11 and 12, show the same form of theta, but give no help in fixing the date. Precise comparison between stone and bronze is hazardous. I am indebted to Mr. Raubitschek for calling these bronzes to my attention. He also informs me (by letter) that the same theta appears in *I.G.*, I², 745.

³ Oliver, *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 490.

For the topographical significance in identifying the altar of the Twelve Gods, see Shear, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 356, and photograph, p. 357.



No. 2

ca. 490 -480 B.C.

[Α]έαγρος : ἀνέθεκεν : Γλαύκωνος
δόδεκα θεοῖσιν

The date of the inscription, and the identification of Leagros, have been discussed in the commentary on No. 1. The following notes are added in order to give a more detailed description of the stone itself. About the bottom of the stone a band about 0.13 m. high was left unfinished on the three exposed sides. This projects ca. 0.025 m. beyond the finished surfaces above, which would seem first to have been dressed smooth all over, and then to have been stippled by a fine pointed chisel driven with short vertical strokes. Along every edge, however, a band (0.025–0.03 m.) was left smooth. The back of the stone was treated differently, being first picked fairly smooth and then given a drafting of ca. 0.04 m. along the edges.

The top of the stone is smooth; in its surface are dowel cuttings for a statue which stood facing west with right foot slightly advanced. For each foot there were two dowels, one from the heel and one from the ball. The lower ends of the bronze dowels for the balls of the feet remain in place imbedded in lead; of the other dowels only the lead packing remains. It appears that the statue was carefully removed, with the rear dowels chipped free and those in front broken off.

It is evident from the hard-packed stratification that was found by the excavators above the base that the removal had taken place not later than early Roman times;¹ it may well have been at the time of the Persian invasion.

The inscription runs along the smooth band at the top of the front face. In the upper line the tops of the letters have been worn away by traffic over the base after the disappearance of the statue. The writing starts at the extreme left edge of the stone, but the upper line occupied only 0.48 m. of the total length of 0.785 m.

¹ I am indebted to Homer Thompson for this report.

PRAISE OF THE SIGEIANS

3. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the original back and left side preserved and also a part of the moulding above the inscribed face, found on January 31, 1934 in the loose earth close to the surface in Section K.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.112 m.

Height of letters, in line 1, 0.014 m.; in lines 2 ff., 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 1276.

The inscription is *stoichedon*. Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.077 m. and five columns (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.071 m.

The fragment belongs with a piece already published as *I.G.*, I², 32 and now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (EM 6800), though there is no point of contact between them. Photographs of both fragments are given on the opposite page.

451/0 B.C.

CTOIX. 23

Σ ι γ [ε ι έ ο ν]

[ε']δοχσεν ιε[ι βολει και ιδι δε]

[μ]οι· Οινε[ι]ς [ε]πρντανενε]

[.]ς εγραμματα[ενε⁹ ε]

5 πεστατε Αν[τιδοτος] ερχε . . .]

[ο]χιδες ε[ι]π[ε]ν [ε]παινεσαι μεν]

[Σι]γειε[σ]ιν [ος] υσιν ανδρασι]

[ν αγ]αθοις ες [τον δεμον τον Αθ]

[εναιον - - - - -]

lacuna

10 [- - - - - εν σ]

[τελει λιθι]νει τε[λεσει τοις Σ]

ιγε[ιδ]ν και καταθετο εμ πο[λε]

ι καθαπερ αυτοι δεονται δο

ς εν ει γεγραμμενον και με αδ

15 ικονται μεδε υφ' ενος τον εν τ

ει περιροι vacat

The lettering is characteristic of the middle of the fifth century, and the three-barred sigma indicates a date earlier than 447/6. Within the available period the only archon whose name begins with Αν - - - (line 5) is Αντιδοτος, and the inscription may thus be dated definitely in 451/0.

In lines 5-6 one is tempted to restore the name of the orator as [Ανδοx]ιδες, who was general in 446/5 and one of the envoys sent to Sparta to negotiate the Thirty



No. 3. Praise of the Sigeians (Agora I 1276 above and EM 6800 below)

Years' Peace in the same year (cf. *P.A.*, 827). But the letter before the iota, though only faintly discernible on the stone, seems to have been chi rather than kappa, and I attempt no restoration.

In lines 11–12 more can be read than is given in the *Corpus*, and I restore $[\Sigma]\iota\gamma\epsilon[\iota\tilde{\omega}]\nu$. The contracted form here is normal for the fifth century,¹ though I suspect that the uncontracted form appears in the heading, where a symmetrical arrangement of the letters demands $\Sigma\iota\gamma[\epsilon\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu]$ rather than $\Sigma\iota\gamma[\epsilon\iota\tilde{\omega}\nu]$.

From lines 13–16 it is evident that the Sigeians were anxious to secure and have always a ready chance for appeal to Athenian protection. The prospective enemy was not named, nor in such decrees was it the practice to name him, but the danger was expected from the landward side, where effective encroachment that would need Athenian help would be most apt to come from the king of Persia or his satraps, and doubtless the Sigeians had the Great King especially in mind when they asked for a guarantee of protection from Athens.

Inasmuch as protection against Persia had been the very reason for the founding of the Delian League, it is surprising that Sigeion should have to make such a point of protection in 451/0 if she were already a member of the League, and it is a fact worth noting that the name Sigeion first appears in the tribute-quota lists in 450/49 (cf. *S.E.G.*, V, 5 [col. IV, line 25]), just one year after the date of the decree here published, and in the first year of the so-called second assessment period. Although the body of the decree is lost, the preserved beginning and end make it seem possible that we possess part of the official documentation which attended Sigeion's entry into the League. The decree shows at the same time how Athens extended her control at the expense of Persia before their relative spheres of influence were fixed in Anatolia by the Peace of Kallias.

THE STATUE OF ATHENA PROMACHOS

4. Two fragments of Pentelic marble containing part of the accounts for the statue of Athena Promachos (*I.G.*, I², 338).

Fragment X was found on November 28, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section II. It is broken on all sides and at the back.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.093 m.

Height of letters, 0.01–0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2228.

The writing is *stoichedon*, with some irregularities. Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.06 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.10 m.

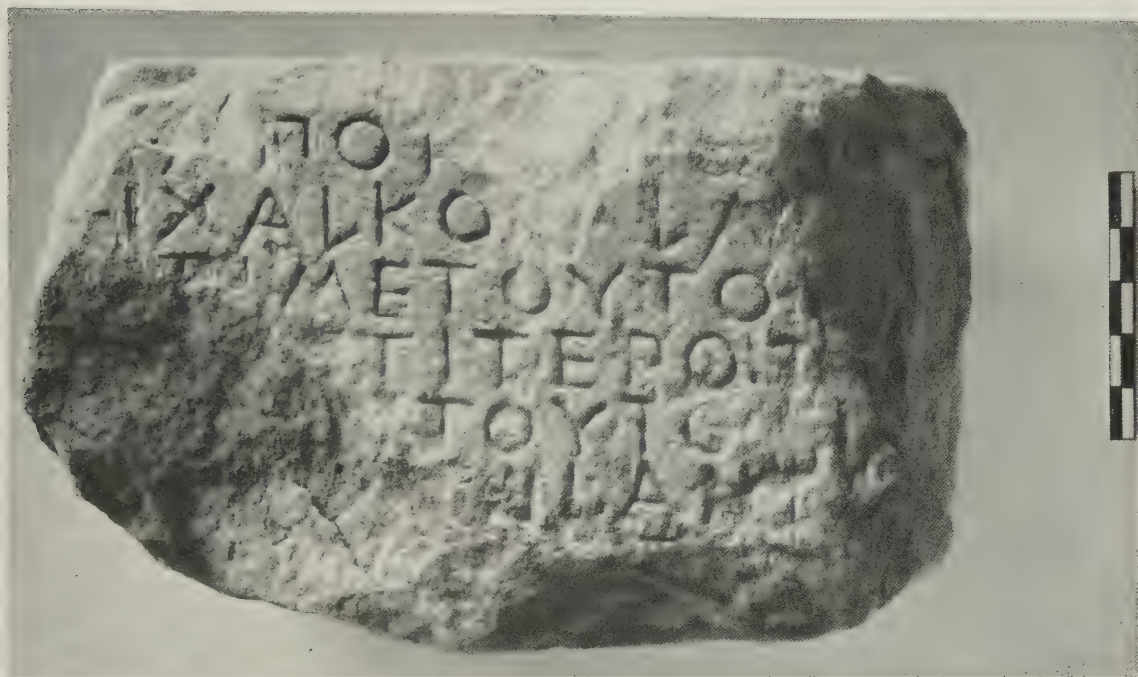
¹ Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, pp. 141–142.

Fragment Y was found on October 1, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ. It is broken at the back and on all sides except the right, where the badly battered surface seems to represent the original edge, though none of the actual smooth surface is now preserved.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

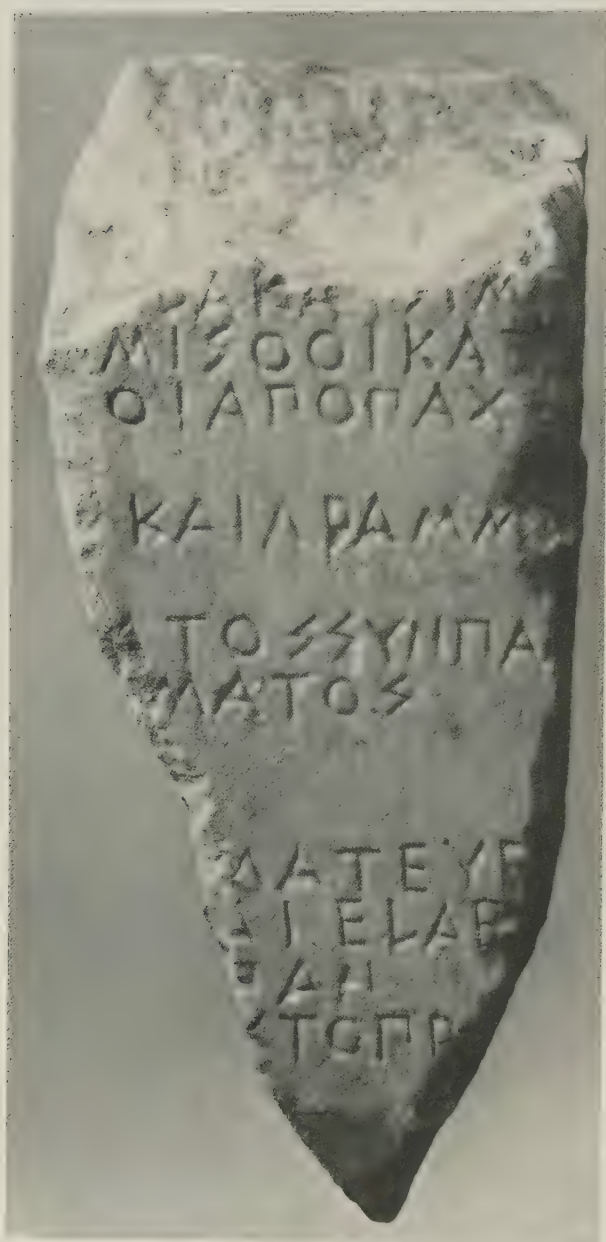
Inv. No. I 2181.



Fragment X of No. 4, belonging with *I.G.*, I², 338

The writing is *stoichedon*, with irregularities. Ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.133 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.09–0.10 m.

The discovery of these two fragments makes possible a more satisfactory reconstruction of the entire document than has been attempted hitherto. In particular, Fragment X exhibits along its upper surface the same curiously smooth line of cleavage in the marble that has already been observed along the upper surface of Fragment B and the lower surface of Fragment A of *I.G.*, I², 338. Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XXV [1921], pp. 118–129) showed the significance of this fracture for the correct placing of the fragments, and these two pieces have been correctly disposed in relation to each other in the text now published in the *Corpus*. Four years ago Meritt identified two additional pieces of the same stele (*A.J.A.*, XXXVI [1932], pp. 473–476), and by virtue of the same fracture



Fragment Y of No. 4, belonging with *I.G.*, I², 338

from the bottom. The lines of text throughout the document were so arranged as to end regularly in complete words or syllables, and account of this fact must be taken in making the restoration.

along the bottom surface of one of them (EM 6722) was able to place them accurately in the composite inscription. The small piece now published as Fragment X under the present number can also be placed by means of this line of fracture, and in its proper position it unites the text of the old fragments in the *Corpus* by bridging the gap between the last column and the column immediately preceding it. The single omicron preserved in the first line of Fragment X is, in fact, the first omicron of the word *πρωτέρο* in line 13 of the text in the *Corpus*, and the numerals of lines 15 and 17–18 in the *Corpus* represent the value of the copper and tin, respectively, described in Fragment X. The proper disposition of the fragment is shown in the facsimile on p. 366.

Fragment Y does not make any contact with the other pieces of the inscription, but its position along the right edge of the stele seems assured, and I have given to it in the facsimile drawing and in the text here published a location which must be approximately correct, though it might well be shifted either higher or lower by a few lines. Aside from the fact that the battered right surface seems of itself to represent the original edge of the stone, one may note that the proximity of the edge is indicated also by the crowding of letters in the word *ἐλαβ[ον]* in the third line

Inasmuch as the new fragments can hardly be studied apart from their relation to the old, I have thought it best to present a drawing which shows the relative position of the eight pieces which can be definitely placed. This drawing, with the restorations shown in dotted letters, appears on p. 366. The mere physical process of arranging the drawing has contributed much to the determination of restorations, for, even though the inscription is in large part *stoichedon*, the irregularities are numerous and the spacing (both horizontally and vertically) varies considerably in different parts of the document. Almost every line must, in consequence, be considered as a separate problem. Fragment D is so preserved as to show that at least one column must have existed to the left of it. Since the drawing here given represents the last two columns of the inscription, it is clear that there were originally at least three columns in all. One small group of numerals from the first column has been preserved (Fragments F + E: *I.G.*, I², 338, Col. I, lines 1–11), but I have made no attempt to include these in the drawing. They play no part in the restoration of the rest of the inscription, and in any case the fragment could not be accurately placed, even laterally, because it is not certain whether there were merely three columns, or perhaps more. I believe three the probable number, but it cannot be considered absolutely certain. For the sake of completeness, however, I give the text of these numerals from Col. I here:¹

	ΔΠΗ	---
	vacat	
	ΜΜΧΙ	--
	ΔΔΗΗΗ	
5	vacat	
	ΧΠΔΔ	
	ΠΗΗΗ	
	ΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΗΗ	--
	ΜΜΜΧΧΧΧ	
10	ΠΗΗΗΠΗΗ	
	ΧΗΗΗΠ	--
	vacat	

The text of *I.G.*, I², 338 must be supplemented by reference to *A.J.A.*, XXXVI (1932), pp. 473–476, where two additional fragments were published, and where some changes in restoration and reading of the already known pieces were suggested. One of these new pieces seems to preserve the rough top of the stele, and the numbering of the lines in the present text, which for convenience will be called Cols. II and III, has been made with reference to this original top of the stone.

¹ In line 3 the numeral following X was either Π, Η, or Π. The left hasta is preserved.

EM 6722

ANΘPAKEΣKAI XSYΛAKAYΣIMA
PAΘEMEPAHMIΣΘOIMIΣΘOIKATAPPY
TANEIANMIΣΘOIAΠOΠAXΣ

MIΣΘOIEPICTATESI
AIH
LEM

KEΦAΛAIONANALOMATOS
SYNPANTOS
PERIEAENETOTOLEMMATOS
EXTONHYTEPONETOS

TEIAPXEIKALLISTPATOTSEAPAMMA
TEYE

ELABONPARAKOLAKRETON
LEMMAPERIEAENOMENON
EXTOPROTEROENIAYTO

EM 4498

MIΣΘOIEPICTATESIKAIAPAM
MATEIENTOIEETE
KEΦAΛAIONANALOMATOS
SYNPANTOS
PERIEAENETOTOLEMMATOS
EXTONHYTEPONETOS

TEIAPXEI

SEAPAMMATEYE

NELISTATAI
ELABONPARAKOLAKRETON
SYNPAN
LEMMAPERIEAENOMENON
EXTOPROTEROENIAYTO

XALKOTALANTA
TIMETOYTO
KATTITEROTALANTA
TIMETOYTO
XALKOTALANTA
TIMETOYTO

B

ENTOIEPACI
ESOIKODOMIANXH

KAMINON
ANΘPAKEΣKAI XSYΛAKAYΣIMA

MIΣΘOIKABEMEPANMIΣΘOIKATA
PYTANEIANMIΣΘOIAΠOΠAXΣ

MIΣΘOIEPICTATESIKAIAPAM
MATEIENTOIEETE
APAYPIONASEMONESPOIKILI
ANTOALALMATOS
KEΦAΛAIONANALOMATOS
SYNPANTOS
PERIEAENETOTOLEMMATOS
EXTONHYTEPONETOS

TEIAPXEI

SEAPAMMATEYE
NELISTATAI

C

ELABONPARAKOLAKRETON
LEMMAPERIEAENOMENON
EXTOPROTEROENIAYTO

XALKOTALANTA
TIMETOYTO
KATTITEROTALANTA
TIMETOYTO

D

ENTOIEPACI

ESOIKODOMIANKAMINON
ANΘPAKEΣKAI XSYΛAKAYΣIMA
PAΘEMEPAHMIΣΘOIKATAPPY
TANEIANMIΣΘOIAΠOΠAXΣ

APAYPIONASEMONESPOIKILIAN
TOALALMATOS

MIΣΘOIEPICTATESIKAIAPAMMA

PERIEAENETOTOLEMMATOS

EXTONHYTEPONETOS

ANΘPAKEΣKAI XSYΛAKAYΣIMA
MIΣΘOIKABEMEPANMIΣΘOIKATA
PYTANEIANMIΣΘOIAΠOΠAXΣ

MIΣΘOIEPICTATESIKAIAPAMMA
TEIENTOIEETE
KEΦAΛAIONANALOMATOS
SYNPANTOS
PERIEAENETOTOLEMMATOS
EXTONHYTEPONETOS

TEIAPXEI

SEAPAMMATEYE

NELISTATAI
ELABON
PARAKOLAKRETON
SYNPAN
TOPIEIAENOMENON
EXTOPROTEROENIAYTO

TEXT OF *I.G.*, I², 338

Col. II

12 lines lost

[ἀνθρακες]ς καὶ χυύλα καύσιμα]

[καθ' ἑμέ]ρα[ν μισθοί, μισθοὶ κατὰ πρην]

[τανεῖ]αν, μ[ισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς]

[. . .⁵ . . .] τριχ[-----]

[μισθοὶ] ἐπ[ιστάτεσι -----]

[. . .⁵ . . .] ρι ἡ[-----][. . .⁵ . . .] λεμ[-----]

[κεφάλαι]ο[ν ἀναλόματος]

[σύνπαν]το[ς]

[περιε]γέν[ετο] τῷ λέ[μματος]

[ἐς τὸ ἡ]ύστ[ερον] ἔτο[ς]

vacat

[τῆι ἀρχῇ *K*]αλ[λίστ]ρατος ἐγραμμά[τενε . . .⁶ . . .]α[ς . . .⁵ . . .]ς ἐπι[σάται]

[ἐλαβ]ον π[αρά] κολακ[ρε]τῶν]

[λεμ]μα πε[ριγενόμενον]

[ἐκ τῷ π]ρο[τέρω] ἐνιαυτῷ]

[. . .⁶ . . .]τ[-----]

[.^{ca. 13}] ἐν τῷ ἔργ[οι][.^{ca. 13}] ἐς οἰκο[δομίαν]

[καμίον]

[ἀνθρακες καὶ χυύλα καὶ] αὐσίμα

----- vacat

[μισθοὶ καθ' ἑμέραν μι]σθοὶ κατὰ

[πρυτανείαν μισθοὶ ἀ]πόπαχς

vacat

[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσι καὶ] γρα[μ]

[ματεῖ ἐν τῷ ἔτει]

[ἀργύριον ἄσμενον ἐς] ποικιλί

[αν τῷ ἀγάλματος]

Col. III

22 lines lost

[.¹⁵] vacat

[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτε]σι καὶ γρ[αμ]

[ματεῖ ἐν τῷ ἔτ]ει [[ἔτει]]

[κεφάλαιον ἀν]αλόματος

[σύνπαντος]

[περιεγένε]το τῷ λέμματος

[ἐς τὸ ἡύστ]ερον ἔτος

vacat

[τῆι ἀρχῇ . . .⁶ . . .]ς : ἐγραμμάτενε[.¹⁴]ν : ἐπιστάται

[ἐλαβ]ον πα[ρά] κολακ[ρε]τῶν

[σύνπαν]

[λεμ]μα περιγ[ενόμενον] : ἐ[κ τῷ]

[πρ]ο[τέρω] ἐνιαυτῷ]

Π --- ἀπὸ το . το -----

ΧΗ --- ΗΙ χαλκῷ : τάλα[ντα : -----]

vacat τιμὲ τούτο vacat

ΗΗ --- [κα]τιτιέρο : τ[άλαντα ---]

ΔΠ --- [τιμ]ῆ τούτο vacat

ΗΠ --- [. . .] τάλαντα [-----]

----- [τιμὲ το]ύτ[ο]

M-----

25*

	[κεφάλαιον ἀναλόματ]ος	Η ---	-----
50	[σύνπαντος]	Δ ---	-----
	[περιεγένετο τῷ λέμμ]ατος	Χ ---	-----
	[ἐς τὸ ἡστέρον ἔτος]		[ἀνθρακες καὶ χρ]ύλα καύσιμ[α]
	vacat		[μισθοὶ καθ' ἐμέραν] μισθοὶ κατ[ά]
	[τεῖ ἀρχῇ . . . ἔργαμμ]άτενε		[πρυτανείαν μισθ]οὶ ἀπόπαχς
55	[. ¹⁶ ἐπιστ]άτ[αι]		[. ¹⁵] vacat
	[ἐλάβον παρὰ κολα]κετ[όν]		[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσ]ι καὶ γραμμ[α]
	[λέμμα περιγενό]μενον		[τεῖ ἐν τῷ ἔτει]
	[ἐκ τῷ προτέρο ἐν]ιαντῷ		[κεφάλαιον ἀναλόμ]ατος σύνπα[ν]
	[. ¹³]ρα		[περιεγένετο τῷ λέμ]ματος
60	[χαλκῷ τάλαντα:] ΔΤΤΤΤ E[ὐβοϊκά]		[ἐς τὸ ἡστέρον ἔτος]
	[τιμὲ τούτο]		vacat
	[κατιπέρω τάλ]αντα: ΠΤΤ --		[τεῖ ἀρχῇ ⁸ . . . ἔργαμ]μάτενε
	[τιμὲ τούτο]		[. ¹⁴ ἐπιστ]άτ[αι] ἐλαγ[όν]
	[. ¹³ ἐ]ν τῷ ἔργο[ι . . . ⁵ . .]		[παρὰ κολακετῶν σύν]παν
65	[. ⁸ ἐς οἰκ]οδομίαν κα[μίνον]		[τὸ περιγενόμενον ἐ]κ τῷ πρ[ο]
	[.]ΔΔΔΓ† [- - - ἀνθρακες κ]αὶ χρύλα κα[ύσιμα]		[τέρο ἐνιαντῷ] vacat
	[. Χ]ΠΠΠ		-----
	μ[ισθοὶ καθ' ἐμέ]ραν μισθοὶ κ[αὶ ἀπὸ πρ]		-----
	τα[νείαν μισθο]ὶ ἀπόπαχς		
	[.]ΔΓ† γ[- - - - -] vacat		
70	[.]ΗΗΠΔΔΔ		
	ἀ[ρχύριον ἄσεμ]ον ἐς ποι[κίλιαν]		
	[.]ΠΠ		
	τῷ ἀγάλματος]		
	ΧΠΠΠΠΠ		
	μ[ισθοὶ ἐπιστ]άτεσι κα[ὶ ἰ] γραμμα]		
	ΠΔΠΠΠΠ		
	τ[εῖ τῷ ἐν τῷ] ἔτει		
	ΜΧΧΗΗΔΓ† [- κεφάλαιον] ἀναλόματ[ος]		
75	ΠΗΗΠΔΔΔ		
	π[εριεγένετ]ο τῷ λέμματ[ος]		
	[.]Π		
	ἐ[ς τὸ ἡστέρο]ν ἔτος		
	vacat		

remainder of Col. III lost

Dinsmoor's interpretation of the inscription (*A.J.A.*, XXV [1921], pp. 118–129) as the record of the overseers who had charge of the statue of Athena Promachos is made even more secure by the discovery of the new fragments.¹ For the first time copper and tin are actually mentioned among the supplies purchased for the work (Col. III, lines 38 and 40), and the purchase of coals and firewood, evidently used in the smelting operations, was continued at least as late as the eighth year of the record. If it is granted that

¹ E. Pfuhl, "Die große eherne Athena des Phidias," *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII (1932), pp. 151–157 (especially 156), doubts Dinsmoor's attribution of the inscription. On stylistic grounds which depend largely on representations on coins and on possible adaptations in terracotta he argues for a date for the Athena Promachos in the 'forties shortly after the Peace of Kallias. The difference in date is slight, but the epigraphical evidence places the statue quite definitely in the 'fifties, before the Peace of Kallias.

the disposition of the inscription in three columns is correct the making of the statue occupied nine years, for each column seems to contain the accounts of three years. This is certainly true of the last two columns, of which the text is given here.

From year to year there are recurring phrases which give aid in restoring the text. The verb *ἐλάβον*, which appears in Col. III, line 63, may now be restored in Col. II, lines 27 and 56 and in Col. III, line 33. Of more importance is the fact that the first purchases of the eighth year were copper and tin, and that the formulae of the record may also be restored in Col. II, lines 60 and 62, where the weight of the copper and the tin purchased in the sixth year has been preserved.

These items belong to the expenses of the year, not to the receipts as Dinsmoor supposed. Surely, the calculations of amounts of metal required could hardly have been so far wrong during the early years of purchasing as to make possible the sale of unnecessary material in quantity as early as the sixth year and again in the eighth year, especially since the use of coals and firewood (Col. III, line 52) shows that smelting was still going on in the eighth year. There is, I believe, no separate rubric heading dividing receipts from purchases unless one can be restored in Col. II, lines 30 and 59, and in Col. III, line 37, by a combination of the readings to give $\pi[\dots^6\dots] \alpha\pi\delta \tau\omicron[\acute{\upsilon}]\tau\omicron[\dots^5\dots]\rho\alpha$.¹ Expenditures are also recorded in Col. II, lines 37–39 and 64–65, where the two entries in the record can be given an identical wording by utilizing the space at the end of lines 64–65. The expense was concerned with the construction of something ($\kappa\alpha - - -$) intimately connected with the making of the statue, for which the conjecture $\kappa\alpha[\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu]$ “furnaces” may be hazarded as probable. There is exactly room for five letters after the preserved $\kappa\alpha - - -$ of line 65; the word appeared alone in the more generously spaced text of line 39 above.

The text here given differs from that of Dinsmoor in the numerals of Col. II, lines 66, 67–68, and 69. In line 66 the offset of the phrase [*ἐνθρακες* κ]αὶ *χρύλα* $\kappa\alpha[\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\mu\alpha]$ toward the right can be explained only by the assumption of a long numeral. Since the space between the preserved portion of the numeral and the words cannot all be filled with obol signs (no more than five would be allowable), the vertical stroke immediately after Γ must be interpreted as ⋈ . In lines 67–68 the numeral occupies a bracket position before both lines and two figures are to be restored before the preserved ⓂHII . There is no cross-bar cut on the stone to justify the reading ⓂHH and the reading of two obols is preferable to assuming here, for no apparently good reason, an error for one hundred drachmai. In line 69 only one figure is to be supplied before the preserved $\Delta\Gamma\text{⋈}$.

The second of the two missing figures in the numeral of lines 67–68 can be restored exactly. Neglecting for a moment the unknown expense of the copper and tin of lines 60 and 62 and of the building of the smelting furnaces in lines 64–65, one finds that the

¹ The initial letter pi in Col. III, line 37, is very uncertain. I have thought also of kappa or tau, neither one of which is possible here as a numeral showing an amount of money. If either is correct, it should be interpreted as part of a word in some heading defining the expenses listed below it.

minimum of the preserved figures in lines 66–73 amounts to 2898 Dr. The sum is obtained by the following addition:

Line	66	36	Dr.
Lines	67–68	600 $\frac{1}{3}$	Dr.
Line	69	16	Dr.
Lines	70–71	282 $\frac{1}{3}$	Dr. (restoring Ϝ)
Lines	72–73	1963 $\frac{1}{3}$	Dr.
		<hr/> 2898	Dr.

When this amount is subtracted from the total expenditure (maximum, restoring Ϝ) of 12218 Dr. in line 74, the remainder (maximum) is 9320 Dr. It is obvious, therefore, that the complete numeral in lines 67–68 cannot be supplied as $[\text{MX}]\text{ϞHII}$, for the figures thus restored would exceed the maximum possible. The only restorations that can be made are $[\text{XX}]\text{ϞHII}$ and $[\text{ϞX}]\text{ϞHII}$; the supplement is given in the text now published as $[\text{X}]\text{ϞHII}$.

After the numeral of weight in line 60 appears the letter epsilon, which can be no part of the record of the following line, for that must have contained the phrase *τιμὲ τούτο* (cf. Col. III, line 39). This unique epsilon must modify in some way the expression *χαλκῷ τάλαντα* $\Delta\text{T}\text{T}\text{T}\text{T}$ of the line in which it stands, either as adding some further fraction of a talent to the weight expressed in figures, or as defining the standard or kind of talent employed. The normal way to express the weight of half a talent after the figures $\Delta\text{T}\text{T}\text{T}\text{T}$ would be by the addition of the figures XXX , so the possibility of reading *ἥμισυ* or *ἡμιτάλαντον* seems excluded. In any case the word *ἡμιτάλαντον* is too long for the space left at the end of the line, and for both *ἥμισυ* and *ἡμιτάλαντον* an initial rough breathing should be written. The alternative explanation is the more probable. The copper was bought and weighed out with talents of the Euboic standard, and the epsilon in question is the initial letter of the word *E[ὐβοϊκὰ]* which defines the standard and exactly fills the available space at the end of the line (cf. drawing on p. 366).

It is of interest to find in the sixth year that fourteen talents¹ of copper were purchased together with seven talents of tin. The amount of tin may, of course, have been greater, for the numeral may be restored to show a weight as high as nine and a half talents ($\text{ϞT}\text{T}[\text{T}\text{T}\text{XXX}]$). There is no room here to supply the word *Eὐβοϊκὰ* after the numeral, even assuming that the numeral was $\text{ϞT}\text{T}$; the conclusion is, then, that the copper was purchased in a market that used the Euboic standard and that the tin was purchased on the Attic standard. In this case the difference of standard does not affect seriously the relative proportion of the metals, for the Euboic was only slightly heavier than the Attic talent.

¹ It should be noted that Pittakys, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1859, no. 3481, read a second Δ in this line. If more of the stone was preserved when he saw it, I believe the letter must have been the final A of *τάλαντα*.

An alloy of bronze made with fourteen talents of copper and seven talents of tin is extraordinarily high in content of tin. It is practically bell metal. Donald Liddell in *The Metallurgists and Chemists' Handbook* (New York, 1930) gives a table of bronze alloys showing for the old bell metal of Rouen the following analysis:

Copper 71⁰/₀, zinc 1.8⁰/₀, tin 26⁰/₀, lead 1.2⁰/₀.

In the same table for the bell metal of Harbohn he gives the analysis:

Copper 60⁰/₀, zinc 5⁰/₀, tin 35⁰/₀.

Kurt Kluge (*Die antike Erzgestaltung*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927) laments our lack of knowledge about the alloy of large ancient bronzes (*op. cit.*, p. 217), but he does give the alloy of certain mirrors, which contained two-thirds copper and one-third tin (*op. cit.*, p. 218). The color of this alloy is bright yellow; its melting point is low; it is more easily poured than modern statue bronze; it is hard, not malleable, but may readily be engraved.¹

It is, of course, not necessary to infer from the proportions of the metal purchased in any given year that this was the proportion of the alloy. Both copper and tin may have been left over from some earlier year, and out of the present purchase some part at least of either or both might not have been used until a subsequent year. Fortunately a control over our deductions as to the alloy is given in the records of the eighth year of work on the Athena Promachos, in the prices paid for the copper and tin as recorded in Col. III, lines 38–41. The copper cost ΧΗ --- ΗΙ, not less than 1100 Dr. and not more than 1500 Dr.; the tin cost ΗΗ --- ΔΠ ---, over 200 Dr. but less than 500 Dr.

It is fortunate that we no longer have to depend for our knowledge of the value of copper on the Homeric ox-talent and the ratio of gold to copper of about 3000 to 1.² It is also fortunate that we do not have to follow the chain of evidence outlined for Italy and Sicily by Ridgeway,³ by which he sought to show that the ratio of silver to copper was as 300 to 1. Our interest is in Athens of the fifth century, before the influx of Persian gold raised relatively the value of silver,⁴ and there are preserved two very valuable references, one giving the price of copper, and the other the price of tin, in the record of expense for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos about 420 B.C. In *I. G.*, I², 371, lines 3–4, we find that a talent of copper was worth 35 Dr. and in lines 7–8 we find that a talent of tin was worth 230 Dr. It is probable, therefore, that the amount

¹ I am indebted to S. Casson for the additional information that a high content of tin makes the bronze hold its surface and patina better. The gleam when seen from afar, for which the Athena Promachos was famed in antiquity, may have been due in part to the high percentage of tin in the alloy.

² Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 5.

³ William Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 135 and p. 348.

⁴ With gold to silver as 14 to 1 in 440/39 (*I. G.*, I², 355; cf. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 41), the gold to copper ratio of 3000:1 corresponds to a silver to copper ratio of 215 to 1 (approximately). In 409/8 (*I. G.*, I², 301; cf. Wade-Gery, *Num. Chron.*, X, Series V [1930], pp. 16–38 and 333–334; Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, pp. 61–62) the gold to silver ratio of 10 to 1, combined with a gold to copper ratio of 3000 to 1, gives a silver to copper ratio of 300 to 1.

of tin recorded in the present text in Col. III, line 40, was two talents. Allowing for some variation in price between the middle of the century and 420, the numerals of lines 40-41 can best be interpreted as representing the value of two talents of metal. A close estimate of the amount of copper recorded in line 38 is more difficult, but the weight probably lay between 31 and 42 talents. Inasmuch as the space on the stone at the end of line 38 is limited it seems probable that, if the talents were still weighed on the Euboic standard, the exact amount was either thirty-five or forty talents. If the word *Εὐβοϊκά* is restored after the numeral, then the numeral itself can hardly have had more than four letter spaces (ΔΔΔΔ or ΔΔΔΔ). It is perhaps not surprising that the copper was bought on the Euboic standard at a time which was earlier than the Athenian decree for uniform standards of coinage, weights, and measures, especially since Euboea was one of the very early and prolific sources of copper in the Aegean area.¹

Now, the fact that in the eighth year of work on the statue at least thirty-five talents of copper were purchased and only two talents of tin shows that the proportion of fourteen to seven found in the record of the sixth year does not give a direct key to the metal alloy of the statue itself. It is only legitimate to say, I believe, that the inscription will give no evidence for the actual alloy used until (if ever) further fragments are found with the records of purchase of copper and tin in other years.

The restoration of Col. III, line 42, is difficult, and I offer here a suggestion in the hope that others may find, perhaps, some way of confirming it, or of substituting another and better word. The commodity, whatever it was, must have had four letters in the genitive of its name; it must have been sold in bulk and used in sufficient quantity by a bronze caster so that it could be measured in talents; and the price must have been (I believe) less than 100 Dr. per talent. Possibly *πελὼ* "clay" might be restored.² Clay must have been required in considerable quantities for both the inner and outer cores of each part of the statue before casting.

There is, I believe, one other item of the inscription which can be interpreted with reference to the technical process of making the statue. In Col. II, line 16, occur the letters [. . .] *τρίχ*[- - -], which seem to be part of the word *τρίχες*, meaning "hair." If this supposition is correct, the explanation is probably that the hair (presumably goat's hair) was mingled with the clay of the statue's inner core to prevent its

¹ Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 16, calls Euboea the "Greek copper-island." The mines were near Karystos (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. vv. *Euboea* and *Karystos*).

² A possible restoration is *ξεῖω* "wax." An objection to this supplement is, however, that the amount seems unduly great—especially in view of the fact that the wax used for modeling the statue over the clay core could be recovered after each separate part was cast, and then (unlike the clay) it could be used again. Most of the wax purchased, surely, must have been bought in the early years. I am much in debt throughout this discussion to Mr. Stanley Casson for helpful suggestions about the technique of bronze-casting. Mr. T. Leslie Shear informs me that the bronze head from the Agora in Athens (*Hesperia*, II [1933], pp. 519-527) contained a core of clay mixed with a high percentage of beeswax. Could this be the "cire perdue" which took the place of the combustible material of the core during the process of casting? See note on p. 373.

solidifying into a solid lump that could not be broken up and removed after the bronze was cast. The hair itself would be carbonized, leaving a somewhat porous clay mass, easier to break to pieces and remove when the bronze had cooled. Also, for the making of the outer core the addition of hair would add tensile strength to the clay and help to hold it together.¹

The date of the inscription is a matter of some concern, and the only evidence from the stone itself is that of the forms of letters. Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XXV [1921], p. 127) quite correctly assigns it to the period earlier than 447/6 because of the three-barred sigma. His judgment is that the series of accounts belongs "slightly earlier than the middle of the century." Later (*op. cit.*, p. 129) he attributes it to the period from 465 to 456 B.C. I cannot escape the feeling that the letters belong in the late 'fifties and that the accounts represent the very last years of that period when the three-barred sigma was used. Unfortunately the characteristic letter phi which might help to decide as between 455 and 450 or 449 does not appear a single time in the preserved fragments. But the letter alpha does occur many times. The cross-bar has surprisingly little slope (if any) for a date in the early 'fifties, showing even in the accounts of the fourth year a less antiquated form than, for example, the alphas of *I.G.*, I², 191 of the year 454/3. Rho and beta are consistently rounded. So far as one can tell from the lettering itself the whole document may well have been cut by one hand at the conclusion of work on the statue, a recapitulation on stone of the yearly records kept by the several boards of epistatai. The fact that there is no change in the character of the writing, although the nine years of the record must come at just that time in the middle of the century when changes in letter forms should be particularly noticeable, is an argument in favor of this view. So also is the fact that the inscription is symmetrically spaced upon the stone, as though the stone-cutter knew before he began to cut the first list just how much stone would be required and just how to dispose his text upon it. It must be admitted that such evidence is not conclusive, but from the purely epigraphical point of view it would be most satisfactory to include the whole series of accounts within the span from 460 to 450 rather than to push them back to an earlier date, and to assume that the entire stele was inscribed about 450.

Admittedly non-probative in any formal sense, the evidence for date, such as it is, deserves consideration, for it seems to show that Pheidias, who made the Athena Promachos, had the responsibility for it in the period immediately before his work on

¹ I owe the following information to a communication from Casson. Even today in old-fashioned foundries hair, rope, tow, straw, and hay are used in making the core of some hollow castings. The outer core (or mould) is lined on the inside with a mixture of special sand and clay, and then stuffed with hair, tow, and rope. The outer matrix is then removed and the inner core cleaned down on the outside to make room for the poured metal. When the outer matrix is replaced and the metal poured, the core thus stuffed allows gases to escape and permits the casting to cool on the inside at the same rate as on the outside. Blow-holes are reduced to a minimum. When the casting has cooled it is shaken to break the inner case, which is removed through holes at the top and bottom.

the Parthenon and on the Athena Parthenos, and that the famous Zeus at Olympia, also the work of his hand, must be dated either before 459 (which seems improbable) or after the Parthenon. This problem would here lead us too far afield, and I give the evidence of the present inscription as I understand it and refer the reader for further discussion to Miss Richter's book, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, pp. 220-225.

The arrangement of the fragments has made possible a correction of the long accepted restorations *κατα[μένια]* in Col. II, lines 42-43, and *κατα[μένια?] τα - - -* in Col. II, lines 67-68. In fragment Y (Col. III, lines 53-54) a new rubric dealing with the expense of wages has been discovered, with the reading *κατ[- - - - -]*, which might of course be interpreted as *κατ[αμένα]* also, but I suspect a similar rubric in Col. II, lines 14-15 where the restoration seems to end with a word in *- - - - αν*. The items are regularly of two lines each and (without restoration) may be tabulated as follows:

Col. II, lines 14-15:	[- ^{ca. 5} -]ρα[- - - - -] [. . ⁵ . .]αν μ[- - - - -]
Col. II, lines 42-43:	[. ¹⁷]σθοι κατα [. ¹⁷]πόπαχς
Col. II, lines 67-68:	μ[. ¹¹]σαν μισθοὶ κ[- -] τα[. ¹⁰]ι ἀπόπαχς
Col. III, lines 53-54:	[. ¹⁵] μισθοὶ κατ[.] [- - - - - ^{ca. 14} - - - - -]οι ἀπόπαχς.

It is, I believe, apparent that the reading *καταμένα* is in every case incorrect, and that in its place must be substituted the phrase *κατὰ πρυτανείαν*. This fills the space perfectly in Col. II, lines 42-43 and lines 67-68, where we read:

[μισθοὶ καθ' ἡμέραν μισθοὶ κατὰ
[πρυτανείαν μισθοὶ δὲ] πόπαχς
and
μ[ισθοὶ καθ' ἡμέ]ραν μισθοὶ κ[ατὰ πρυ]
τα[ρείαν μισθο]ὶ ἀπόπαχς.

In Col. III, lines 53-54 the actual *stoichedon* order is violated, but not seriously so, and the restoration can be safely made:

[μισθοὶ καθ' ἡμέραν] μισθοὶ κατ[ὰ]
[πρυτανείαν μισθ]οὶ ἀπόπαχς.

In Col. II, lines 14-15, not only is the *stoichedon* order violated, for six letters have to be put into the space of five in the uppermost of the two lines, but the order of words is different. It may be observed, however, that the crowding of letters in the

upper line is in one to one correspondence with the next line above: [ἀνθρακε]ς καὶ χούλα καύσιμα], and that even though the order of words is different the phrases remain the same. The restoration seems certain, as follows:

[καθ' ἐμέ]ρα [ν μισθοί, μισθοὶ κατὰ πρυ]
[τανεί]αν, μ[ισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς].

Each rubric records the summation of the yearly wages given for work by the day, by the prytany, and by the job. Whereas the overseers of the Parthenon and the overseers of the Propylaea made payments of wages by the month (*I. G.*, I², 339, line 30; *I. G.*, I², 346, line 67; *I. G.*, I², 352, line 37; *I. G.*, I², 363, line 48; *I. G.*, I², 364, line 31) the overseers of the statue of Athena Promachos made payments of wages by the prytany. It follows from this that the year of the accounts was coterminous with the year of the prytanies, the conciliar year. The knowledge of this fact is a step forward of considerable significance in our understanding of the nature of the Athenian calendar in the fifth century B.C., and its importance is enhanced by further evidence from this same inscription which has been for years at our disposal, but which I, for one, have not until recently recognized.

Side by side with these items of expense, which may properly be called "wages," was given in each year the item of "salary" for the epistatai and their secretary. The record was listed under the rubric: μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσι καὶ γραμματεῖ (τοῖ) ἐν τοῖ ἔτει.¹ Now the money thus paid out as salary was not for labor by the day, or prytany, or job, but for the entire year during which the epistatai and their secretary were responsible, and the annual character of the expense is emphasized not only by the fact that the money was listed separately from the mere "wages," but also by the addition of the phrase ἐν τοῖ ἔτει. Such salary was reckoned on a daily basis, and accumulated steadily day after day throughout their year of office. In the year 408/7, for example, we may determine from the building accounts of the Erechtheion the number of days in the sixth prytany of the year as thirty-seven because we know that the architect received a salary of one drachma a day and the assistant secretary a salary of five obols a day for thirty-seven days, and similarly we may determine the number of days in the eighth prytany of 408/7 as thirty-six because the same officials received the same daily wage for thirty-six days.² In the inscription here under discussion we could determine the number of days in the year for which the epistatai and their secretary were responsible if we could know the amount of salary which they received and the daily basis for its computation.

The accounts for the statue of Athena Promachos were more compendious than those for the Erechtheion, and the pay of the epistatai and their secretary was summarized in one item. Fortunately, however, the total figure for the sixth year is preserved in Col. II,

¹ In Col. III, line 25, the word ἔτει was cut twice, and then the superfluous word was imperfectly erased. There is no room for the traditional restoration ἐν τοῖτοι ἔτει. I suspect here merely [ἐν τοῖ ἔτ]ξει, as seems required by the spacing, and similar restorations in Col. II, lines 46 and 73 and in Col. III, line 57.

² *I. G.*, I², 374, lines 108–112, and lines 256–260; cf. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 99–100, and *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 108; cf. also Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 28.

lines 72–73, as $\text{X}\overline{\text{M}}\text{HHHH}\overline{\text{H}}\Delta\text{HH}\text{H}$. All the numerals are clear on the stone and there is no need for restoration and its attendant uncertainty. The yearly salary amounted to 1963 $\frac{1}{3}$ Dr. This sum should represent, therefore, the exact product of the daily rate multiplied by the number of days in the year. We know neither, but the number of days in the year must surely have been somewhere between 330 and 400, and one expects the daily rate to come out at least to an even number of obols. It is a comparatively short exercise in arithmetic to reduce the 1963 $\frac{1}{3}$ Dr. to obols and then to divide the resultant number (11780) by every integer in succession from 330 to 400 to see how many even quotients can be obtained. The discovery is that there is only one: $11780 \div 380 = 31$. The number of days in the year was 380 and the daily rate was thirty-one obols. Even if one were to assume that the daily rate may have been some figure ending in half-obols, or even quarter-obols, the result is no different, for 4×11780 divided by any integer between 330 and 400 except 380 does not yield an even quotient. It is perhaps problematic how the thirty-one obols were divided between the two epistatai and their secretary, but I suggest two drachmai each per day for the epistatai and seven obols for the secretary. Reference should be made to the fact that in 408/7 the architect of the Erechtheion received one drachma a day and the assistant-secretary received five obols a day (cf. *I.G.*, I², 374, lines 108–112 and lines 256–260). In the latter part of the fourth century an overseer of building operations at Eleusis received two drachmai a day and the antigraphheus received two obols a day (*I.G.*, II², 1673, lines 60–61).

The year of 380 days cannot be interpreted as a conciliar year of the type now known to exist in the period of the Archidamian War, and yet we have just found that these records were kept on the basis of the year of ten prytanies. The conclusion is, I think, inevitable that at the time of this inscription—shortly before the middle of the century—the separate conciliar year had not been introduced and that the conciliar year was regularly equated with the civil year, just as it was after 409.¹ I have long argued that there was definite evidence for the separate existence of the conciliar year as early as 447 B.C., and in the absence of evidence to the contrary I have postulated its introduction by Kleisthenes at the time of the creation of the ten tribes.² It now appears that the evidence for which I had searched in vain from the first half of the fifth century has been found. We have to deal in the present instance with an intercalary civil year of thirteen months coterminous with the year of the ten prytanies. The separate conciliar year was introduced at some time between the year VI of the Athena Promachos accounts and year I of the Parthenon accounts. The date of its introduction is thus removed from the time of Kleisthenes, but rather definitely fixed to a time very close to 450 B.C., perhaps a year or two later, or even several years earlier.

It is true that the number of days in the intercalary civil year was 384 and not 380, but the explanation of this discrepancy in the inscription is that the year was reckoned

¹ Cf. Meritt, *Clas. Phil.*, XXV (1930), p. 243.

² Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 153.

by prytanies for the purpose of calculating salaries. Since the normal prytany of the intercalary year had thirty-eight days (there were six prytanies of thirty-eight days and four of thirty-nine days) the total reckoning was $10 \times 38 = 380$. In the late fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1673, lines 60–61) thirteen months at two drachmai per day were reckoned as 780 Dr., indicating a year of 390 days. This of course was not correct, and the figure was obtained by multiplying the number of days in a “normal” month (there were seven months of thirty days and six months of twenty-nine days) by thirteen. In the late fourth century, the paymaster used a more generous method of computing the salary and paid for more days than there were; in the fifth century the paymaster was less generous, and in an intercalary year underpaid by four days. The difference in results obtained may, of course, be due to the fact that the prytany-count of our Promachos inscription gave a “normal” $10 \times 38 = 380$, while the month-count of the fourth century gave a “normal” $13 \times 30 = 390$. Whatever our explanation of the details may be, I consider the fact established that the epistatai of the sixth year in the Promachos inscription held office for the period of the civil year, that this particular year was intercalary, that it was coterminous with the prytany year, and hence that the conciliar year which we find in the period of the Archidamian War corresponding closely to the solar year and containing approximately 365 or 366 days had not as yet been introduced in Athenian political institutions.

The evidence that the separate conciliar year existed as early as 446 is found in the formula of date of the expense account for the second year of work on the Parthenon (*I.G.*, I², 340). It seems probable that the dating of the years of the Parthenon record by the name of the first secretary of the Council began in 447, for in 437/6 appears the phrase [ἐπὶ τῷ κενδεκάτῃ]ς βολῆς, ἡντι Π[ε]ριθιάδης πρῶτος ἐ[γραμμάτευε], implying that the record of the first year (447/6) was dated also by the βολή and its first secretary. There is no need here to give the argument in detail again, for I have presented it in *The Athenian Calendar* (pp. 124–126), and reference has been made to it elsewhere.¹

It is now possible, I believe, to add still another argument to show that the separate conciliar year, which did not exist at the time of the Promachos accounts, did exist when the Parthenon accounts began. This depends on the observation that the divisions of the year for purposes of scaling pay were made by month in the Parthenon and Propylaea building inscriptions, and by prytanies in the Promachos and Erechtheion inscriptions. In all four cases the public work involved was under the direction of epistatai. There were, then, four separate boards of commissioners, all with similar responsibilities, and two of them divided their year by prytanies and two of them divided their year by months. We now know that the separate conciliar year did not exist at the time of the Promachos and Erechtheion records (where the division was made by prytanies), and the change to a monthly division of the year at the time of the Parthenon and Propylaea records can best be explained as motivated by the existence of a separate

¹ Meritt, *Clas. Phil.*, XXV (1930), p. 243; Glotz, *Rev. Arch.*, XXIX (1929), p. 196.

and distinct conciliar year which no longer coincided exactly with the term of office of the epistatai. If the epistatai were chosen throughout for the period of the civil year, a prytany division for purposes of calculating pay was possible before the separate conciliar year was introduced and again after the separate conciliar year had been abandoned. When, however, the year of the Boule was not coterminous either at beginning or end with the civil year, the epistatai (holding office for the civil year) could not without confusion make payments by the prytany. This explains the change of system which is observable in the Parthenon and Propylaea records, and is further evidence that the separate conciliar year had actually been introduced as early as 447, for the first record of monthly payments occurs in the very first year of the Parthenon accounts (*I.G.*, I², 339, line 30). This agrees too with the fact that these Parthenon and Propylaea records were awkwardly dated; we have now not only the awkward date but also the monthly division as evidence for the introduction of the new conciliar year.

From this time on to the end of the century the citation of a year caused trouble to the Athenians. In 446/5 (*I.G.*, I², 340) the date ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἀρχῆς ἡξει Ε[...⁸... ἐγραμμάτενε] καὶ αὐτῆς was correct, but it could not be equated accurately with the conciliar year defined in the same inscription as [αὐτῆς βολῆς Ἀντ]ίδο[ρος πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτενε]. None the less, the mention of the first secretary of the council served the practical purpose of confirming more specifically in point of time the δευτέρα ἀρχή. The confusion was here not quite so great as in the date of the borrowings in the Archidamian War (e.g., *I.G.*, I², 324, lines 2–5) where the year was defined in three different ways, only one of which was actually exact,¹ and by 437/6 a more correct denomination was given by adding the name of the archon, who spanned in his term of office the same civil year as the epistatai. The text of *I.G.*, I², 349 reads:

[τοῖς ἐπιστάταισι ἡ]οῖς Ἀντ[ικλῆς χσν]τεγραμμάτε[νε],
[ἐπὶ τῆς ἑνδεκάτης] βολῆς, ἡξει Π[ε]ριχάρης πρῶτος ἐ[γραμ]
[μάτενε, ἐπὶ Εὐθυμέ]ρος ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίων.

The actual date by ἀρχή is gone, for Antikles was secretary for more than one year, but the approximately equivalent βουλή is mentioned and the exactly equivalent ἔρχων.

At this point it may be well to consider the calendar character of the year 433/2 in Athens, for the above arguments have a direct bearing upon it. Once granted that the separate conciliar year was in existence from the middle of the century, its projection back from 426 and its known correspondences with the civil year, particularly in 433 (*I.G.*, I², 295) and in 432 (the Milesian parapegma) show that the Attic year 433/2 must have been intercalary. For the proof of this, reference may be made to Meritt's *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 88. Recently, however, West has given a much needed study of the Delian accounts preserved in *I.G.*, I², 377 and has drawn the conclusion that

¹ Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 95.

the year 433/2 must have been ordinary.¹ There exists, thus, a paradox which must be resolved unless our conception of the calendar is to remain hopelessly confused.

West has been able to establish from the equations between Delian and Athenian months recorded in *I.G.*, I², 377 the following set of correspondences:

	<i>Athens</i>		<i>Delos</i>
(Archon Krates)	Posideion	— <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 377, l. 17—	Lenaion (Archon Eupteres 433)
434/3	Gamelion		Hieros
	Anthesterion		Galaxion
	Elaphebolion		Artemision
	Mounichion		Thargelion
	Thargelion		Panamos
	Skirophorion		Hekatombaion
(Archon Apseudes)	Hekatombaion		Metageitnion
433/2	Metageitnion	— <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 377, ll. 14–15—	Bouphionion
	Boedromion		Apatourion
	Pyanopsion		Aresion
	Maimakterion		Posideion
	Posideion		Lenaion (Archon - - - ros 432)
	Gamelion	— <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 377, ll. 21–22—	Hieros

These equations depend on restorations in the text of *I.G.*, I², 377, as follows:

1. Lines 16–18: [χρόνος ἄρχ]ει Ποσιδηίων μὲν Ἀθήνησι ἄρχοντος Κράτητος, ἐ[ν Ἀίλωι δὲ Ἀγναιῶν μὲν] ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρου.
2. Lines 14–15: χρόνος ἄρχει Μεταγειτνίων μὲν Ἀθήν[ησιν ἄρχοντος Ἀψεύδου, ἐν] Ἀίλωι δὲ Βουφονίων μὲν ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρου.
3. Lines 21–23: χρόνος [ἄρχει Ἀθήνησιν Γαμηλιών] μὲν ἄρχοντος Ἀψεύδου, ἐν Ἀίλωι Ἰερὸς [μὲν ἄρχοντος^{ca. 11}]ρο

The arguments which have been advanced by West for changing the restorations of the *Corpus* are cogent, and with the text of equations (1) and (2) I can see no possibility of error. The conclusion that 433/2 must have been ordinary depends, however, on equation (3). As West observes, the year can be made intercalary at Athens only by equating Hieros (Delian) with intercalary Posideion (Athens). Since this month would have to be written Ποσιδηίων ἐμβόλιμος (or *II. ὕστερος* or *II. δεύτερος*) West concludes that the space available for restoration is too small to allow its substitution for Γαμηλιών, and hence that the month following Posideion was not in fact a second Posideion, and that the year must have been ordinary.

It must be noted, however, that in the lacuna available for restoration West has supplied not only the word Γαμηλιών but also the word Ἀθήνησιν. The normal place for Ἀθήνησιν to appear, as is shown by equations (1) and (2) where this particular part

¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 1–9.

of the text does not depend on restoration, is after the word *μήν*. As a matter of fact the word *Ἀθήνησιν* does not occur after the word *μήν* in equation (3), and whether or not there is room to supply it out of order in the preceding lacuna must depend on what other words are to be restored there. With our knowledge that the conciliar year existed as early as 447, and with the further knowledge that this necessitates an intercalary year in 433/2, the restoration of equation (3) should give the name of the intercalated month in the lacuna, reading *χρόνος* [*ἄρχει ἐμβόλιμος Ποσιδηίων*] *μήν*. The fact that *Ἀθήνησιν* does not appear in its proper position after *μήν* is no proof that it must be restored elsewhere, but merely evidence that it was omitted. Normally, as in equations (1) and (2), the contrast was drawn between the month at Athens and the month at Delos by the antithetical *Ἀθήνησιν*,—*ἐν Ἀθήλῳ* δέ. But in equation (3) where *Ἀθήνησιν* was omitted the appositive particle δέ was also omitted after *ἐν Ἀθήλῳ*, and we have merely *χρόνος* [*ἄρχει ἐμβόλιμος Ποσιδηίων*] *μήν* *ἄρχοντος Ἀψεύδος, ἐν Ἀθήλῳ Ἱερὸς* [*μήν* *ἄρχοντος*^{ca. 11}] *ρο*. In spite of the omission of *Ἀθήνησιν* there is no ambiguity about this definition of time, for the name of the archon Apseudes shows that the month Posideion II belonged to the Athenian, and not to the Delian calendar; and the Delian calendar is specified in its turn adequately by the modifiers *ἐν Ἀθήλῳ* and [*ἄρχοντος*^{ca. 11}] *ρο*.

The table of correspondences for 433/2 which West has given for the two calendar systems should be revised to read as follows:

<i>Athens</i>	<i>Delos</i>
(Archon Apseudes) Hekatombaion	Metageitnion (Archon Eupteres
433/2 Metageitnion— <i>I. G.</i> , I ² , 377, ll. 14–15—	Bouphonion 433)
Boedromion	Apatourion
Pyanopsion	Aresion
Maimakterion	Posideion
Posideion	Lenaion (Archon - - - ros 432)
Posideion II— <i>I. G.</i> , I ² , 377, ll. 21–22—	Hieros
Gamelion	Galaxion
Anthesterion	Artemision
Elaphebolion	Thargelion
Mounichion	Panamos
Thargelion	Panamos II
Skirophorion	Hekatombaion

The reconstruction of 433/2 in Athens as an intercalary year indicates that 434/3 was ordinary, and the year 432 in Delos should probably be made intercalary to prevent too great a divergence between it and the Athenian calendar and the dates of the solstice. On both counts, the Delian year 433 should be ordinary, not only to preserve the correspondence indicated by *I. G.*, I², 377 with the Athenian months, but also to avoid at Delos a succession of two intercalary years.

PROXENY DECREE

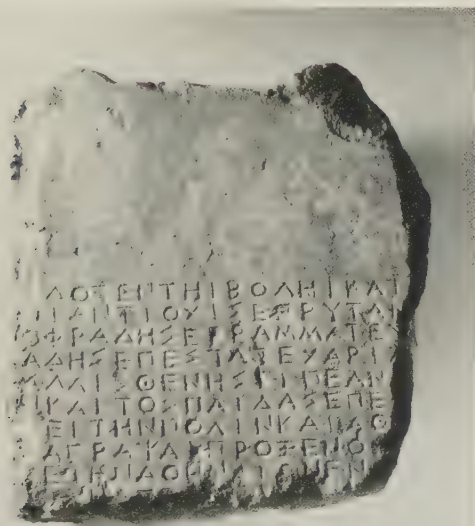
5. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the smooth-picked left side and rough-picked back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on March 25, 1934 in the wall of a late Roman building in Section Z.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 1674.

The letters are arranged *stoichedon*. Eight lines occupy a vertical space of 0.095 m. on the stone, and fifteen letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.175 m. The letters are made with chisels of 0.008 m. and 0.006 m. in breadth.



No. 5

The inscription may be dated in the eighth prytany of 415/4 because of the name of the archon, which appears in line 4, and because it is known that in this year the tribe Antiochis (line 2) held the eighth prytany.¹ The name of the man, however, who received the rights of proxeny cannot be restored. The first two letters appear in line 5 as AN, and these are followed by the tip of a stroke which may be interpreted as A or Δ; only the lower left corner is preserved. The end of the name appears in line 6 with the letter N.

¹ See the text of *I. G.*, 1², 302 in Meritt's *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 163, lines 71–77.

415/4 B.C.

CTOIX, 23

[ἐ]δοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ [τῷ δήμῳ]

ωι· Ἀντιοχίς ἐπρυτιάν[ευσε . . .]

οφράδης ἐγραμμάτευ[ε . . .⁵ . . .]

άδης ἐπεστάτε· Χαρία[ς ἥρχε· Κ]

5 αλλισθένης εἶπε· Ἀν[. . .⁶ . . .]

ν καὶ τὸς παῖδας ἐπε[ιδὴ εἶ πο]

[ι]εῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ Ἀθ[ηναίος ἀ]

γαγράψαι πρόξενον[ν καὶ εἶε]

[γ]έτην Ἀθηναίων ἐν [στύλῳ λι]

10 [θί]νηι τέ[λεσ]ι[ν το]ῖ[ς ἐαντῷ . . .]

Whoever the new proxenos and benefactor may have been, we know that he had the stele inscribed at his own expense (line 10). This circumstance accounts for the fact that Ionic letters were used and indicates that the man himself came from some part of the Greek world where Ionic letters were regularly employed.

I should like to point out here the coincidence that in the eighth prytany of 415/4 an Athenian general was at Eph - - -. Unfortunately the name is broken away after the partially preserved φ in the inscription where it appears (*I.G.*, I², 302, line 79; cf. text as given by Meritt, *op. cit.*) but a probable restoration gives the reading Eph(esos). The coincidence lies in the fact that in the same prytany we have an honorary decree for some man who had been a benefactor to Athens and who was himself accustomed to the Ionic alphabet. There is of course no proof, but the suggestion should be made that the recipient of honors in the text here published may have been an Ephesian who had rendered some service in the early days of the prytany to the Athenian general stationed at Ephesos.

If the restoration of the name in *I.G.*, I², 302 as Ephesos is correct, it is the last reference we have to this city as loyal to Athens before it went over to Tissaphernes at some time before 412.¹ Perhaps the Athenians with an army on guard and with a diplomatic use of proxeny decrees from Athens, were trying to hold a wavering city, which ultimately took advantage of the exhausting preoccupation of the Athenians with Sicily to break away from the empire.

SALE OF THE PROPERTY OF ALCIBIADES

6. A. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the back preserved, found on January 22, 1934 in the wall of a cellar of a modern house in Section K.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 236 b.

Ten lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.11 m., and five rows of letters (mostly *stoichedon*) occupy a horizontal space of 0.046 m.

	-- --	-----		-----
	-- --	[--- ^{ca.} 8 ---]	25	-----
	-- --	[... ⁶ ...] vacat		I[II ---]
	-- --	[προσκ]εράλαια		vacat
5	[vacat]	[σύντι]να ΓII		III Δ ---
	-- --	[κνέ]φαλλον		vacat
	-- --	[κν]έφαλλον	30	III Δ Γ --
	-- --	[φ]σίαθαι ΓII		vacat
	-- --	τραπέζα II		III Γ ---
10	-- --	τραπέζα		III I ---

¹ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Ephesos, p. 2790.

	-- I --	δίφρος	III Δ --
	-- F III	ὑπερα III	III --
	[I] I F III	δόρυ ἄνευ στύρακ(ος)	III --
	-- F F III III	δοράτιον	-- --
15	-- [I] II	δίφρος	
	-- [.] F I	σανίς	
	-- --	κάρδοπος	
	[vacat]	κεραμι [κέ]	
	-- --	κάρδοπ[ος]	
20	[vacat]	λιθίνε	
	-- --	λοτ[έριον]	
	[vacat]	[λ]ίθ[ινον]	



No. 6 A

This fragment belongs to the same inscription as that found in Section ΣΤ in 1932, and now published as *Hesperia*, III, 35. It is a record of the poletai from the latter part of the Fifth Century, recording the sale of the confiscated property of one of the Hermokopidai, quite probably of Alcibiades. When the fragment first discovered was published, it was found possible to unite as parts of one monument the new piece and several other pieces already known and now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (*I.G.*, I², 329, 330, and 334). The fragment here recorded has no point of contact with any of the other pieces, but probably belongs to the middle and last columns of the stele as reconstructed in *Hesperia*, III, p. 48. Some question has been raised as to whether the two fragments of *I.G.*, I², 330 do actually join each other as I have claimed, and as shown in the photograph in *Hesperia*, III, p. 49, or whether they should be kept in the relative positions assigned to them by Wilhelm in his publication in the *Jahreshefte* (1903, p. 236). I wish to take this opportunity to state that I have again examined the stones in Athens, and that Sterling Dow has also examined them independently for me. The disposition as indicated in *Hesperia* is correct, for the stones do join with a very considerable area of contact between them.

Restorations in the present text, where necessary, may be made with reference to Pollux. I owe lines 21–22 to a suggestion of Woodward. The entry in lines 4–5 may have been, in part, the occasion for the statement (cf. Pollux, X, 40): ἐν τοῖς Ἀλκιβιάδου πέπραται προσκεφάλαιον σκύτιον καὶ λιθοῦν καὶ ἔρεοῦν. The ψίαθοι of line 8 are also mentioned by Pollux (X, 43). In front of each item was the price of sale, preceded by the amount of the ἐπώνιον. The figures of lines 26–36, as here printed, belong consequently to items listed in a column to the right where the stone is now broken away.

Another fragment from the Agora and still a further piece from the Epigraphical Museum may be added to the composite document, and I give them here as fragments B and C under the present number.

B. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on October 10, 1934 during the demolition of a modern house in Section O.

Height, 0.163 m.; width, 0.093 m.; thickness, 0.118 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2040.

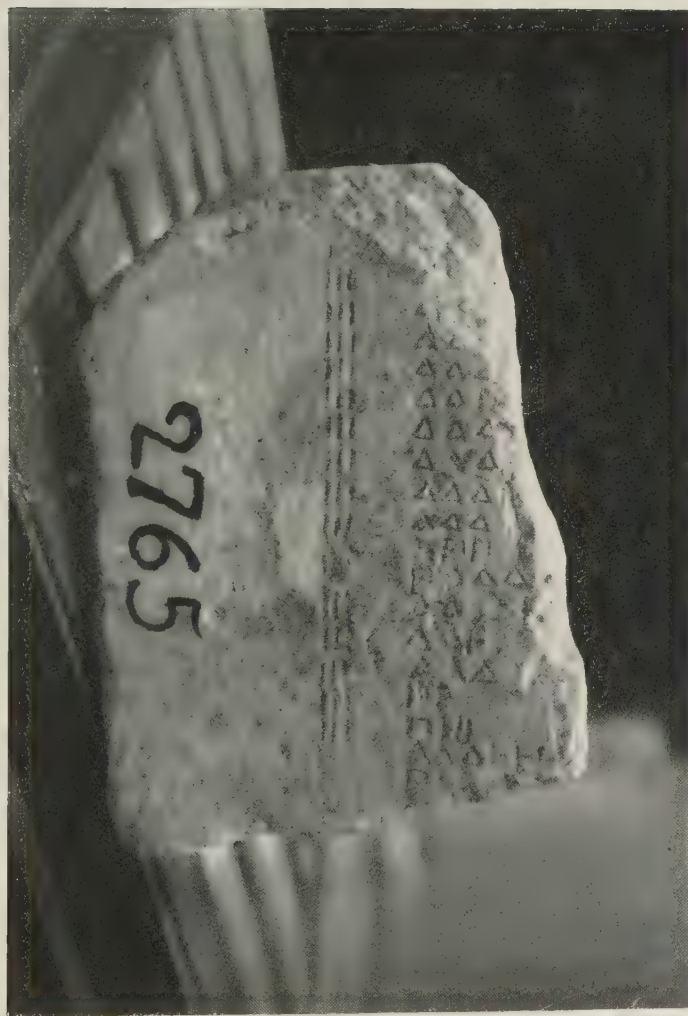
Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.058 m., and four rows of letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.034 m. The writing is *stoichedon*.

The back of the stone is rough, but the original thickness seems to be preserved. The fragment makes no join with any other piece of the inscription, and its exact place in the original document cannot be determined. The restoration of the word *τιρίβον* has been given in the text; an alternative and equally possible suggestion is *τιρίβον[ιον]*.



No. 6 B

[ε]ρ[ίβον]
 [ε]ρίβ[ον]
 τρίβον
 τρίβον
 5 τρίβον
 τρίβ[ον]
 τρ[ίβον]
 π - - - - -



No. 6 C

I v - - - -
 III Δ - - -
 III Δ - - -
 III ΔΔ - -
 5 III ΔΔΔ - -
 III ΔΔΓ - -
 III ΔΔΔ - -
 III ΔΔΔ - -
 III ΔΔΔ - -
 III ΔΔΔ - -
 10 III ΔΔΔ v
 II HΓΓ v
 I ΓΔΔΔ -
 III ΔΔ[Δ]Γ -
 III ΔΔΓ r
 15 III ΔΔΔ v
 III ΓΓ v
 III ΓΓΓ r
 I ΔΔΔΓΓΓ - -
 I ΓΓΓ
 20 I - - - - -

C. EM 2765. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides. Wilhelm has noted in the inventory in the Epigraphical Museum that the piece belongs with the poletai records, but no indication of its association with this particular document is given.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.166 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.005–0.007 m.

Ten lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.097 m.

I have suspected a join with *I.G.*, I², 329, but it cannot be considered certain. When the stones are so placed that line 26 of *I.G.*, I², 329 (in the first column) falls at the same level with line 12 of EM 2765 (which thus becomes column II, the middle column of the document) there may be a slight contact surface. If so, the line which carries the item *Κὰρ παῖς* in the first column is continued in the second column with the item $\Gamma\Delta\Delta\Delta$ - -.

With reference to the present publication, to the *Corpus*, and to *Hesperia*, III, 35, the various fragments of the inscription may be noted as follows:

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III
<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 329	+ (?) 6 C	<i>Hesperia</i> , III, 35
	6 A —————	6 A
		<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 330
		(cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 49)

No. 6B and *I.G.*, I², 334 cannot be accurately assigned.

THE TRIBUTE ASSESSMENT OF 410 B.C.

7. Five small fragments of Pentelic marble, found between May 15 and 25, 1933 in Section H' in front of the Stoa of Zeus. Fragment A was found in a burnt stratum, fragments B, C, and D just above the classical floor, and fragment E just above bedrock. They have no point of contact in common, but are obviously part of the same original monument.

Frag. A: height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Frag. B: height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

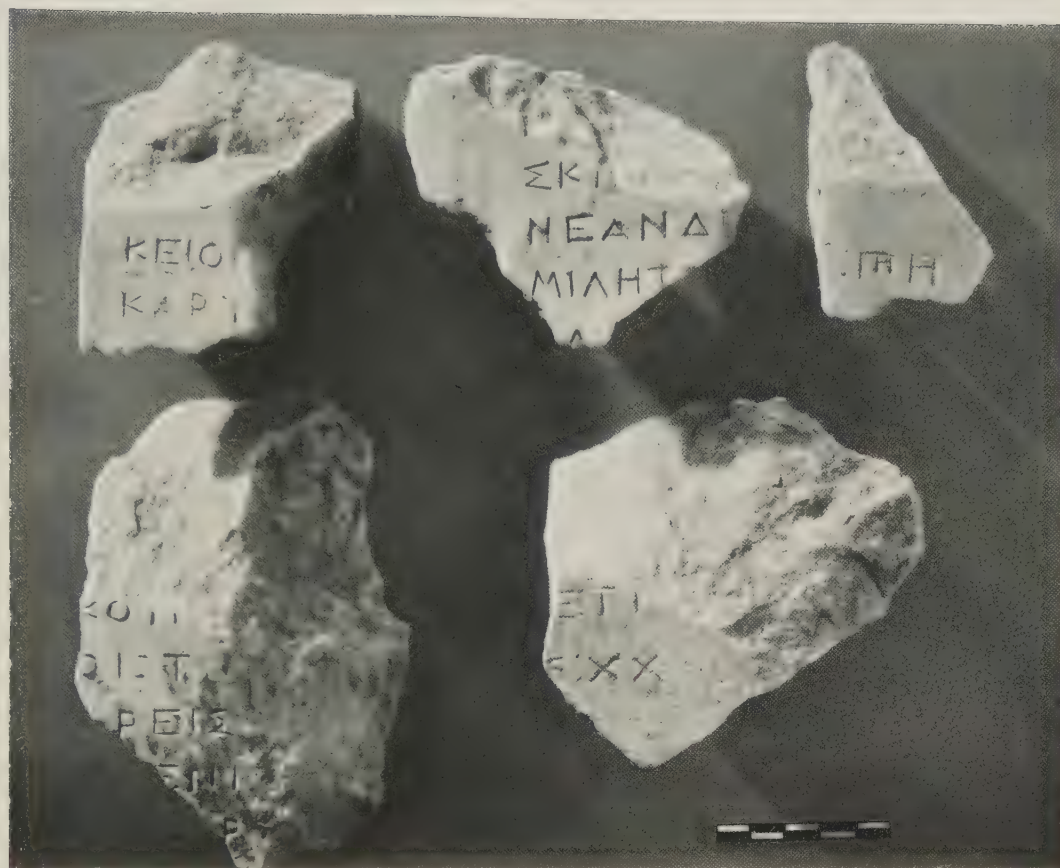
Frag. C: height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Frag. D: height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.

Frag. E: height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.071 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 832.

The height of letters is *ca.* 0.006 m., and four lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.06 m., while five letters (in *Νεανθο[ετις]* of Fragment D) occupy a horizontal space of 0.057 m. The strokes of the letters are made with chisels of 0.006 m. or 0.004 m. in breadth.



No. 7

A -----ς: ΠΗ

B -----ε: ΤΤ
-----ς: ΧΧC -----χο!!! --
5 -----οι: Τ
-----ρεῖς --
-----ενι --
-----ρ --

D Ι -----

10 Σκή[ψμοι: ---]
Νεανδρ[ειῆς: ---]
Μιλητο[πολίται: --]
[.]^'.-----

E [Κ]ύθη[ιοι: ---]

15 Κεῖοι[: ---]
Καρύ[στικοι: --]
! -----

The readings from the stone are fairly clear, so far as they are preserved at all, and show that the fragments belong to an assessment list of the Athenian empire distinct from that of 425/4 (*I.G.*, I², 63 = Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*) or of 421 (*I.G.*, I², 64, fragments y + z''). In this document the amounts of tribute followed the names and were separated from them by marks of punctuation. The writing shows some Ionic characteristics, like the etas in Σκή[ψιοι] and Μιλητο[πολιται] of fragment D and the lambda of Μιλητο[πολιται] in the same fragment. In fragment C (line 6) the letters --- ρεις must be taken as the ending of a name, nominative plural, in place of the usual ---- ρῆς or ---- ρῆς. This form is attested only after 378 B.C. in the examples collected by Meisterhans-Schwyzler,¹ but any other restoration here seems difficult. Possibly the form Νεανδο[ειῆς] in fragment D should be read as Νεανδο[εῖς].² The form ---- ε in fragment B shows that η was not always employed for ε. The restoration here may be [Βισάνθη]ε, for this city was supposed to pay also in 421 a tribute of two talents (*I.G.*, I², 64, line 87).

Other readings call for some comment. In line 4 the letters after ---- χο are represented only by three vertical strokes which are broken away at the top. The first two cannot be combined to make a single letter but the last two may represent either one letter or two. The letters in line 7 may form part of the word [Κλαζομ]ένι[οι] or perhaps of the phrase [Θερμαῖοι] ἐν Ἰ[χάροι] or [Οἰναῖοι] ἐν Ἰ[χάροι]. In any event the names of fragment C seem to belong to the Ionic-Caric group, while those of fragment D belong to the Hellespont, and those of fragment E to the Islands. This consideration renders the restoration Μιλητο[πολιται] rather than Μίλητο[ς] necessary in line 12. In line 14 the traces of letters preserved are so spaced as to make necessary the supplement [Κ]ύθη[ιοι].

All the fragments except E are mere chips broken on all sides. Along the left edge of E is an ancient beveled cutting very much like that which appears along both sides of *I.G.*, I², 63, but in the present instance the marble once continued toward the left even below the depth of the beveling. It is now broken away, and the original left edge of the stone is not actually preserved—only the line of margin which was decorated by the beveled surface. The arrangement suggests, however, that the names of the Island district were listed in Column I of the catalogue, as was the case also in *I.G.*, I², 63.

In date the document is the latest of its kind that we now possess. The numerous Ionicisms make a date in the latter part of the century almost inevitable, and I suggest that it represents the assessment of 410/09 B.C. It is known from Thucydides that there was no assessment in 414/3, for in that year the φόρος was abandoned in favor of a five per cent tax on commerce.³ The normal time for a new assessment after this date was the Panathenaic year 410/09, when a restoration of tribute payment by the "allies"

¹ *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 141.

² Cf. Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*, s. v. Νεανδοεύς.

³ Thuc., VII, 28, 4; cf. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, pp. 16–17.

may have seemed particularly appropriate after the great victory of Kyzikos in the spring or early summer of 410. Indeed, it must be assumed that an assessment had taken place before 409/8, for we read in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (I, 3, 9) of the imposition of φόρος on Chalkedon in that year on the old scale and the exaction of arrears. This reassessment of tribute was recognized by Koehler years ago,¹ and the epigraphical evidence for it has now come to light in the fragments here published. The new item *Μιλητο[πολῖται]* from the Hellespont reflects the victory of Kyzikos and lends additional support to the date here suggested in 410/09. The site of Miletropolis lay not far to the southeast of Kyzikos. The restored democracy evidently planned a restored assessment of the tribute, including cities within their sphere of interest, some of which, like Miletropolis, had not—so far as we know—been assessed before.

The fate of the five per cent tax is uncertain. Aristophanes (*Frogs*, line 363) speaks of an εἰκοσιτόλος in Aigina in 406/5, but Aigina did not pay tribute and had not, in fact, paid tribute since 431 (Thuc. II, 27). Whether the allied cities were compelled to pay the tax as well as the tribute after 410 we do not know. Evidently the tax was continued where tribute was not collected. Incidentally, the resumption of tribute assessment after a lapse of four years shows that the substitute tax was not so great a financial success as the Athenians in 414 had hoped it would be.

TREASURES OF ATHENA AND THE OTHER GODS

8. Fragment of grayish-white marble, found on January 9, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section A. It is broken on all but two faces, which have independent inscriptions.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.197 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters (on the principal face) 0.007 m., (on the lateral surface) 0.047 m.

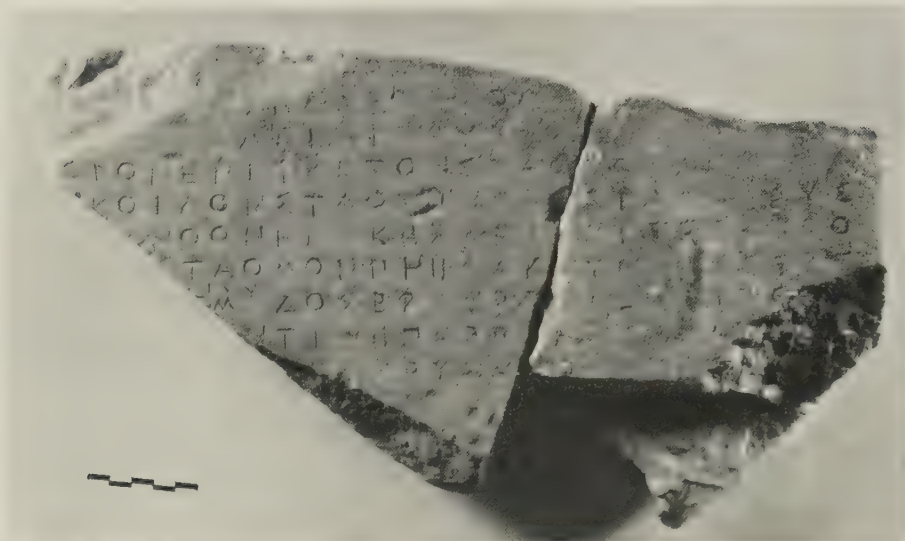
Inv. No. I 1182.

The original thickness of the stele is preserved, with the back rough-picked. The lateral surface was used as a horizontal band for a later inscription, of which only two letters (— — EA) are preserved.

In the principal inscription the letters are arranged *stoichedon*. Four lines occupy a vertical space of about 0.06 m., and eight letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.11 m.

I am indebted to Woodward, who has studied my copy, for the information that the new fragment must join fragment *c* of *I. G.*, II², 1395. When trial was made in Athens it was found that the stones actually do join, as Woodward surmised, and a photograph of the two pieces together is given here.

¹ *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, pp. 152—153.

No. 8. *I.G.*, II², 1395c + Agora I 1182

[- - - - - γ]ρῆπε [δ]ι[α]λ[ί]θω χ[ρυσῶ] || σταθ]
 20 [μὸν ΔΔΔΔ . . κυμ]βία λεῖα⁽¹⁾ χρυσ[ᾶ . . .] στα[θμὸν]
 [. . .⁶ . . χρυ]σίον ἐπίτηκτον σταθ[μ]ὸ[ν Δ]Π||| ἰάλ
 [ιον ἀργυρῶ] κοῖλον σταθμὸν Π||| π]έταλα χρυσ
 [ᾶ ||| ἀπὸ τοῦ στεφ]άνου ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει [ἐ]πὶ τῆς χειρὸς
 [ς τοῦ ἀγάλματος] σταθμὸν ΠΠ|| δακ[τ]ύλιος σιγ
 25 [πτοὺς χρυσῶς Ἀρτέ]μιδος Βραυρωγίας σταθ[μὸς]
 [ν ΠΠ|||] συβήνη ἐλεφα[ντίνη] παρὰ [Μ]ηθυμνα[ίων ἐ]
 [πίχρυσος ἐκινάκης ἐ]πίχρυσος[ς] ὄνξ ἄ[νευ δα]
 [κτυλίου ἄστατος ἐν κυλί]χνίθ[ι - - - - -]

The right margin of the stele is determined by the new fragment, and the lines have been numbered as in the text of *I.G.*, II², 1395. New readings in lines 19, 20, 22, 23, and 28 of the old fragment have been made by Woodward and Meritt.

The record is an inventory of the treasures of Athena and the Other Gods from the Parthenon taken over by the board of treasurers of 395/4 from their predecessors.

SALES OF CONFISCATED PROPERTIES

9. Two fragments of Pentelic marble which belong together, but which do not join. The piece on the left has the left edge preserved but is otherwise broken. It was found in January of 1934 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.163 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1092.

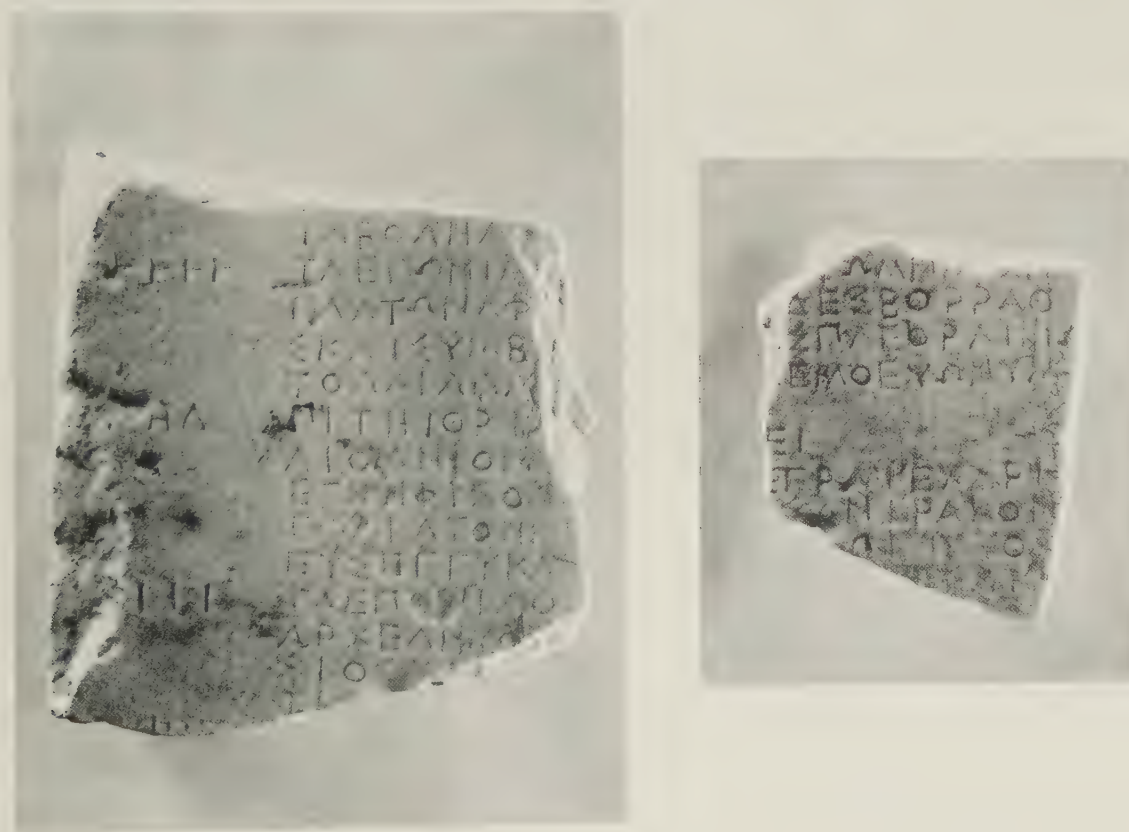
The piece on the right is broken on all sides. It was found on March 30, 1933 in Section Z. On it the ends of the lines of text are preserved, but the stone has no margin. It extends beyond the break to the right enough to indicate that the inscription originally contained another column of text in addition to that which is partially preserved in the two fragments here published.

Height, 0.112 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 627.

The inscription is *stoichedon*. Five lines of text occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.05 m.; six letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.05 m.



No. 9

CTOIX. 32

First half of the Fourth Century

1[------κα]

ταβολή Δ-----

⋈⋈⋈ τὰ ἐπώνια -----

Πλάτων Ἀφ[ιδναῖος ἀπέγραψε⁹]

5 ς καὶ σύμβο[λοι κατεκύρωσαν⁹]

το Δαιδαλ[ίδο συνοικίαν καὶ ἐσχατιὰν(?) εἰ]

⋈⋈Δ πὶ τῇ Θρί[αι κειμένους αἶς γεί]τωμι πρὸς ἡ

λίω ἀνιόντ[ος¹⁹]δεξ βορρᾶθ

εγ Κηφισόδω[ρος¹⁰]ς πλέθρα || ||

10 ἐπρίατο Ἀρέ[σαιχμος (?) Τληπο]λέμο Εὐωνυμ

εὺς ἐγγυ* κατ[αβολή ΗΔΔ⋈(?) vacat

⋈⋈⋈ τὰ ἐπώνια θε[. . . .¹²]ει vacat

Ἀρχέδημο[ς¹¹ ἀπ]έγραψε Χαρί

σιος κα[ὶ σύμβολοι κατεκύρω]σαν Δρακον

15 τί[δο²¹]ωι ἀντομ

⋈⋈⋈⋈ ----- ὅσακ[.]

The document is a record of the *πωληταί* containing accounts for the sale of confiscated property. It belongs in the same category with *I.G.*, II², 1579 and *Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 41, with which the text here given should be compared. The length of line is determined as thirty-two letters by the restoration of line 14, where the verb *κατεκύρωσαν* is taken from Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 47, 3 and the noun *σύμβολοι* = *σύμβουλοι* from line 5 above.

Aristotle speaks of the sale of the property of those who have been exiled by the court of the Areopagos and of debtors, remarking that the *poletai* conducted the sale in the presence of the Council, and that the nine archons ratified it (*κατακυροῦσι δ' οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες*). Our document contains one record of such a sale and parts of two others, reflecting the procedure as described by Aristotle. It is improbable that the words *ὁ δεῖνος καὶ σύμβουλοι* (cf. lines 4–5 and 13–14) are the equivalent of the board of nine archons; rather the named official was one of the board and the *σύμβουλοι* were his advisers. Presumably any one of the nine archons had authority to ratify such a sale. The three major archons had each two *paredroi*¹ who were sometimes called *σύμβουλοι* as were also the advisers of the six other archons, though these had no official status and were not recognized in the constitution.²

In the record given in lines 4–12 of the present inscription Platon of Aphidnai registered the property for sale, (. . . .⁹)ς and his advisers ratified the sale, and the

¹ Cf. *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 56, 1 and *I.G.*, II², 1696. In the very early fourth century (394/3) the number was only one. See *I.G.*, II², 2811.

² See Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. *paredri*.

property belonged to some one from Daidalidai (lines 4–6). One can only conjecture the real nature of the property, it must have been in part at least land, for the dimensions of the plot are given in line 9 as four plethra. It was located in Thria, and the restoration suggested here tentatively in the text assumes that it was a large house and estate. A further definition of the locality of the property is given by the bounding properties on the east and north (lines 7–9). Then follow in order three items: the name of the man who made the purchase, the amount of his deposit, and the record of the sales tax (lines 10–12).

Recently, in discussing another record of the poletai, I have argued against connecting ἐγγυ with καταβολή.¹ The argument still seems to me valid, especially in view of the fact that in *I.G.*, II², 1579 the words ἐγγυ and καταβολή are separated by blank spaces upon the stone. I wish, however, to suggest still another possibility for explaining ἐγγυ as ἐγγυ(ητής). The bondsman may have been himself the purchaser, so that in lines 10–11 of the present inscription the reading should be ἐπρίατο Ἀρέ[σαιχμος(?) Τληπο]λέμο Εὐωνυμεὺς ἐγγυ(ητής): "Aresaichmos, son of Tlepolemos (the name is uncertain), of Euonymon, the bondsman, bought up the property." Such must have been a common event when the first purchaser failed to meet the instalments on his payment when they became due. With this interpretation one can understand why no space was left for a new name after ἐγγυ in line 11, and why ἐγγυ might appear in abbreviated form, which would be most odd if the sense to be reconstructed demanded ἐγγύης καταβολή.

LEASES OF MINES AND SALES OF CONFISCATED PROPERTY, INCLUDING THAT OF PHILOKRATES THE HAGNOUSIAN

10. An opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble, with one edge preserved, found on April 2, 1934 in a heavy Roman wall in Section B.

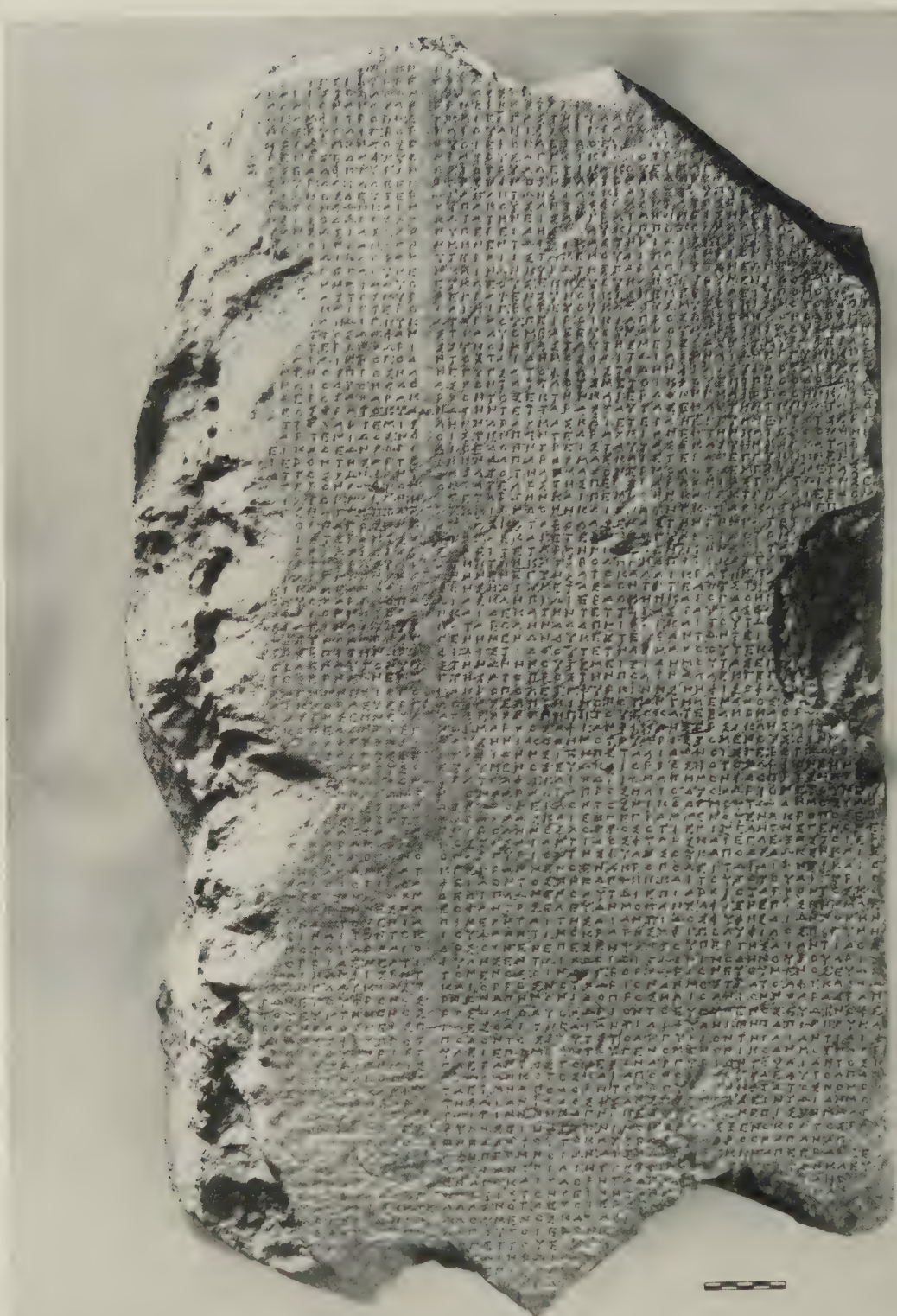
Height, 0.735 m.; width, 0.445 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. at the top and 0.094 m. near the bottom.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 1749.

The inscription is *stoichedon* on both faces. On the obverse face (the one better preserved) ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.075 m. and ten rows (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.075 m. On the reverse face (less well preserved) ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.067 m.; and ten rows (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.067 m.

¹ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 570–571.



No. 10. Obverse Face

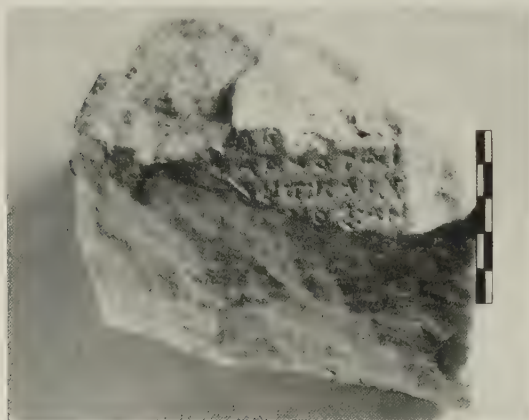


No. 10. Reverse Face

The stone is part of the same original stele with a fragment already known and published as *I. G.*, II², 1582, which has the same slightly tapering thickness,¹ the same marble, and the same writing on both its obverse and reverse faces. The better preserved face of *I. G.*, II², 1582 has the closer script and belongs with the face less well preserved in the present text.

The tapering thickness (*ca.* 0.09 m. at the top to *ca.* 0.094 m. at the bottom) shows that these two large fragments must be placed side by side rather than one above the other in any attempted reconstruction. Along the left edge of Face A of the Agora piece (cf. photograph on p. 394) there are drill holes made by some post-classical workman who wanted to cut the stele in two. On the right edge of Face B of *I. G.*, II², 1582 there are still discernible one or two similar holes, and they determine the line of cutting

when the stone was divided. The two and one half columns of *I. G.*, II², 1582 must be added to the one and one half columns of the Agora fragment to give a reconstructed stele four columns in width. This is, in fact, the disposition of the stone which Oikonomos deduced from the spacing of the columns on the original fragment, where his very shrewd observation of a minute epigraphical detail gave the conclusion now here confirmed.²



Inv. No. 817 (obverse)

Fortunately it is possible to estimate the original width of the stone, for the distance from one margin to the centre can be measured on Face A of *I. G.*, II², 1582 as 0.533 m.

The total width was therefore 1.066 m. This determination plays an important part in the reconstruction of the text of the Agora fragment. On the better preserved face the last column and one interspace take 0.27 m., so there is left a span of 0.263 m. for the original Col. III and half the interspace preceding it. This width is exactly right for the restoration of Col. III with a *stoichedon* line of thirty-five letters, and shows that in fact Col. III had the same number of letters in each line as Col. IV.

The text now published in the *Corpus* as *I. G.*, II², 1582, lines 140–187, becomes Col. I of the obverse face of the Agora stone, and should be restored with a *stoichedon* line of thirty-five (not thirty-nine) letters. The text of the *Corpus* now published as Cols. I, II, and III of Face A of *I. G.*, II², 1582 becomes Cols. II, III, and IV of Face B of the Agora stone, which preserves in legible form only a part of Col. I. Each of these four columns should be restored with a *stoichedon* line of thirty-nine letters.

¹ The thickness of the stone is erroneously recorded in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV (1910), p. 274, and also in the *lemma* in the *Corpus*, *I. G.*, II², 1582.

² Oikonomos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV (1910), p. 274.

To this same stele belongs also a small fragment found in the Agora on May 16, 1933 in a late fill in Section Z.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.128 m.; thickness, 0.094 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 817.

The stone has one edge preserved, is opisthographic, and belongs below the large piece (I 1749) described above. It makes no join. The text of the obverse face is given below in lines 200–203, and of the reverse face in lines 295–308.



Inv. No. 817 (reverse)

TEXT

	Col. III (Face A)	CTOIX. 35
342/1 B.C. (?)		
[----- ³¹ -----]		Nικη
[..... ²¹]	Σ:	Κτησιβίο: με
[..... ¹⁴]	Μνησιδάμ]ας:	Ἀριστοδάμαν
[τος: Μιρ: ⁵]	μέταλλον]	παλαιὸν ἀνασάξ
5 [ιμον στήλην ἔχον ⁹]	ον	Ἀμφιτροπῆ: ἐ

- [ν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς . . .⁶ . . .]νος: Κυθ: ὦι γ: βορ
 [.¹⁷]νοτό: Μν]ησιδάμαντος ἔ
 [δάφῃ: Μνρ: πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνι: . . .⁵ . . .]θένος: ἐδάφ: Κυθ
 [πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: Μνησιδάμαντ]ος ἐδάφῃ: Μνρ: ὦν
 10 [Μνησιδάμας Ἀριστοδάμαντο]ς: Μνρ: ΔΔ: τὰδε ἐπ
 [ράθη τῶν δημοπράτων Πνανο]ψιῶνος δευτέρ
 [αι ἵσταμένον δικαστήριον] πρῶτον τῶν καιν
 [ῶν: κυρωτῆς παρὰ πρυτάνεων Κ]ηφισόδωρος: Ἀγ
 [ροθέου: (?) . . .:¹³ . . .: Εὐ]ων Σωσίας Κλε
 15 [ινίου: . . .: ἀπέγραψεν χωρίον κ]αὶ οἰκίαν: Ἀγν
 [οῦντι²²]ωι ὁδὸς δη
 [μοσία²³]ΓΕΙΑΟΥΚΕ
 [.²⁷]ήματα δύο
 [.²⁷]αττος Μνρ
 20 [.²⁷]: καὶ ἕτερο
 [ν χωρίον¹⁹]ται: ὦι γ: κυκ
 [.²⁵]αττος: ὦν: Φαν
 [ύλλος¹⁶: καὶ] ἕτερον χωρί
 [ον²²]ται ὦι γ: βορ: ὁδ
 25 [ὁς²¹]εμένος πρὸς ἡλ
 [ίο ἀνι:¹⁵]πρὸς ἡλίο δυο: ἡ ὁδὸ
 [ς²³] φέροσα χαρακ
 [.²⁴]εοστράτο: Κυδαθ
 [.²⁴]τι ὑπ' Ἀρτεμισ
 30 [ίωι²¹] Ἀρτέμιδος: νο
 [τό:²¹]: Εἰκαδέων χωρί
 [ον²¹] ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέ
 [μυδος¹⁸]αττος: Χ: ὦν: Φανύ
 [λλος¹⁶] καὶ ἕ]τερον χωρίον
 35 [.²³]ὦι γ: βορ: Κλέων: Κ
 [.²²]πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνι: ὁδὸ
 [ς²⁴]ος: πάγος: ὦν: Ε
 [.²³] καὶ ἑτέραν ἐσχ
 [ατιὰν¹⁹]ιται καὶ οἰκί
 40 [αν²²] νοτό: Θρασύλο

- [χος²¹.....]ι: ΔΙΕΓΝΟΜΟΣΘ
 [.....²³.....] Εἰκαδέων καὶ ο
 [ἰκία¹²..... πρὸς ἡλί]ο δυο: Χαρίνο: πα
 [.....²³.....]: χωρίον καὶ ὄρο
 45 [ς¹⁸..... δημό]σια εἶναι ταῦτ
 [α πάντα τὰ τοῦ Φιλοκράτος τ]οῦ Πυθοδώρου: Ἀγ
 [ν: οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος Φιλοκρά]τος ἐπὶ τὴν κρῖ
 [σιν τῆς γραφῆς εἰς ἣν εἰσῆγ]γειλεν αὐτὸν Ὑπ
 [ερείδης τῶι δῆμωι ἀλλ' ὀφλδ]ντος ἐρήμην ἐν τ
 50 [ῶι δικαστηρίωι⁹.....]ς: Ἀγν: Μνησίθεο
 [ς²².....] Ἀγν: Θρασυεργ
 [.....²³.....]ιας τῆς ἐμ Μετα
 [.....²²..... οἷ]κοπέδων: οἷς γ
 [.....²⁰..... Θρασ]ύλοχος ΛΧΑΤΙ
 55 [.....²⁷.....] τὸ ὄρος φέ
 [ροσα²³.....]ς: Ἀγνουσι
 [.....²⁸.....]Δ χωρίον
 [.....²⁸.....]ληνεων: τ
 [.....²⁸.....]ΝΟΣΣΙΩΝ
 60 [.....²⁶.....]ΙΟΣΟΝΤΑΤΟ
 [.....²⁵.....]ἐ]σχατιὰ[ν] κα
 [.....²⁶.....] χάρακας κα
 [.....²⁵.....]λιθον ὄρινο
 [.....²⁵.....]ης: Ἀλα: μετὰ τ
 65 [.....²³.....]ν ἐπὶ Διοτίμο: ἄ
 [ρχοντος: ὦν:¹⁰..... Ἀναφλ]ύστι: ΠΗ: δραχμ
 [άς:¹⁸..... ἐμ]ίσθωσε τὴν ἐσχα
 [τιὰν²⁰.....]ι: ΗΔΔ: τοῦ ἐνια
 [ντὸ²¹.....] εἶναι τὸν τόκ
 70 [ον²¹.....]ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίο
 [.....²¹.....]ἐμ]φορβίδε: Μελ: Τι
 [.....²⁴.....]αι ἢ ἀμφισβητ
 [ῆι²⁰.....]ι: δαν: Γλανκίας: Ξ
 [.....²².....]ρων Εὐθύφρωνος
 75 [.....¹⁰.....]: τοῦ Εὐκτῆμονος

351/3

27*

[. . . : χωρίον καὶ οἰκίαν οἷς : γ] : βορρ : ἡ δδδς : ἡ εἰς Π
 [ειραιᾶ φέροσα : νοτό : . . . ? . . .] ἰδης : Σφήτ : πρδς
 [ἡλίο ἀνι :¹² πρδς ἡ] λίο δυο : Ἀριστ
 [-----²⁵-----] ος τῶι δημοσ
 80 [ἰωι : Χ : δραχμὰς καὶ ἐκγεγραμμέν] ου [ἐ] ν ἀκ[ροπό]
 [λει²⁵] Εὐκλει.
 ----- ν

 85 ----- ΟΣΟ
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----] ΟΝ.
 90 [-----] Ι . . . τ.
 [-----] ΙΑ.
 [-----] Ν.

(Lacuna of uncertain length at the end of Col. III and beginning of Col. IV)

Col. IV (Face A)

CΤΟΙΧ. 35

101 π[----- πρδς ἡ]
 λίο[ν ἀνι :¹⁷ : πρδς ἡλίου δυ]
 ο : ἡ δδδς ἡ εἰ[ς¹² καὶ Ἱεροκλείδο]
 Ἑρμ : ἐργαστήριον [: ὦν : -----]
 105 Χ : καὶ ἐργαστήρια δύο ἐ[μ Μελίτηι οἷς γε : πρδς]
 ἡλίου ἀνι : Φιλοκράτο[ς : Ἀγν : οἰκία : πρδς ἡλίου]
 δυο : Ἱεροκλείδο : Ἑρμ : [ἐργ] α[στήριον : βορρ : Φιλο]
 κράτους : Ἀγν : οἰκία : νοτό : ἡ δ[δδς ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακ]
 λείο τοῦ Ἀλεξικᾶκου εἰς ἀγο[ρὰν φέρονσα : ὦν]
 110 Ἱππόδικος : Καλλίου Ἀλωπεκ : Χ^Π : δημοσίων ὄντ]
 ων ἀπάντων Φιλοκράτος τοῦ Πυ[θοδώρο : Ἀγν : οὐ]
 χ ὑπακούσαντος Φιλοκράτος εἰ[ς τὴν κρίσιν]
 κατὰ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν ἣν εἰσήγγει[λεν αὐτὸ]
 ν Ὑπερείδης : [Γ]λανκίππο : Κολ : ἀλλ' ὀφλό[ντος ἐρ]
 115 ἡμην ἐν τῶι δικαστηρίῳ : Σκιροφοριῶ[νος δε]

- ντέραι ἵσταμένον δικαστήριον τὸ μέσ[ον τῶ]
 ν χαίνων κυρωτῆς παρὰ πρυτάνεων· Εὐθυκλ[ῆς]
 Εὐκλέους· ἐκ Κ· Εὐθυκλῆς Εὐθυμενίδου Μυρο[ῦ· ὁ]
 πέγραψεν συνοικίαν ἐμ Πειραεῖ ὑπὸ Μουνιχ
 120 ἰαι· ἦι γ· βορ· Εὐθυκλέους· Μυρ· οἰκία· νοτό· δὲ Πο
 ωτάρχου· Πειρ· οἰκία πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιό· ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀ
 στία δυομέ· δὲ Εὐθυμάχου Μυρ· οἰκία οὔσης τῇ
 ς συνοικίας ταύτης Μειξιδήμου Μυρ· ὁφείλο
 ντος τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐγγύην [ῆ]ν ἐ
 125 νεγνήσατο Φιλιστιδην· Φιλιστιδου· Αἰξ· μετ
 ασχόντα τέλους μετοικίου ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου ἄ
 ρχοντος ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδόμην καὶ ὀγδόην καὶ ἐ
 νάτην τέτταρας ταύτας ἐκάστην τὴν καταβο
 λήν· Η· δραχμὰς καὶ ἑτέραν ἐγγύην ἐν τοῖς ἔργ
 130 οῖς τὴν πεντεδραχμίαν ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδόμην κ
 αὶ ὀγδόην τρεῖς ταύτας ἐκάστην τὴν καταβ[ο]
 λήν· ΗΔΔΓ· δραχμὰς καὶ ἑτέραν ἐγγύην ἣν ἐνε[γ]
 νήσατο Τηλέμαχον· Ἐρμολόχο ἐμ Π· οἰκ· μετασ[χ]
 όντα τέλος τῆς πεντεδραχμίας τῆς τῷ Θῆσε
 135 [ῖ] τετάρτην καὶ πέμπτην καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδόμ
 ην καὶ ὀγδόην καὶ ἐνάτην καὶ δεκάτην ἐπτ[ὰ τ]
 [αύτ]ας καταβολὰς ἐκάστην τὴν καταβ[ολήν· Η· δ]
 [ραχ]μὰς καὶ ἑτέρ[α]ν ἐγγύην λιθοτομ[ίαν ἐμ Πε]
 [ιο]ραεῖ τετάρτην κ[αὶ] πένπτην δύο ταύ[τας ἐκά]
 140 [σ]την τὴν καταβολήν· ΗΔΓ ΙΙΙ· καὶ ἐτέ[ραν ἐγγύ]
 [ῆ]ν ἣν ἐνεγνήσατο Καλλικράτην· Κα[λλικράτο]
 [ς· Βήση· οἰκ· μετασχόντα τέλους τῆς [δραχμῆς τ]
 ῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι ἐβδόμην καὶ ὀγδόην [καὶ ἐνάτη]
 ν καὶ δεκάτην τέτταρας ταύτας ἐκ[άστην τὴν]
 145 καταβολήν· ΔΔΔΓΗΙΙΙ· καὶ τούτων [διπλῶν γε]
 γεννημένων οὐκ ἐκτεισάντων τεῖ [πόλει οὔτε]
 Φιλιστίδο· οὔτε Τηλεμάχο· οὔτε Κα[λλικράτο]
 ς τὴν ὥνην οὔτε Μειξιδήμου τὰς ἐγ[γύας δις ἡγ]
 γνήσατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀλλ' ἐκγεγ[ραμμένο ἐ]
 150 ν ἀκροπόλει· κ· Φυακίνης· Κηφισοφῶ[ντος· . . .· Χ]

- αρίας Ἐλπινίκο· Ποτ· ὦν· Τηλέμαχος· Θ[εαγγέλο]
 Ἀχαρ· XXX[¶]HHH[¶]Π· τοῦτο κατεβλήθη ἄθρο[ον ἔπα]
 ν· [Τ]ίμαρχος· Ἀφι· Ἀμφικλῆς· Ἐρσιπλῆς· Ἀφι· [ἀπέγ]
 ραψεν Νικοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομένους· Οἶν· χω[ρί]
 155 ον Ἀφιδνήσι ἐν Πεταλιδῶν οἷς γε· βορ· χωρί[ον]
 Εὐθυμένος· Εὖω· καὶ ὕρρος· νοτό· χωρίον Ἀημ[οσ]
 τράτο· Ἀφι· καὶ χωρίον Ἀπημονίδο πρὸς ἡλίο [ἄ]
 νιό· ἡ· χαράδρα πρὸς ἡλίο δυο· χωρίον Εὐθυμέ[ν]
 ος Εὖω· ὀφείλοντος Νικοδήμου τῷ δημοσίω
 160 Χ· δραχμὰς καὶ ἐκγεγραμμένον ἐν ἀκροπόλει
 ἐπιβολὴν ὀφλόντος ὅτι ἐπιμελητὴς γενόμε
 ρος τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς καὶ ἐγλέξας τὸ ἱερ
 ὸν ἀργύριον τῆς φυλῆς οὐκ ἀποδέδωκεν καὶ ἐ
 κγεγραμμένο· ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῷ Αἴαντι καὶ ὁ
 165 φείλοντος· [¶]HH[¶]ΔΠΗ[¶]Π· καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀργυρίου
 δεδιπλωμένο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου ἄρχοντος· κ· [Θ]
 εόφαντος· Ἐλευ· Δημοκλῆς· Ἀφι· ἐνεπίσημμα· ἐ
 πιμεληταὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς Αἴων Νομην
 ἰου· Φαλη· Τιμοκράτης· Ἀφι· Πολύφίλος· Πολυμή
 170 δος· Οἶν· ἐνεπεσκήψαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰαντίδος
 φυλῆς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷ Νικοδήμου τοῦ Ἀρισ
 τομένος· Οἶν· ὦι γ· βορ· χωρίον Εὐθυμένος· Εὖω
 καὶ ὕρρος· νοτ· χωρίον Δημοστράτο· Ἀφι· καὶ χω
 ρίον Ἀπημονίδο πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόν· ἡ χαράδρα π
 175 ρὸς ἡλίο δυο· χωρίον τὸ Εὐθυμένος· Εὖω· ἐνοφε
 ἰλεσθαι τῇ Αἰαντίδι φυλῇ· [¶]HH[¶]Δ· ΠΗ[¶]Π· οὐκ ἄ
 ποδόντος τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον τῇ Αἰαντίδι φ
 υλῇ ἐπιμελητοῦ γενομένου Νικοδήμου καὶ ἐ
 γλέξαντος τὸ ἱερὸν ἀργύριον τοῦ Αἴαντος κ
 180 αὶ ὠφληκόςτος καὶ ἀπολο[μένο]ν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔπα[ν]
 τα εἰ μὴ ἀποδοίῃ τὸ ἀργύ[ριον] κατὰ τὸς νόμο[ς]
 τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς π[ροσο]φλεῖν τῷ δημο[σ]
 ῖωι τιμῇ· [¶]HH[¶]ΔΠΗ[¶]Π· ἔδ[ωκε δ] ἐνεπίσημμα τ[ὸ]
 φυλῆς εἶναι· ὦν· Νικοχ[ράτη]ς Ξενοκράτος· Ρα[μ]
 185 [¶]HH[¶]ΔΔΔ· τοῦτο κατεβλ[ήθη ἄ]θροον ἔπαν· ἀπο[γρ]

αφή: Προμηθίων: Αίσχ[ρα]ί[ου] ἐκ Κη: ἀπέγραψε: ἐ[σ]
 χατιὰν Θρίαι: ἤι γε: βορ: [ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ] ἐπὶ τὸν κλευσ
 ον ἄγο: καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ δύ[ο⁹] ατὰ νομο.
 καὶ εἰς τὸν τειχητὸν¹² κας . . .
 190 αἰας: νοτ: δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν[ν - - - - -]
 [. .] ουμενος καὶ αφη - - - - -
 α: ὄπου τὸ ἱερὸν κ - - - - -
 [- -] γέττου ΣΙ[.] ΤΗ - - - - -
 [. . τ] ὦι ἤρωι ω - - - - -
 195 [. . .] ἐπιβολῇ - - - - -
 [. . .] ΗΗΗΗ^ΠΔ: - - - - -
 - - - - -

Lacuna of uncertain length

200 - - - - - ΙΕ⁸ . . .
 - - - - - ΑΡ: ΧΟΤΩΙ . . .
 - - - - - Ν: Τ: ΚΑΙΕ . . .
 - - - - - ΟΣ: ΑΝ . . .

Col. I (Face B)

	CTOIX. 39		γει: πρὸς ἡλίο - - - - -
	∴ Σφε - - - - -		ΛΙΝΗΣ - - - - -
	ΑΝΩΝ - - - - -		ΠΡΙΑ - - - - -
	. ΑΙΟΝ/ - - - - -		. . Ρ: Δ - - - - -
	. . ΟΣΕΦΟ - - - - -	225	- - - - -
210	. . . Ο . ΤΙΕ [- - - - - π]		. ΑΣ - - - - -
	ρὸς ἡλίο[: ἀνι: - - - - - πρὸ]		ΜΕ - - - - -
	ς ἡλίο δυο - - - - -		ΕΙΣ - - - - -
	ος: Μεγακ - - - - -		ΙΛΟ . . . ⁶ . . ΑΙ: - - - - -
	∴ Εἰωνυμ[- - - - - μέταλ]	230	ΙΠΠ - - - - -
215	λον ἀπε[γράψατο - - - - -]		ΕΣ - - - - -
	ν: ὦι γεί - - - - -		ΧΑΡ - - - - -
	ΗΜΟΥ. ΛΟ[- - - - - Σο]		26 lines illegible
	ννί[ωι - - - - -]		. Λ - - - - -
	Σουνίωι [- - - - - ἐ]	260	. Ν - - - - -
220	δάφεσιν τοῖς - - - - -		Φ. ΕΝ [- - - - - στήλην]

	ἔχον ὧι [γεί:- - - - -]		Ο . . ⁵ . . Ο - - - - -
	ΙΣΠΑΝ- - - - -		ΕΘ - - - - -
	. . Ι - - - - -		ΜΟ - - - - -
265	. ΝΒΟΡ - - - - -		ΩΡ - - - - -
	. ΟΙ: Τ - - - - -	290	. Λ - - - - -
	. ΡΑΣ - - - - -		. Σ - - - - -
	- - - - -		. Ι - - - - -
	ΙΟΙ - - - - -		- - - - -
270	. . Τ - - - - -		Lacuna of uncertain length
	. Ρ - - - - -		- - - - -
	- - - - -	295	. . ΙΛΑΦ - - - - -
	. Τ - - - - -		. ΙΤΗΝΦΕΣ [- - - πρὸς ἡλ] - - - - -
	. Τ - - - - -		λου ἀνιόντ: [- - - πρὸς ἡλίου δ] - - - - -
275	Τ - - - - -		νομέ: ΟΛΟΣΟ . . ΑΝΣΑΚΛ - - - - -
	. ΓΛΡ - - - - -		υ: Φηγα: ΤΗ: ΠΛΙΚΚΛ . . Γ - - - - -
	. ΥΕΙ - - - - -	300	το μέ[τα]λλον παλαιόν - - - - -
	. ΥΣΟΥ - - - - -		[σ]τήλ[ην] ἔχον Δημητρι[ακόν - - ἀπεγ]
	. ΕΙΑ - - - - -		[ρ]άψατο Χαρίν[ο]υ Χ - - - - -
280	- - - - -		[. . . φ]έ[ρ]οσα π - - - - -
	. Ν - - - - -		. ΧΛΑΤ . . . Ι[- - - - - ἀνασ]
	. Υ - - - - -	305	ἀξιμον πα[λαιόν] - - - - -
	. ΙΟΝ - - - - -		. ΣΑΜ - - - - -
	. Υ - - - - -		. ΑΘ: νοτό: ΔΕ - - - - -
285	. ΤΟ - - - - -		ΕΡ - - - - -
			- - - - -

TRANSLATION

Lines 3-10: Mnesidamas son of Aristodamas of Myrrhinous (listed) an old [mine] re-opened (name lost) in Amphitrope, [with a column, in the fields of] (- - - - -) on of Kytheros, bounded on the north by [- - - - -], on the south] by the fields of Mnesidamas [of Myrrhinous, on the east by the fields of] (- - -) thenes of Kytheros, [and on the west by the] fields of Mnesidamas of Myrrhinous. The lessee was Mnesidamas, son of Aristodamas, of Myrrhinous, the amount being twenty drachmai.

Lines 10-16: The following [of the confiscated properties were sold].

On the second day of Pyanopsion: first [court] sitting for the new (offences); [ratifier from the prytanes] Kephisodoros, son of Hagnotheos(?), [of - - - -].

Case I

[- - - -, son of - - - -, of] Euonymon and Sosias, son of Kleinias(?), [of - - -, registered for confiscation a plot of ground] and house situated in Hagnous, etc.

Lines 45-50: - - - - to be [confiscated all] these above-mentioned [properties of Philokrates, son] of Pythodoros, of Hagnous, [since Philokrates did not appear] for the trial [of the indictment to which] Hypereides had summoned him by laying information [before the demos, but] was convicted *in absentia* in the [court - - - -], etc.

Case III(?)

Lines 74-81: (- - - -)ron, son of Euthyphron, [of - - - -, registered for confiscation a plot of ground and a house belonging to - - - -], son of Euktemon, bounded on the north by the road leading to the Peiraeus, [on the south by the property of] (- - - -)ides of Sphettos, on the [east by - - - -], and on the] west by the property of Aristo(- - -) [of - - - -, this (name of owner of the house lost) owing] to the public treasury [one thousand drachmai and being] written down on the Acropolis - - - - etc.

Case(?)

Lines 101-115: [- - - bounded on the] east [by - - - -, and on the west] by the road [leading to - - - - and the] workshop of [Hierokleides] of Hermos. [The purchaser was - - - -, son of - - - -, of - - - -, the amount being] one thousand drachmai. In addition, two workshops in [Melite, bounded on] the east by [a house] of Philokrates [of Hagnous, on the] west by a workshop of Hierokleides of Hermos, [on the north] by a house of Philokrates of Hagnous, and on the south by the road [leading from the sanctuary] of Herakles Alexikakos to the Agora. [The purchaser was] Hipponikos, son of Kallias, of Alopeke, the amount being fifteen hundred drachmai—all the properties of Philokrates, son of Pythodoros, [of Hagnous, being confiscated] since Philokrates did not appear for [the trial] according to the public indictment which was brought against [him] by Hyperides, son of Glaukippos, of Kollyte, but was convicted *in absentia* in the court.

Lines 115-190: Skirophorion second; the middle court sitting for the new <offenses>; ratifier from the prytanes Euthykles, son of Eukles, from Kedoi.

Case I

Euthykles, son of Euthymenides, of Myrrhinous, registered for confiscation an apartment house in Peiraeus below Mounichia which is bounded on the north by a house of Eukles of Myrrhinous, on the south by a house of Protarchos of Peiraeus, on the east

by the road to the city, and on the west by a house of Euthymachos of Myrrhinous—this apartment house belonging to Meixidemos of Myrrhinous who owes to the public treasury of the Athenians a bond which he guaranteed for Philistides, son of Philistides, of Aixone who shared in levying the metic tax in the archonship of Pythodoros (343/2): the sixth and seventh and eighth and ninth payments, these four, each of 100 drachmai; and another bond on the mines for the five drachmai tax: the sixth and seventh and eighth payments, these three, each of 125 drachmai; and another bond which he guaranteed for Telemachos, son of Hermolochos, dwelling in the Peiraeus, who shared in levying the five drachmai tax for Theseus: the fourth and fifth and sixth and seventh and eighth and ninth and tenth payments, these seven, each [of 100] drachmai; and another bond for a stone-quarry in the Peiraeus: the fourth and fifth payments; these two, each of 115½ drachmai; and another bond which he guaranteed for Kallikrates, son of [Kallikrates], dwelling in Besa, who shared in levying the [one drachma] tax for Asklepios: the seventh and eighth and ninth and tenth payments, these four, each of 36⅔ drachmai; these sums having been [doubled], since neither Philistides nor Telemachos nor Kallikrates paid to the [city] the purchase price of their tax-farming nor did Meixidemos pay the bonds which he had guaranteed to the city, but was written down on the Acropolis. R(atifiers): Phyakines, son of Kephisophon, of ---, and Charias, son of Elpinikos, of Potamon. The purchaser was Telemachos, son of Theangelos, of Acharnai, the amount being 3705⅓ drachmai. This sum was deposited in full in one payment.

Case II

Timarchos of Aphidnai, Amphikles, and Ersikles of Aphidnai registered for confiscation a field of Nikodemos, son of Aristomenes, of Oinoe, situated in Aphidnai in the district of the Petalidai, which is bounded on the north by the field of Euthymenes of Euonymon and the rump, on the south by the field of Demonstratos of Aphidnai and the field of Apemonides, on the east by the ravine, and on the west by the field of Euthymenes of Euonymon—this Nikodemos owing to the public treasury 1000 drachmai and being written down on the Acropolis as having incurred a penalty in that after he became steward of the tribe Aiantis and had collected the sacred money of the tribe he has not paid it back, and being written down on the Acropolis as owing also to Ajax 666⅔ drachmai, this sum, furthermore, having been doubled for him in the archonship of Archias (346/5). R(atifiers): Theophrastos of Eleusis and Demokles of Aphidnai. Claim: the stewards of the tribe Aiantis, Dion son of Noumenios of Phaleron, Timokrates of Aphidnai, and Polyphilos son of Polymedes of Oinoe laid a claim on behalf of the tribe Aiantis that there was due to the tribe Aiantis a sum of 666⅔ drachmai secured on the field of Nikodemos son of Aristomenes of Oinoe, which is bounded on the north by the field of Euthymenes of Euonymon and the rump, on the south by the field of Demonstratos of Aphidnai and the field of Apemonides, on the east by the ravine, and on the west by the field of Euthymenes of Euonymon, since Nikodemos did not pay back this money to

the tribe Aiantis when he had become steward and had collected the sacred money of Ajax, Nikodemos having incurred also the penalty (even after losing all his possessions if he should not pay back the money according to the laws of the tribe Aiantis) of owing in addition to the public treasury a fine of 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ drachmai. Nikostratos, son of Xenokrates, of Rhamnous as purchaser paid off the claim so far as the tribe was concerned, the amount being 680 drachmai. This sum was deposited in full in one payment.

Case III

Registration for confiscation. Promethion son of Aischraios of Kedoi registered for confiscation an estate in Thria which is bounded on the north by the road leading to the --?-- and the two mountains ----- and to the walled ----, on the south by the sanctuary ----- etc.

COMMENTARY

It is probable that the inscription on face B is earlier than that on Face A, for the latest archon mentioned there is Theophilos (348/7: *I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 76; 79) while the name Pythodotos (343/2) appears in line 126 of face A. In any case the records of the Laureion mines seem to have preceded on the stone the records of sale from confiscated properties. The better preserved face of *I.G.*, II², 1582 is entirely concerned with the mines, beginning even in the first column now published as Face B, lines 201–287, of the present text and continuing over to the other side of the stone in lines 140–187 of *I.G.*, II², 1582, Face B. This first Column of Face B in the *Corpus* text is continued by Col. II (illegible) and Col. III of Face A in the Agora stone, where the record of the Laureion mines is continued down to line 10. These first nine lines of the present text have been restored so far as possible with reference to *I.G.*, II², 1582. Mnesidamas son of Aristodamas of Myrrhinous registered the mine (lines 3–4), owned property on the north (line 7) and west (line 9) and himself purchased the lease (lines 9–10). The man who listed and the man who bought the lease were frequently the same (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1582, *passim*). The verb ἀπεγράφω should be restored in line 4 but the space is too short by two letters; I hesitate to restore ἀπέγραψε. The lease price was the customary figure of 20 drachmai, a sum which appears frequently in *I.G.*, II², 1582. Mnesidamas was probably the son of that Aristodamas listed in the *Prosopographia Attica* as no. 1794 and brother of Polydamas (*P.A.*, 11917). His grandfather was Kallisthenes, also a Myrrhinousian (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1152 add.).

From line 10 to the conclusion of the document as preserved are the records of confiscated properties introduced by the phrase τὰδε ἐπ[ράθη τῶν δημοιοργάτων]. The restoration is made from Pollux, where the recurring phrase ἐν τοῖς δημοιοργάτοις (e.g. X, 36, 96, etc.), particularly with reference to the posted lists of Alcibiades' property, gives justification for the epigraphical use of the word δημιόπρᾳτα here. The subdivisions

under this general heading were made first by the date and specification of the court, as in lines 11–13 and 115–117, and then by the individual registries for confiscation, several registries appearing under each date. With each registry the verb ἀπέγραψεν appears in the singular, although, as in lines 152–153, as many as three people may have listed the properties to be sold. These separate registries I have called “cases” in the translation above, and different case beginnings may be distinguished for the confiscation of Pyanopsion 2 in lines 14 and 50, and for confiscations of Skirophorion 2 in lines 118, 153, and 185.

Lines 12–13: The court was called [δικαστήριον] πρῶτον τῶν καινῶν, and this item is to be compared with that of lines 116–117 where the court which sat in Skirophorion was called δικαστήριον τὸ μέσον τῶν καινῶν. As τὸ μέσον is known as one of the Athenian law courts,¹ so πρῶτον, or τὸ πρῶτον, which is here attested for the first time, should (I believe) be taken as the name of a court. The words τῶν καινῶν seem to refer rather to the function of the court than to its location, and I quote with reference to them the grammarians’ note on the εἰσαγγελία: κατὰ καινῶν καὶ ἀγράφων ἀδικημάτων. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Καικιλίον δόξα (*Lexicon Cantabrigiense*; cf. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 185, note 26). The connection is doubtful, as is also the relation to τὸ Καινόν of Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 120. From the context of this inscription it is evident that in Pyanopsion the court mentioned dealt, *inter alia*, with cases referred to it in consequence of an εἰσαγγελία (line 48).² The cases which came before the δικαστήριον τὸ μέσον τῶν καινῶν in Skirophorion (lines 116–117) were concerned, so far as the evidence of this inscription shows, either directly or indirectly with tax-farming and the collection of sacred money.

Line 13: The restoration κυρωτῆς παρὰ πρυτάνεων is taken from line 117. The ratifier from the prytanes was in attendance at the session of the court. This word κυρωτῆς appears also in *I.G.*, II², 1678 A 27, where the restoration should be given as κυρωτῆς ἐ[κ] τῶν π[ρ]υ[τάνεων τ]οῦτω[ν] – – etc., and where also a court action involving monetary transactions is recorded. In the present instance the ratifier was Kephisodoros.

Lines 14–15: The men who registered for sale the properties of the following lines were two in number, but the verb to be supplied in line 15 was probably ἀπέγραψεν. Cf. line 154.

Lines 15–16: The final three letters of line 15 have been restored as part of the locative Ἀγροῦντι. From line 16 down to line 45 there are no preserved designations of ownership of the properties sold, while the recurrence of ἔτερον and ἑτέραν (lines 20, 23, 34, 39) and the summation with ταῦτα[α ἕπαντα] in lines 45–46 imply that they all belonged to one man. If so, it is clear from line 46 that he must have been Philokrates the Hagnousian, for whom the location of the house and property in Hagnous (line 15: Ἀγρ[οῦντι]) is not inappropriate. Probably the name Philokrates is to be restored in

¹ See scholia on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 120; also Pollux, VIII, 121.

² For such reference to a dikastery see Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 182 (also, e.g., Pollux, VIII, 51).

line 16. It may be inferred from the item $\xi\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma[\nu \chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu]$ of lines 20–21 that the noun $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ should also be restored in line 15 (cf. also lines 23 and 34).

Lines 22–23: $\acute{\omega}\nu = \acute{\omega}\nu(\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$. The purchaser was apparently the same both in lines 22–23 and lines 33–34, the difference in the entries being that the price paid was listed after his name in line 23 and before it in line 33.

Line 28: The letters **AO** in Κυδαθ are cut very small in the interspace to the right of the column, and lie outside the *stoichedon* framework of the inscription.

Lines 29–32: The property described in these lines was bounded by the sanctuary of Artemis (lines 29, 30, 32) and the field of the Είκαδεῖς (line 31). These Είκαδεῖς were a religious club dedicated to the worship of Apollo (cf. Poland, *Gesch. des griech. Vereinswesens*, p. 64), with their sanctuary in the neighborhood of the modern Markopoulo in the Mesogeia.¹ Since Markopoulo marks the site of the deme Hagnous, we are justified in making the deduction that the Hagnousian property of Philokrates is here being sold (cf. commentary on lines 15–16), and that the Είκαδέων χωρίον of lines 31–32 is in fact the same as that delimited by the boundary stone *I.G.*, II², 2631: $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu \kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon \text{Είκαδέων}$.

Line 37: The fact that the property is described as a $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ (line 34) and that it probably lay in Hagnous (cf. commentary on lines 29–32) militates against the tempting restoration [- - - $\text{Ἀρεῖ}\text{ος πάγος}$.

Line 42: See commentary on lines 29–32.

Lines 45–46: The word $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ here summarizes the properties of Philokrates listed in the lines above (15–44). The appearance of $[\delta\eta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\iota\alpha]$ lends color to the restoration $[\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu]$ in line 110, while the appearance of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ in line 111 gives credence to the restoration $[\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha]$ in line 46.

Lines 46–50: These lines may be restored by comparison with lines 111–115, though the exact wording in both cases is not the same. Philokrates, son of Pythodoros, of Hagnous (*P.A.*, 14599) was the celebrated Athenian whose name is connected with the Peace of 346 B.C., and who fled into exile rather than stand trial when indicted by Hypereides. These facts are known from the literary tradition (Hypereides, IV [III], 29; Demosthenes, XIX, 116ff.; Aischines, II, 6 and III, 79, 81; Dinarchus, I, 28). That Philokrates was tried *in absentia* and condemned, and that his property was confiscated, is also known. The present inscription gives a concise statement of the facts of indictment, trial, and condemnation, and records the sale of the confiscated property. It also adds to our knowledge the name of Philokrates' father, Pythodoros (lines 46 and 111). Hypereides son of Glaukippos of Kollyte (lines 48–49 and 114) was the famous orator (*P.A.*, 13912).

Line 50: With this line a new rubric begins. The restorations for the rest of Col. III are difficult and for the most part no attempt has been made to give supplements in the text.

¹ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1258, about which some uncertainty exists whether it was found at Markopoulo in the Mesogeia or near Oropos. The document *I.G.*, II², 2631 was found near Markopoulo in the Mesogeia.

Lines 67-73: The record is involved with rentals, yearly rates, interest, principal, and loans. In line 73 $\delta\alpha\nu = \delta\alpha\nu(\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma)$.

Line 71: Possibly $\xi\mu\lambda\phi\alpha\rho\beta\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon$, related to $\xi\mu\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\beta\iota\omicron\nu$. I have no satisfactory explanation.

Lines 79-80: The formula of lines 159-160 can be recognized here.

Line 103: The name $\text{'}\text{Ιεροκλείδο}$ is restored from line 107.

Line 105: The restoration $\xi[\mu\text{ }Μελίττη]$ fills exactly the available space, and is justified by the fact that the southern boundary was the road leading from the sanctuary of Herakles Alexikakos to the Agora. This shrine was in Melite, and a boundary stone which may belong to it was found recently in the Agora excavations (*Hesperia*, III [1934], no. 56).

Lines 106 and 108: For Philokrates (*P.A.*, 14599) see the commentary on lines 46-50.

Lines 108-109: The course of the road is uncertain but it probably entered the Agora south of the Tholos.

Line 110: For Hipponikos son of Kallias of Alopeke see *P.A.*, 7659. The present text gives the first sure evidence for the deme of the famous family of Hipponikos and Kallias. They belonged to Alopeke of the tribe Antiochis, and not to Ankyle of Aigeis as has been thought hitherto (cf. Kirchner, *Hermes*, XXXI, pp. 258-259). The grandfather of the present Hipponikos, also called Hipponikos, son of Kallias, was general in 427/6. Our knowledge that he belonged to Antiochis (X) instead of to Aigeis (II) enables us to avoid the assumption of double representation for Aigeis in the strategic list of this year (cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II², p. 263), and to secure a more nearly correct basis of evidence for the study of tribal representation in the Athenian strategia.

Lines 110-115: See the commentary on lines 46-50. With these lines a second section dealing with the confiscated properties of Philokrates is brought to a close.

Lines 115-118: See the commentary on lines 12-13 and on line 13. A new subdivision of the record is begun by the new date, the name of the court, and the name of the ratifier from the prytanes. Euthykles son of Eukles from Kedoi may be the grandson of that Euthykles listed as *P.A.*, 5583 and nephew of the Pythokles listed as *P.A.*, 12443.

Lines 118 and 120: For Euthykles son of Euthymenides of Myrrhinous see *P.A.*, 5644 (s.v. *Εὐθυμενίδης*). Euthykles was a brother of Eupolemos (*P.A.*, 5928), who was active ca. 340-330 B.C.

Lines 121-122: The "city road" was evidently the main road from the Peiraeus to Athens, leading out through the "City gate" in the walls of Peiraeus. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie* (1931), pp. 430-431 and Plan III.

Lines 124-125: $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu [\acute{\iota}]ν \epsilonνεγνήσατο$. The verb is usually $\epsilonνεγνήσατο$ (lines 125, 133-134, 141) but once $\eta\gamma\gammaνήσατο$ (lines 148-149). Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. $\epsilon\gamma\gammaν\acute{\alpha}\omega$.

Line 125: Philistides son of Philistides of Aixone was probably the son of that Philistides listed as *P.A.*, 14441 and brother of Pausistratos (*P.A.*, 11743) who is known to have belonged to the tribe Kekropis.

Line 126: Philistides had been one who participated in the collection of the metie tax in the archonship of Pythodotos (343/2). The purchase price which he was supposed to pay for the privilege of gathering the taxes is described in line 148 by the technical word *ωνή*. For the farming out of taxes, see Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 47, 2 (Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 1230). An informative passage which illustrates the text of this inscription is found in Andokides, I, 133–134:

Ἀγύρριος γὰρ οὐτοσί, ὁ καλὸς καγαθός, ἀρχώνης ἐγένετο
 τῆς πεντηκοστῆς τρίτον ἔτος, καὶ ἐπρίατο τριάκοντα ταλάν-
 των, μετέσχον δ' αὐτῷ οὔτοι πάντες οἱ παρασυλλεγέστες ὑπὸ
 τὴν λεύκην, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἴστε οἳ εἰσιν· οἱ διὰ τοῦτο
 ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι συλλεγῆναι ἐκεῖσε, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέρω ᾗ,
 καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλωσι λαβεῖν ἀργύριον καὶ ὀλίγον πραθείσης
 μετασχεῖν. κερδάναντες δὲ τρία τάλαντα, γνόντες τὸ
 πρᾶγμα οἷον εἶη, ὥς πολλοῦ ἄξιον, συνέστησαν πάντες, καὶ
 μεταδόντες τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐωνοῦντο πάλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων.
 ἔπει δ' οὐκ ἀντωνεῖτο οὐδεὶς, παρελθὼν ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν
 βουλὴν ὑπερέβαλλον, ἕως ἐπριάμην ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα ταλάντων.
 ἀπελάσας δὲ τούτους καὶ καταστήσας ὑμῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἐξέλεξα τὰ
 χρήματα καὶ κατέβαλον τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐζημιώθην,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ βραχέα ἀπεκερδαίνομεν οἱ μετασχόντες· --.

In this passage from Andokides it appears that several people had grouped themselves together, first with Agyrrhios and then others with Andokides, to pay the price of the *ωνή*, and that Andokides in overbidding Agyrrhios and getting the contract for himself had furnished guarantors. Meixidemos, in the present inscription, was a guarantor for Philistides, who was in turn one of the group that bought the privilege of farming the metie tax. This tax falls in the category which Aristotle describes as *τὰ τέλη τὰ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραμένα*, for Philistides was collector only in 343/2.

Lines 127–129: Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 47, 2–3 and 5) tells how the records of the taxes farmed out were kept. If the payments were to be made in instalments, one for each prytany, the amounts were listed on ten whitened tablets and each record expunged only when payment was made. The present document lists payments that were due evidently in ten instalments (*καταβολαί*) and records those instalments that remained unpaid (cf. Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, pp. 352–355).

Line 130: Reference to a five-drachmai tax on the mines.

Lines 132–134: The form of the name shows that Telemachos was a metie. He participated in collecting a five-drachmai tax for Theseus, here attested for the first time.

Lines 141–143: The form of the name shows that Kallikrates was a metie. He participated in collecting the one-drachma tax for Asklepios.

Lines 145–150: Aristotle (*Λθ. Πολ.*, § 48, 1) says that if a payment is not made when due the record of it still stands and it must be paid double. This doubling of the amount is recorded in line 145, where the word *διπλῶν* may be shown from the computation of the items to be a necessary restoration.

The calculations are:

Reference	Amount of Instalments	Number of Instalments	Total
line 129	100	4	400
line 132	125	3	375
line 137	[100]	7	700
line 140	115 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	231
line 145	36 $\frac{2}{3}$	4	146 $\frac{2}{3}$
			<hr/> 1852 $\frac{2}{3}$

The figure 1852 $\frac{2}{3}$ when doubled (line 145) amounts to 3705 $\frac{1}{3}$, the sum preserved on the stone in line 152.

In giving possible reasons for *ἀτιμία* Andokides (I, 73) lists those people *δπόσοι . . . ἢ ὥνᾳς πριάμενοι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου μὴ κατέβαλον τὰ χρήματα, ἢ ἐγγύας ἡγγυήσαντο πρὸς τὸ δημοσίον· τούτοις ἢ μὲν ἔκτεισις ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, εἰ δὲ μή, διπλάσιον ὀφείλειν καὶ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν πεπραῖσθαι*. Although two of the principals concerned in our present document were metics, the classes are the same. Philistides (line 125), Telemachos (line 133), and Kallikrates (line 141) were the *ὥνᾳς πριάμενοι* who did not pay their instalments (lines 146–148) and Meixidemos (line 123) was the *ἐγγύας ἡγγυήσάμενος* (lines 148–149). Andokides uses the word *ἔκτεισις* for the settlement of the debt; the inscription (line 146) has *οὐκ ἐκτεισάντων*.

These lines give our best evidence for the date of the inscription on the better preserved face of the stone. Instalments as late as the ninth prytany of 343/2 were overdue (line 128). It is probably true, though not absolutely certain, that the overdue instalments of the tenth prytany (lines 136, 144) belong also to 343/2. In any case, there was a period of grace before the confiscation of the property, and it is difficult to date Skirophorion of line 115 earlier than 342/1. Pyanopsion of line 11 probably belongs to the same year, and it thus appears that the property of Philokrates was being condemned and sold as early as the autumn of 342. This agrees well with other evidence for the date of Hypereides' indictment which Schaefer dates not earlier than the autumn of 343.¹ If there were no undue delays in the proceedings against Meixidemos as described in lines 118–153, then the *εἰσαγγελία* brought by Hypereides against Philokrates can be dated in 343/2.

Line 150: *κ* = *κ(υρωταί)*. Phyakines is a name new to Attic prosopography. Cf. line 166.

¹ Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, II², p. 368, note 1.

Lines 151–152: Telemachos, son of Theangelos, of Acharnai is already known (*P.A.*, 13562).

Line 153: Three men registered the property of Nikodemos, the record of whose case begins in this line.

Line 155: ἐν Πεταλιδῶν: cf. *I.G.*, II², 1594, lines 46, 48. For the genitive, cf., e.g., ἐγ Κυδαντιδῶν and ἐγ Κοθωκιδῶν in *I.G.*, II², 1597.

Line 161: As epimeletes Nikodemos was one of a board of three. See lines 167–170.

Line 166: Archias was archon in 346/5. $\alpha = \alpha(\nu\rho\omega\tau\alpha\iota)$; they were two in number, as in lines 150–151.

Line 167: Demokles of Aphidnai is known (*P.A.*, 3495). The tribe Aiantis was interested in the property of Nikodemos registered for sale by the state and made a claim (ἐνεπίσκημμα) in order to guarantee the payment of its own debt. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 934 and note 17, also pp. 464, 493.

Lines 168–170: The epimeletai of the tribe were three in number.

Lines 176–185: The amount of money which Nikodemos owed to the tribe Aiantis was $666\frac{2}{3}$ drachmai. Nikokrates evidently had purchased from the city the privilege of collecting the $666\frac{2}{3}$ drachmai due to Aiantis and also the $666\frac{2}{3}$ drachmai due the public treasury when the amount of the debt was doubled in 346/5. He paid for this privilege 680 drachmai to the public treasury and satisfied also the claims of Aiantis. The city profited slightly by the transaction, and we may be sure that Nikokrates did not lose. Either Aiantis was satisfied with a sum less than its original debt, or (more likely) Nikokrates collected more than enough to pay the amount in full and to reimburse himself for the 680 drachmai listed in line 185. The restoration of line 183 is uncertain. Nikokrates son of Xenokrates of Rhamnous was apparently of the same family as Xenokrates son of Xenokrates of Rhamnous (*P.A.*, 11250).

Lines 187–188: The letters at the end of line 187 and the beginning of line 188 give the word ΚΛΕΥΣΟΝ. I have no satisfactory explanation, but the context calls for a topographical definition near Thria.

Lines 206–308: These lines belong with the record of the Laureion mines and are the first column on that face of the stone for which *I.G.*, II², 1582 gives columns II, III, and IV. Only a few letters can be made out in that part of column II which appeared on the Agora fragment.

DECREE

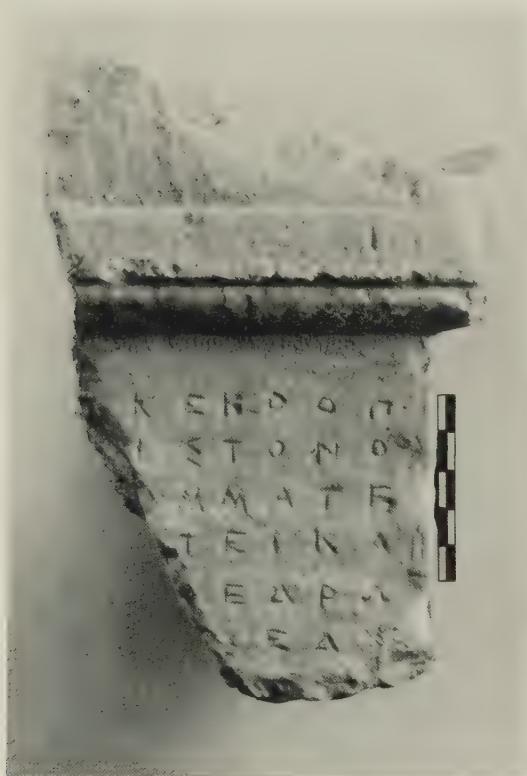
11. The upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with mouldings and part of the pediment preserved, but broken away at the left and at the bottom. The stone was found on May 15, 1933 in the curbing of a late well in Section H'.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.122 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 830.

Four lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.05 m., and six letters (*stoichedon*), measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.075 m.



No. 11

332/1 B.C. CTOIX. 31
 [Θ ε ο] ι
 [Ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς] Κεκροπί
 [δος πέμπτης πρυτανείας ἥι Ἀρ]ιστόνου
 [ς Ἀριστόνου Ἀναγνώσιος ἐργ]αμμάτε[ν]
 5 [ἐν· Ποσιδεῶνος ἐνδεκάτει, πέμπ]τει καὶ
 [δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· τῶν προ]σέδρων
 [ἐπεψηφίξεν] ^{nomen} ¹⁶ . . . ^{demoticum}] ἔδ[οξ
 [ἐν τῷ δέμῳ] - - - - -

The inscription may be assigned to the year of Niketes because of the name of the secretary which appears in line 3. The spacing of the letters (*stoichedon* 31) shows that the number of the prytany was either fifth, seventh, or tenth and that the date by prytany in lines 5-6 must have fallen between the thirteenth and nineteenth day of the prytany. In the year of Niketes (cf. *I.G.*, II², 344-347) such dates in the seventh and

tenth prytanies would yield corresponding dates in Anthesterion and Skirophorion which could not be restored in line 5. For the fifth prytany, however, a restoration is possible, and has been made in the text here given.

DECREE

12. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, made up of two contiguous fragments and of one piece which can be placed exactly in relation to them. One piece, already published as *Hesperia*, III (1934), no. 7, was found in the wall of a modern cistern in Section Δ; the smaller piece adjoining it was found on May 23, 1933 in a late fill in Section Ζ.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness of the inscribed portion below the mouldings, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. Nos. I 219 (see also *Hesperia*, III, no. 7) and I 860.

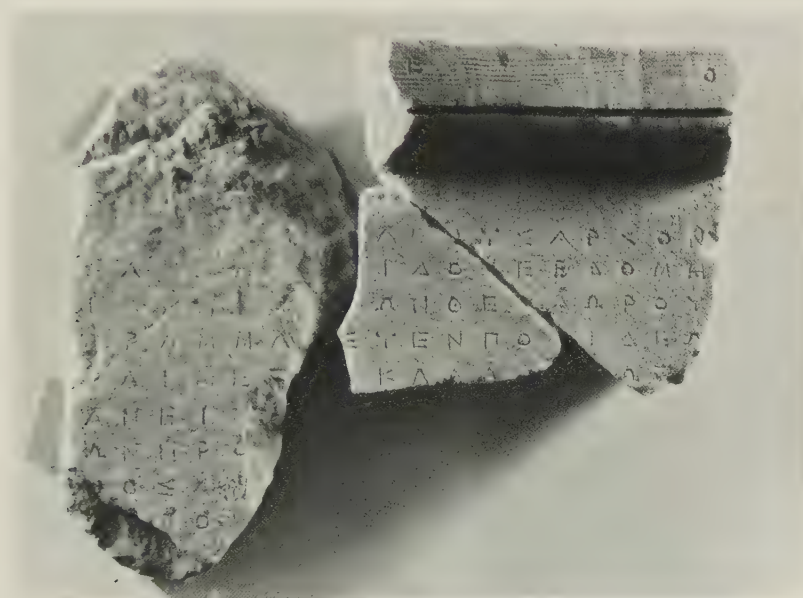
Four lines occupy a vertical space of 0.057 m. on the stone, and ten letters (*stoichedon*), measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.149 m.

The second new piece, with left edge preserved, was found on February 26, 1936 in a mediaeval storage pit in Section KK.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 3619.



No. 12

302/1 B.C.

CTOIX. 26

[Θ] ε ο [ι]
 [Ἐπὶ Νικοκ]λέους ἄρχον[τος ἐπὶ τῇ]
 ς Ἀν[τιγον]ίδος ἐβδόμῃ[ς πενταε]
 ίας ἡ[ι] Ν[ι]κων Θεοδώρου [Πλωθεὺς ἐ]
 5 γράμμά[τ]ενεν· Ποσιδεῶ[ρος δευτέ]
 ραι μετ' [εἰ]κάδας [πε]ώτ[η] τῆς πεντ[ε]
 ανεία[ς] ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσου· τ]
 ὦν προ[έ]δρων ἐπεψήφισεν . . .⁶ . . .]
 [.]ος Ἀν[.]¹² καὶ συμπρό[σ]
 10 [εδρ]ο[ι] - - - - -

The discovery of the new fragments confirms the attribution of the inscription to the year of Nikokles, and makes certain the reading of the date by month in lines 5–6 as *Ποσιδεῶ[ρος δευτέρῳ] μετ' [εἰ]κάδας*, with backward count in the reckoning of the days. This was suggested in restoration in *Hesperia*, IV, p. 546, and is now proved correct by the new fragments here published. The calendar equations of this inscription and of *I.G.*, II², 499 give again a formal proof of the backward count, such as was first afforded by *Hesperia*, IV, no. 39 and *I.G.*, II², 838 (see *Hesperia*, IV, pp. 529–531).

PRAISE OF AN ARCHON AND HIS PAREDROI

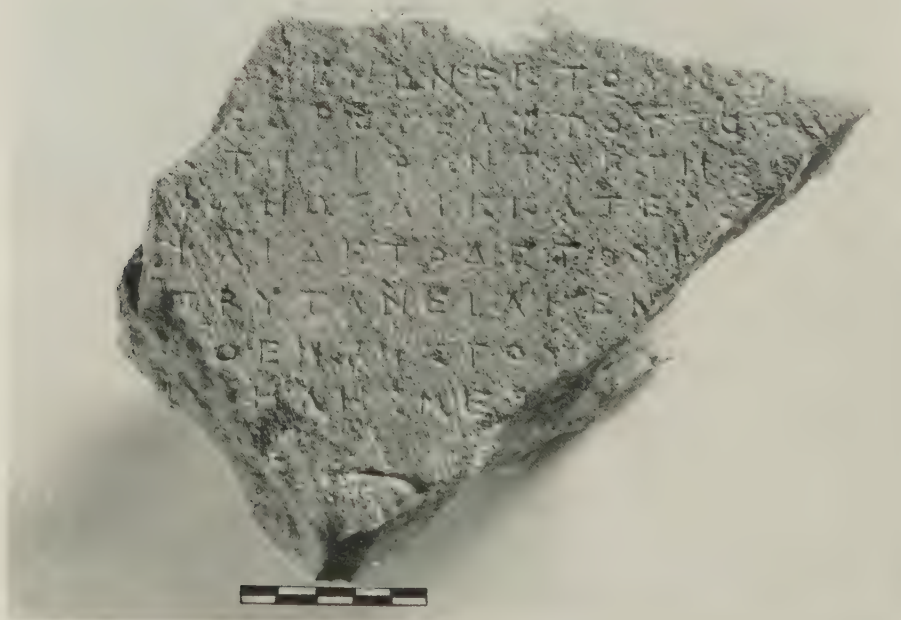
13. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 29, 1933 in a loose fill above bedrock in a Roman building of Section H'. The left margin of the inscription is determined by a beveled edge, to the left of which the flat surface of the stone is still partially preserved on a lower plane.

Height, 0.169 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.–0.006 m. ($\Phi = 0.008$ m.).

Inv. No. I 749.

Eight lines occupy vertically a space of 0.10 m., and ten letters (measured on centres) occupy horizontally a space of 0.113 m. The letters are arranged *stoichedon*, but with syllabic division at the ends of the lines.



No. 13

288/7–263/2 B.C.

CTOIX. 39

[το]ὺς ἐπὶ [τῇ]ι [διοικήσει²⁰]
 [.]όμενον ἐκ τοῦ νόμ[ο]υ [ᾧ] ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πα [ῶ]
 [ρ]έδρους αὐτοῦ ᾧ Θρα[.²³]
 Κτησιφῶντα Κησι[.¹⁸ καὶ στε]
 5 φανῶσαι ἐκάτερο[ν] αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ἀναγρά [ῶ]
 ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ ᾧ]
 περὶ τανείαν ἐν [στῆλῃ] λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἔμπρο[ς]
 [θ]εν τῆς τοῦ Ἀ[ιδος] στοᾶς· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς
 [σ]τήλης μερ[ί]σαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ᾧ Δ ᾧ δραχ[μ]
 10 [μᾶς] vacat

The character of writing is eminently suitable for the first half of the third century B.C., and the payment of money by the administrative board (line 1) serves to date the inscription more accurately between 288/7 and 263/2, when Athens was free from Macedonian control.¹

The specification of the number of drachmai for the inscribing of the stele (line 9) is also characteristic of the early third century (see, e.g., *Hesperia*, IV [1935], p. 562, no. 40, line 32). There is no room in the last lines of the present document for the formula *τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα*.

The name of the man in whose honor the decree was passed has not been preserved, but evidently he had two *paredroi* (lines 3–5), and they were given praise along with him and had their names inscribed on the same stele. The Athenian officials who had two *paredroi* were, *par excellence*, the three major archons (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, § 56, 1), and I suggest that the present decree was in honor of one of these. The decree was to be erected “before the Stoa of Zeus” (line 8). It is natural to suppose that the decree honoring an archon would be erected before his political office. For the Archon Basileus this was the Royal Stoa,² and it follows that if this decree was in his honor the Stoa of Zeus should then be identified with the Royal Stoa, as has recently been argued by N. Valmin.³ However, the Archon Eponymous also had his office in the Agora,⁴ and it is probably premature to draw conclusions concerning the topography of the Agora from this document, other than to say that if the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa are not to be identified, then this document belongs to the Archon Eponymous and is *prima facie* evidence that his office was in the Stoa of Zeus.

¹ Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 65.

² Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, s. v. Basileus, Vol. III, p. 73.

³ “Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen,” *Kung. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse*, 1933–1934, pp. 1–7.

⁴ [Andocides], IV, 14; cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, II, p. 1074, n. 3.

THE YEAR OF PEITHIDEMOS

14. Large stele of Hymettian marble, which has been preserved almost entire in its over-all dimensions, but which has been foot-worn and battered until the surface is almost completely lost. The opening lines of the decree can be partially read. The stone was found on July 8, 1933 built into the wall of a Byzantine building in Section H', where it had served as a threshold.

Height, 1.40 m.; width of face across the top, 0.46 m., and across the bottom, 0.53 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 1051.



No. 11

267/6 B.C. CTOIX. 43
 [Θ] ε [ο ι]
 Ἐπὶ Π[ι]θιδῆ[μ]ου ἑταίρου ἐπὶ τῆ[ς] Ἀγαμαντίδος τῆ[ς] v v
 [της πεντα]ε[τίας] vacat
 [Βοηδομιῶνος] δ[ι]δόμε[ι] [ἐπ]ὶ [δ]έκα [ἔβδόμ]ε[ι] καὶ δ[εκά]τει
 5 [της πενταετίας] -----
Remaining lines illegible

The determination of the year of Peithidemos as 267/6 was made by Ferguson (*A. J. P.*, LV [1934], pp. 330–331). Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, p. 584. The name of the secretary was not inscribed on the stone either in the document here published or in the other known decree of Peithidemos' year where the opening lines have been preserved (*I. G.*, II², 687).

DECREE IN HONOR OF KEPHISODOROS

15. An inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, together with three small pieces, two of which join together but no one of which joins the larger block of stone.

The stele proper was found on March 24, 1933 in a hard earth filling in front of the South Byzantine building in Section H'.

Height, 0.85 m.; width of pediment, 0.526 m.; width at line 1 of the inscription, 0.468 m.; width at line 29 of the inscription, 0.479 m.; greatest thickness, 0.15 m.; thickness of the dressed edges, 0.075 m.

Inv. No. I 605.

A fragment which contains parts of lines 44–54 was found on May 9, 1933 in Section E. It bears the inventory number I 605 c and has the following measurements: height, 0.132 m.; width, 0.091 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

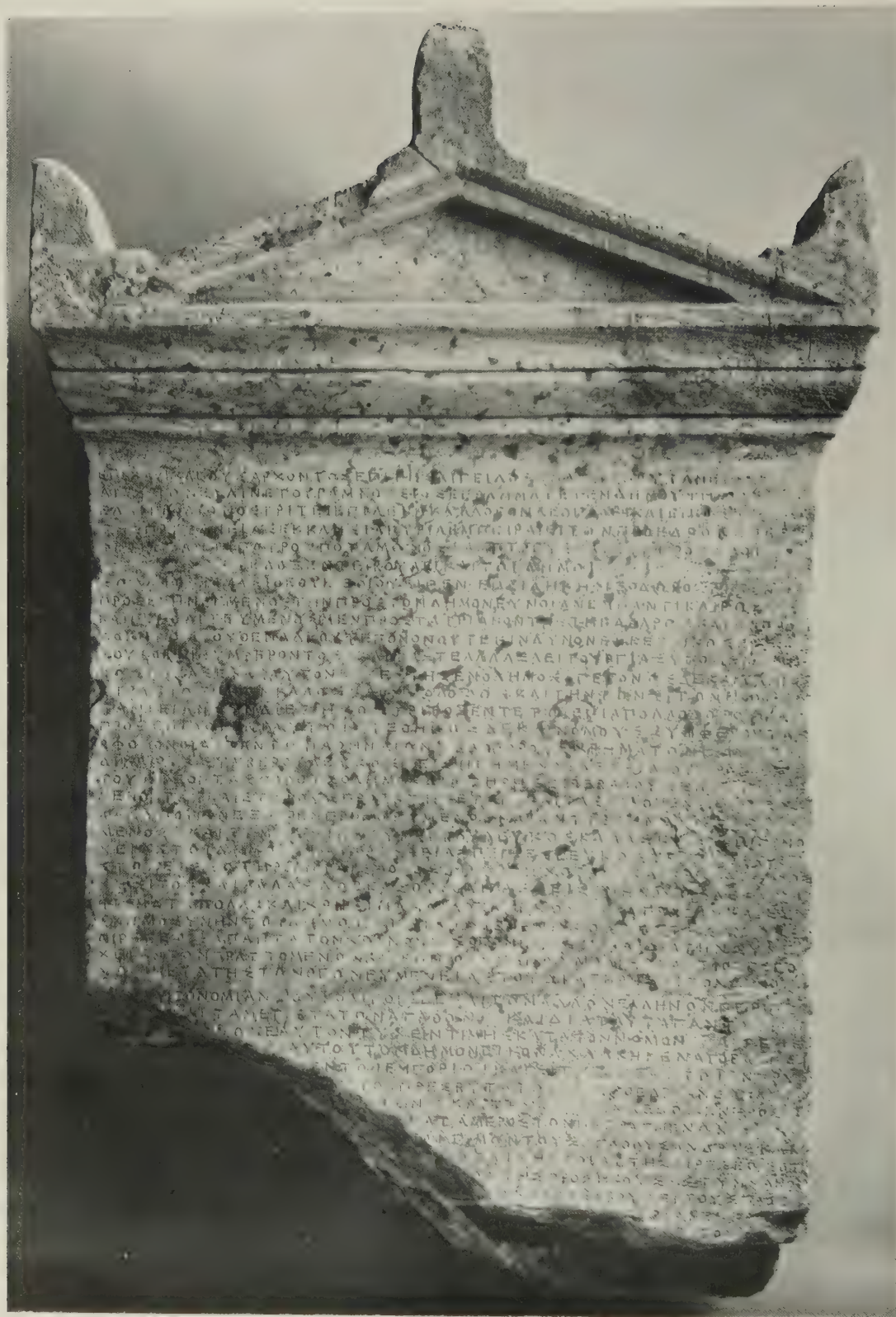
The two fragments which join together, and which give parts of the text in lines 47–56 were both found in Section H'. One piece bears the inventory number I 834 and was found in the lowest layer above the classical floor on May 18, 1933; the other piece bears the inventory number I 909 and was found in a burnt layer on May 29, 1933. The combined fragments have the following measurements: height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.171 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

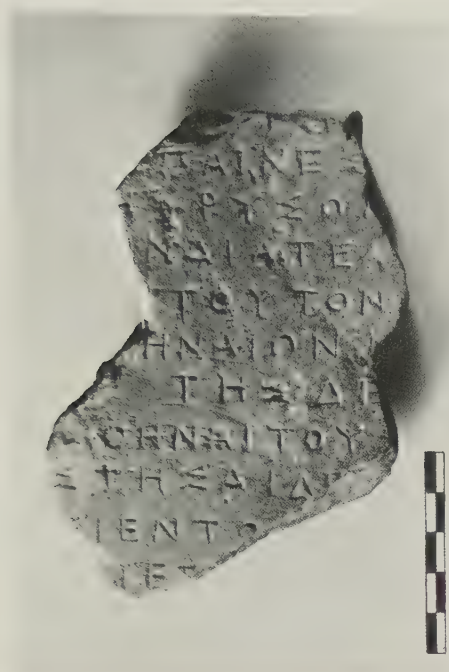
A small piece inventoried as I 605 b was found at the same time with the stele proper, but does not, apparently, belong with this inscription.

The marble of all the fragments has a mottled coloration, shading irregularly from milky white to a very dark bluish slate-grey. The top of the stele is ornamented with a pediment with central and lateral finials; the back is rough, thinned at the edges; and the sides are picked with a fine-toothed chisel.

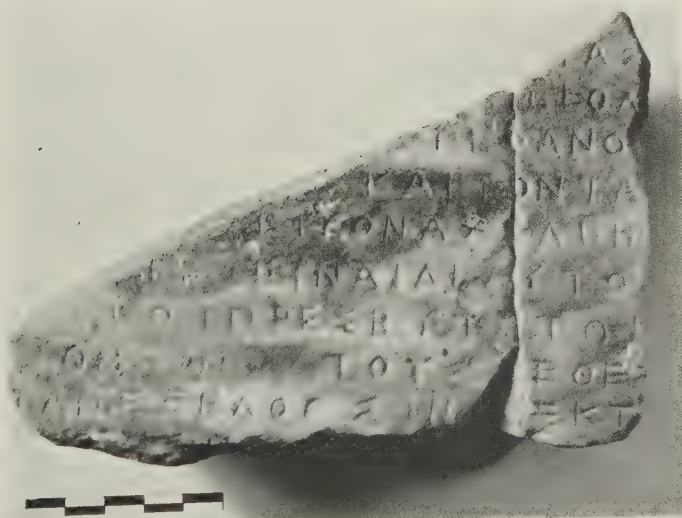
The height of letters throughout is *ca.* 0.006 m. Ten lines of the text occupy on the stone a vertical space of 0.116 m.; the writing is not *stoichedon*. Between clauses of the text a space of one or sometimes two letters is left uninscribed. The writing is characteristic of the early second century B.C., alpha having consistently the cross-bar with its centre depressed but not angular.

Reference to this text has already been made in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 556, note 1.





No. 15. Inv. No. I 605c



No. 15. Inv. Nos. I 834 + 909

196/5 B.C.

- Ἐπὶ Χαρικλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεΐδος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἦν " "
 Αἰσχρίων Εὐαϊνέτου Ῥαμνούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· δήμιον ψηφίσματα·
 Ἐλαφρηβολιδῶνος τρίτει ἐπὶ δέκα κατὰ θεὸν δὲ ὀγδόει καὶ εἰκοστῇ
 τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησίᾳ κυρία ἐν Πειραιεῖ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή-
 5 φίζεν | Ἀντίπατρος Ποτάμωνος Ἀαμπιρεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι " " "
 ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 Σώδαμος Τιμασιθέου ἐξ Οἴου εἶπεν " ἐπειδὴ Κηφισόδωρος ἐκτενὴν
 προσενηγεμένος τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίαν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
 καὶ πεπολιτευμένος μὲν πρὸς τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη καθαρῶς καὶ ἄδωρο
 10 δοκίμως οὐθένει δὲ οὔτε πόνον οὔτε κίνδυνον ἐκκεκληκῶς ἔνεκεν
 τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος " καὶ τὰς τε ἄλλας λειτουργίας ὑπομεμενη
 κῶς πάσας ἐφ' ὅς αὐτὸν κατέστησεν ὁ δῆμος " γεγονῶς δὲ καὶ ταμίας
 στρατιωτικῶν καλῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως καὶ τὴν τῶν σιτωνικῶν " " "
 ταμειᾶν συνδιεξηγῶς τρίτος ἔν τε τῷ ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ
 15 Προξενίδου ἐνιαυτῷ " τεθικῶς δὲ καὶ νόμους συμφέροντας
 ἐφ' ὁμοιοίαι πάντων Ἀθηναίων " καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἴσους καὶ
 δικαίους συμβεβουλευκῶς " εἰσηγημένος δὲ καὶ δι' οὗ τρόπου " "
 τοὺς τε ὄντας φίλους ὁ δῆμος διατηρήσει βεβαίους ἐν τεῖ πίστει[ι]
 μένοντας καὶ ἑτέροισι προσκλήσεται " καὶ τὰς γινομένας ἐπιβου-
 20 λὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν προεωραμένος καὶ ἀντιστή[ι]α[ι] πρ[οστ]εταγ-
 μένος " καὶ συμμαχίας συμβεβουλευκῶς καλὰς καὶ [συν]ενηγο-
 ρείας τῷ δήμῳ " καὶ πρεσβείας πεπρεσβευκῶς ὑπὲρ [τῶν] μεγί-
 στων εἰς σωτηρίαν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ τῇ χώρῃ " καὶ χρήματα ἡχῶς
 καὶ σίτον καὶ ἄλλας δωρεὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας " εἰσενηροχῶς δὲ καὶ ψη-
 25 φίσματα πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντα καὶ πρᾶξις καὶ εὖ
 σχημοσύνην τῷ δήμῳ " καὶ διαμεμενηκῶς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 αἰρέσεως ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον μισοπονηρῶς " " καὶ διὰ τὴν συνέ-
 χειαν τῶν πραττομένων καὶ ἐπινοουμένων μάλιστα αἵτιος γεγο-
 νῶς μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας τοῦ διατηρῆσαι τὸν δῆμον
 30 [ι]ὴν αὐτονομίαν " οἷα ὀλίγοις δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων περιπε-
 [πονη]ταῖς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν " " καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάντα δίκαι-
 [ον ἀποφαί]ων ἐκείνῳ τεχεῖν τιμῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον " " αἰτεῖ " "
 [ται νῦν δοῦν]αι ἑαυτοῦ τὸν δῆμον εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ
 [εἰκόνα χαλκῇ]ν ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ καὶ σίτησιν ἑαυτῷ ἐν πρυ-
 35 [τανείῳ καὶ ἐγγόνων ἀ]εὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδρίᾳ ἐν πᾶσι
 [τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τί]θησιν " " καὶ τὴν αἵτησιν δέδωκεν πρὸς
 [τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον] κατὰ μέρος τῶν πεπραγμένων " " " " "
 [ὅπως ἂν οὖν ὁ δῆμος φαίνη]ται τιμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ
 [ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσιν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ζῆ]λωταὶ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰρέσεως ὅτι
 40 [ἀεὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων] τῆς προσήκουσας τυγχάνου

[σιν τιμῆς " " " " " ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δε]δόχθαι τεῖ βουλευῖ τοὺς προέ "
 [δρους οἷνες ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τ]ὴν κνρίαν ἐκκλ[ησίαν]
 [τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεῖδος πρυτανείας χρηματίσαι π]ερὶ τοῦ[των κα]
 [τὰ τὸν νόμον γνώμην δὲ ξ]υμ[βάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι]
 45 [δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευῖ] ἐπαινέσ[αι Κηφισόδωρον - - - - -]
 [καὶ στεφανῶσα]ι χρυσῶι [στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν]
 [καὶ εὐνοίας ἣν ἔχω]ν διατελ[εῖ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τ]ὸν Ἀθηναίων " ἀνειπεῖν
 [δὲ τὸν στέφανον] τούτον [Διονυσίων τε τῶν ἐν] ἔσ[τει καινοῖς τραγοῖ]
 [δοῖς καὶ Παραθ]ηναίων καὶ [Ἐλευσινίων κα]ὶ Πτολ[εμαίων τοῖς γυμν]
 50 [κοῖς ἀγῶσιν " " " τῆς δὲ [ποιήσεως τοῦ] στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγο]
 [ρεύσεως ἐπιμελ]ηθῆναι τοὺς [στρατηγού]ς καὶ τὸν τα[μίαν τῶν στρα]
 [τιωτικῶν " " " σιτῆσαι δὲ [αὐτοῦ κα]ὶ εἰκόσια χαλκῇ[ν ἐν ἀγοραῖ καὶ]
 [ἄλλην ἐμ Πειραι]εῖ ἐν τῶ[ι ἐμπορίω]ι " " εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶ[ι καὶ σίτησιν]
 [ἐν πρυτανείῳ κα]ὶ ἐγ[γόνων ἅ]εὶ τῶι πρεσβυτάτῳ [καὶ προεδρίαν]
 55 [ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις] τίθησιν " " τοὺς [δ]ὲ θεσ[μοθέτας εἰσα]
 [γαγεῖν τὴν δοκιμασίαν αὐτῶι δ]ταν ἐξέλθωσιν [αἱ] ἐκ τ[οῦ νόμου ἡμέραι]
 [τῆς αἰτήσεως; - - - - -]

TRANSLATION

In the archonship of Charikles, in the ninth prytany of Aigeis for which Aischrion, son of Euainetos, of Rhamnous was secretary; decrees of the Demos; Elaphebolion 13th, according to the god (the 18th), 28th of the prytany; assembly with full power in the Peiraeus. The chairman of the proedroi Antipatros, son of Potamon, of Lamptrai, and his fellow proedroi put the question to a vote. Resolved by the Council and Demos; Sodamos, son of Timasitheos, from Oion made the motion:

Inasmuch as Kephisodoros has on all occasions exerted strenuously his good will toward the Demos, has engaged honestly and incorruptibly in political life for nearly thirty years, and has never avoided either trouble or danger for the common welfare; and has performed all the liturgies to which the Demos appointed him, in particular serving well and honourably as treasurer of the military funds and discharging the duties of stewardship of the grain-fund in the years of Apollodoros and Proxenides respectively; has given advantageous laws for the concord of all Athenians; has advised sources of revenue that were fair and just; has explained how the Demos might keep firm in their faith existing friends and gain also others in addition; has foreseen the plots being prepared by outsiders and has set himself to oppose them; and has recommended good alliances advantageous to the Demos; and has gone on embassies of the greatest importance for the safety of the cities and the countryside; has contributed money and grain and many other gifts; has proposed many decrees that were useful, bringing glory and achievement and adornment to the Demos; has kept magnanimously to the same

policy throughout; and by the continuity of his action and thought has been most particularly responsible, along with the good will of the gods, for the preservation by the Demos of its autonomy and for the conferment on many of the other Hellenes as well of the greatest of blessings; and now for all these reasons [showing] that it is just for him to receive honor according to the law, inasmuch as he asks that the Demos [grant] a bronze image of him in the Agora and [a bronze image] in the harbor-market and food in the prytaneion for himself and for the eldest of [his descendants] forever after him and a front seat in all [the contests which the city] holds, and inasmuch as he has made his request to [the Council and Demos] with due regard to his accomplishments—[in order that the Demos may be seen] to honor good men and [in order that others] zealous in the same policy [may know] that they always receive fitting [honor from the Demos of the Athenians, with good fortune] be it resolved by the Council that the proedroi [who are chosen by lot to preside in] the assembly which meets with full power [in the prytany of Aigeis deliberate] about these matters [according to the law and] submit [the resolution of the Council to the Demos, that the Council resolves] to praise [Kephisodoros, son of - - - - -, of - - - - -, and to crown him with] a golden [crown according to the law for the valor and good will which he] constantly [holds toward the Demos of the Athenians, and to proclaim] this [crown at the celebration of the new tragedies at the] City-[Dionysia and at the gymnastic contests of the Panath]enaia, [the Eleusinia, and the] Ptol[emaia; that the generals] and the treasurer [of the military funds] care for the [making] of the crown [and the proclamation]; further, that a bronze image [of him] be erected [in the Agora and another in the Peira]eus in the harbor-market; and that he and the eldest of his descendants for ever after him shall have [food in the prytaneion and a front seat in all the contests which the city] holds; that the thes[mothetai shall introduce his scrutiny] when [the days required] by [law for the request] shall have elapsed; - - - - -

COMMENTARY

The decree honors that Kephisodoros who, as leader of the Athenian Demos in the late third and early second centuries, exerted his efforts against Philip V of Macedon. A memorial to him was seen by Pausanias just outside Athens on the Sacred Way, and a brief account of Kephisodoros' services to Athens is given by Pausanias when he mentions the monument (I, 36, 5).

Lines 1-4: The date of the inscription is definitely fixed as 196/5 by the name of the secretary from Rhamnous who falls into place in the secretary cycle in this year.¹ A more precise date is given in the opening lines of text, as on the twenty-eighth day

¹ Cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 28. Ferguson's cycle has been confirmed by the inscription found in the Agora and published first as *Hesperia*, III, no. 18. A more complete text is given on pp. 429-430 below.

of the ninth prytany of the year, and in the month of Elaphebolion. Unfortunately the date by month is not clear, for the actual number of the day *κατὰ θεόν* seems to have been omitted through oversight, and we are now able to supply the missing words only by inference, with considerable uncertainty because of the lack of real knowledge as to what the calendar counts *κατ' ἔρχοντα* and *κατὰ θεόν* signified. From the preserved examples of such double dating (especially *I.G.*, II², 967 and 1006) it is apparent that the first date given was that *κατ' ἔρχοντα*, even though this distinguishing phrase was here omitted (as also in other early inscriptions with double dating; cf. *I.G.*, II², 946, 947). The date *κατὰ θεόν* was given after the date *κατ' ἔρχοντα*, and was contrasted to it by the use of the particle *δέ*.¹ But in the present instance the date which follows the words *κατὰ θεόν* *δέ* is the date by prytany. I suspect a haplography which may be resolved by the addition of the words *ἐπὶ δέκα ὀγδόει* after the word *ὀγδόει* now preserved in line 3. The emended text thus reads: *Ἐλαφηβολιώνος τρίτει ἐπὶ δέκα (κατ' ἔρχοντα), κατὰ θεόν δὲ ὀγδόει (ἐπὶ δέκα, ὀγδόει) καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας*. Inasmuch as the prytany dates corresponded regularly with the month dates *κατὰ θεόν*, some support is given to this suggestion by the fact that the equation so established is exactly correct for an intercalary year. If all the prytanies had thirty-two days each, then Pryt. IX, 28 is the two hundred and eighty-fourth day of the year; and if the year began with full Hekatombaion and contained the intercalated month Posideon, then Elaphebolion 18 is also the two hundred and eighty-fourth day of the year. We do know in fact that the year contained intercalated Posideon, because another decree, passed in the sixth prytany (*I.G.*, II², 785) mentions the intercalated month and gives the equation *Ποσιδεῶνος ἐμβολίμου ἐν[δεκάτει, ἐνά]τει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς (ἑκτῆς) πρυτανείας*. A regular succession of prytanies of thirty-two days each brings the twenty-ninth of Prytany VI to the one hundred and eighty-ninth day in the year, but the regular alternation of months beginning with full Hekatombaion brings Posideon II, 11 only to the one hundred and eighty-eighth day of the year. The commentary in the *Corpus* on *I.G.*, II², 785 suggests an irregularity in the lengths of the prytanies, but the assumption of such an irregularity is not necessary; for both the now known equations of this year, that of the present document and that of *I.G.*, II², 785, can be satisfied if it be assumed that the civil year began with full Hekatombaion and that the order of full and hollow months was reversed before Posideon. With the sequence (e.g.): 30 29 30 29 30 30 29 30 29 30 29 30 29 the year still contains three hundred and eighty-four days, and Posideon II, 11 is the one hundred and eighty-ninth day and Elaphebolion 18 is the two hundred and eighty-fourth day. The prytanies may now be disposed with a regular number of thirty-two days in each.²

Lines 7–10: The statement that Kephisodoros had been in political life for nearly thirty years makes tempting the identification with [K]η[φισό]δ[ω]ρο[ς] Ἀριστοδήμου Ξυνετ[αι]ών,

¹ In No. 16, published below, the date *κατ' ἔρχοντα* was not recorded at all.

² This type of alternation in length of months has been demonstrated by Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, pp. 309 ff.). The sequence here suggested is earlier by one month, probably, than Dinsmoor's record of the "normal" forecast (*op. cit.*, p. 436), but the sequence is exactly the same.

who was orator of a decree (*I.G.*, II², 832) passed in the year of Heliodoros (229/8), and the name as thus restored would conform well to the requirements of space at the end of line 45. But this earlier decree falls more than thirty years before 196/5. One would not expect the account of Kephisodoros' services in an honorary decree to minimize the extent in time of his political activity, so in the present text the identification has not been made, and the patronymic and demotic are left without restoration in line 45.

Lines 12–15: There is no absolute certainty that the stewardship of the grain funds came in the year immediately following the stewardship of the military funds, but the close association of the names of the archons in the phrase *ἐν τε τῷ ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Προξενίδου ἐνιαυτῷ* makes it seem probable. The archon Proxenides is already known from *I.G.*, II², 915, to which a new fragment from the Agora has recently been added giving the name of the secretary for the year and the calendar character of the year:¹

Ἐπὶ Προξενίδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος δευτέρα[ς πρὺν]
 τανείας ἦν Εὐβουλος Εὐβουλίδ[ο]ς Αἰξωνεύς ἐγραμμάτευ[εν]
 Μεταγεινιώνος δευτέραι ἵσταμένου πέμπτη τῆς πρὺν[τα]
 ρείας· ----- κιλ. -----

With the calendar equation Pryt. II, 5 = Metageitnion 2 the year was evidently an ordinary year in the period of the thirteen tribes, and the demotic of the secretary serves to fix the date exactly in 203/2.² Apollodoros is therefore to be assigned to the year 204/3. What the other liturgies undertaken by Kephisodoros were (lines 11–12) we are not informed, but his treasurership and his stewardship of the grain-funds must have been important services, and in the very last years of the century expensive ones. With them I associate the gifts of money and grain listed in lines 23–24, though naturally all Kephisodoros' contributions need not have been made when he was in office.

Lines 17–23: The preservation of existing friendships probably refers to the Rhodians, Cretans, Attalos, the Aitolians, and Ptolemy; the new allies are principally the Romans. The whole passage must be read in the light of Pausanias I, 36, 5.

Lines 19–21: The plots being made by outsiders were principally those of Philip V, and the orator of the decree must have had Philip in mind when drafting this clause of his citation. The Romans in 201 were afraid that Philip with his naval power would become master of Greece,³ and Kephisodoros was evidently of the same opinion. His alliances and embassies (mentioned in lines 21–23) bear witness to the vigor—already attested in Pausanias, I, 36, 5 and Polybius, XVIII, 10, 11—with which he opposed the encroachment of Macedon.⁴

¹ To be published in full by Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I (1937), no. 40.

² See Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 28.

³ G. T. Griffith, "An Early Motive of Roman Imperialism," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, V (1935), pp. 1–14, especially pp. 8–9.

⁴ I have had the privilege of reading this decree with A. H. McDonald of Nottingham, who has prepared a discussion of the historical problems concerned with Athens, Rome, and Macedonia at the

Lines 29–31: The mention of the preservation of the autonomy of the state and of the blessings for the other Greeks which followed the successful outcome of Kephisodoros' policy has here its appropriate historical setting not long after the proclamation of freedom for the Greek states by Flamininus at the Isthmian games in the autumn of 196. The present decree was passed in the early spring next after the proclamation, an opportune time for voting honors to the Athenian statesman who had done most to oppose Philip.

Line 38: For *ζῆλωταί* cf. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 675, lines 27–28.

Lines 42–43: The restoration has been made in such a way as to agree with the facts of date as given in lines 1 and 4.

Lines 43–44: For *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* cf. *I.G.*, II², 657, line 56.

Lines 50–51: A parallel for the restoration may be found in *I.G.*, II², 900, lines 10–11.

Lines 56–57: cf. *I.G.*, II², 657, lines 54–55.

The restorations throughout the document are fairly certain, except perhaps in line 37, even though the small fragments which carry the text from line 44 do not actually join the larger piece.

The archon Charikles, whose name dates the decree, must now be listed in the chronological tables in 196/5 instead of 239/8 where he has usually been dated hitherto. To the arguments already advanced for a date for this decree in 196/5 may be added still another against the earlier attribution: the Ptolemaia are mentioned in line 49, and they were probably not celebrated in Athens before the introduction of the Ptolemaic tribe in 224/3 or 223/2.¹ The decree praising Aristokreon, the nephew of the philosopher Chrysippos, must also be dated in 196/5 (*I.G.*, II², 785) since archon and secretary are both the same as in the decree for Kephisodoros. This means that the sojourn of Aristokreon in Athens must be placed about forty years later than has until now been customary. Not only *I.G.*, II², 785 but also *I.G.*, II², 786 is involved in the readjustment, for it too is a decree in honor of Aristokreon and, according to Wilhelm (*Aeg. Ep.*, 1901, pp. 53–54), must be later than *I.G.*, II², 785. If this is true, the "freedom" mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 786, line 3, and the "strengthening (of the harbors)" mentioned in line 6 probably refer to the defence of Athens in the time of Philip V and the preservation of that "autonomy" which is mentioned also in the decree of Kephisodoros. In any case *Λαμπρίας Λαμπρίου Θοραιεύς* of *I.G.*, II², 785, line 9, is to be identified with the Lamprias of *I.G.*, II², 2332, line 86, rather than with the father who was one of the proedroi in the archonship of Heliodoros (*I.G.*, II², 832, line 6) and thesmothetes in the year of Ergochares (*I.G.*, II², 1706, line 36).

Taken by itself alone, *I.G.*, II², 786 seems best interpreted as following the recovery of freedom in 229/8 B.C., and I am informed by Dow that the lettering of the inscription

very close of the third century. The paper will, I understand, be published in an early number of the *Journal of Roman Studies*, with reference to the bearing of the present inscription on the events of that period.

¹ See Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 242; *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 53.

seems earlier than that of *I.G.*, II², 785,—in fact, quite appropriate for some year close to *ca.* 215. So for the present it is perhaps best to leave uncertain the exact date of *I.G.*, II², 786 and to say merely that *I.G.*, II², 785 quite definitely belongs in 196/5. The secretary's name should, of course, be restored from the text here under discussion as [*Αίσχρίων*] *Εδαινέτου* *Ψαμνούσιος*.

DECREE

16. Fragment of Pentelic marble with the right edge preserved, but broken at the left and bottom and elsewhere much battered. The stone was found on February 10, 1934 in the wall of a cellar of a modern house in Section A. It is the upper right corner of a stele with crowning moulding, with the preserved side smooth, and the top and back rough-picked.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.074 m.; thickness, 0.097 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.—0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1318.

Six lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.06 m. The inscription is not *stoichedon*.



No. 16

179/8 B.C. (?)

NON-COIX.

[*Ἐπὶ* - - - - ^{ca. 10} - - - - *ἔρχοντο*] *ος* *ἐπ*[*ὶ*]

[*τῆς* - - - - ^{ca. 10} - - - - *δγδότης*] *π*[*ρ*υτα

[*ρείας* *ῆ*μ - - - - ^{ca. 13} - - - -] *Πρα*[*σ*] *ιενδς*

[*ἐγραμμάτευν*· *Ἀθηστ*] *ιριῶνος*

5 [*ἐνάτη* *ἵσταμένον* *κατὰ* *θε*] *όν*, *ἐνά*[*τῆ*]

[*τῆς* *πρυτανείας*· *ἐκκλησ*] *ία* *κν*[*ρία*]

[*τῶν* *προέδρων* *ἐπεψήφισ*] *εν* *Ε*[- -]

The inscription seems to belong to the first half of the second century B.C., and is of interest in that it gives the demotic of a secretary hitherto unknown in this period. Since the deme Prasiai belonged to the third tribe in the official order (Pandionis) the years 191/0, 179/8, and 167/6 are available (cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 28–29). At present it does not seem possible to choose among these three years. Nor does the irregularity of the calendar, which is attested in line 5, offer any help. There were similar dates *κατὰ θεόν* in 196/5

(see No. 15 above) and in 166/5 (see *I.G.*, II², 946, 947) and obvious irregularities in 178/7 (a new document will be published in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I [1937], no. 64).

THE BATTLE OF PYDNA

17. The honorary decree for Kalliphanes of Phyle, who brought to Athens news of the Roman victory at Pydna in 168 B.C., has been the subject of constant study since its first publication in *Hesperia*, III (1934), no. 18. From the photographs as published there, Woodward was able to read the names βασιλέως Ε[λμέν]ους in lines 14–15 and the word παρασκευάζειν in lines 16–17. He very kindly communicated these readings to me by letter, and at the same time pointed out the beginning of the formula of sanction in lines 27–28. Quite independently I had made similar readings from new photographs prepared for the Agora records by Mr. Wagner. Inasmuch as almost nothing can be made out from the stone itself or from a squeeze, these separate determinations are valuable, for the text as given below does not depend entirely on my readings alone from an almost obliterated surface.

	169/8 B.C.	NON-COIX. ca. 30
	Θ	ε ο ι
	Ἐπὶ Εὐνίκου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀτταλί	
	δος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας ἥι Ἱερών	
	μος Βοήθου Κηφισιεύς ἐγραμμάτευν,	
5	Σκιροφοριῶνος ἐνει καὶ νέαι, ἐνάτει	
	καὶ εἰκοσιεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλη	
	σία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφι	
	ζεν	vacat
		vacat
10		vacat
	ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευτῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι	
	Σάτυρος Σατύρου ἐκ Κολ[ων]οῦ εἶπεν· ἐπει	
	δὴ Καλλιφάνης Φυλάσιος στρατενόμε	
	ρος μετὰ Ῥωμαί[ων] καὶ τῶν [τ]οῦ βασιλέ	
15	ως Ε[λ]μένους ἀδελφῶν Ἀττάλου καὶ	
	Ἀθηναίου καὶ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρα	
	σκευάζειν βουλόμενος τῇ πατρίδι	
	συμπ[αρ]ῆν τ[ῇ] γενομέ[νῃ]ι [ν]ίκηι Ῥωμαίοις	
	ἐμ Μα[κ]εδ[ο]νίαι καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ὧν [α]ὐ	
20	τὸς ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς πολίτ[α]ις τὰ γ[ε]γο[ν]ό	
	τα -----	

 25 -----

 [-----]ων " ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δ[ε]δό
 [χθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τ]ο[ν]ς [λ]αχόντ[ας] προέ
 [δρους εἰς τὴν ἐπι]ο[ν]σαν ἐκκλησίαν
 30 [χρημα]τίσαι περὶ [τοῦ]των, γνώμην δὲ
 [ξυμβάλλε]σθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν
 [δῆ]μ[ον] δτι δοκε[ῖ] τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσα[ι]
 [Κα]λλ[ιφ]άνην Καλλιφάνου Φυλάσιο[ν]
 [καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ] στε[φάνω]ι εὖ
 35 [ροίας] ἔνεκεν κ[αὶ] φιλοτιμίας [-----]

 [-----] ἀναγρ[ά]
 [ψαι] δὲ τ[ό]δε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέ[α]
 40 [τὸ]ν [κατὰ] πρυτανε[ίαν] ἐν στήλει λιθίνει
 [καὶ στήσ]αι ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὴν ἐξόχ[ω]
 [-----] τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα
 [εἰς τὴν γραφῇ]ν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς
 [στ]ήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρ[α]
 45 [τιωτικ]ῶν.
 ἡ βουλὴ
 ὁ δῆμος
 Καλλιφάνην
 Καλλιφάνου
 50 Φυλ[άσιο]ν

The new text brings the additional information that Athenaios also was with Attalos at Pydna (line 16), and gives the motivation for Kalliphanes' return to Athens. He was, in fact, the man who brought the news of the victory (see *Hesperia*, III [1934], p. 21). Whether more of the inscription can be read is problematical, but the effort will surely be made. In the meantime it seems best to present without delay the results so far achieved.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

Note: For the sake of complete final publication, students of the documents here printed are earnestly requested to send suggestions by letter or reprints of articles they may write concerning them to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

INDEX

NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

- Ἀγνόθεος*, father of *Κηφισόδοτος*, [10 13—14].
Ἀθήναιος of Pergamon, 168 B.C., 17 16.
Αἰσχραῖος (ἐκ *Κηδῶν*), father of *Προμηθίων*, 10 186.
Αἰσχρίων *Εὐαίνετον* *Ῥαμνούσιος*, secretary in 196/5 B.C., 15 2.
Ἀμφικλῆς (*Ἀφιδναῖος*?), 10 153.
Ἄν - - -, father of [. . . ? . . .]ος, 12 9.
Ἄν[. . .⁶. . .]ς, an Ephesian?, 415/4 B.C., 5 5—6.
Ἀντίδοτος, archon in 451/0 B.C., [3 5].
Ἀντίπατρος *Ποτάμωνος* *Λαμπτρέυς*, chairman of the proedroi in 196/5 B.C., 15 5.
Ἀπηνονίδης, 10 157, 174.
Ἀπολλόδοτος, archon in 204/3 B.C., 15 14.
Ἀρέ[σαιμος? *Τληπο*]λέμων *Εὐωνυμεύς*, 9 10—11.
Ἀριστ - - -, 10 78.
Ἀριστογείτων, the tyrannicide, [1 1].
Ἀριστοδάμας (*Μυρρινούσιος*), father of *Μνησιδάμας*, 10 3—4, [10].
Ἀριστομένης (*Οἰναῖος*), father of *Νικόδημος*, 10 154, 171—172.
Ἀριστόνους *Ἀριστόνον* *Ἀναγυράσιος*, secretary in 332/1 B.C., [11 3—4].
Ἀριστόνους (*Ἀναγυράσιος*), father of *Ἀριστόνους*, [11 4].
Ἀρμόδιος, the tyrannicide, 1 1.
Ἀρχέδημος, 9 13.
Ἀρχίας, archon in 346/5 B.C., 10 166.
Ἄτταλος of Pergamon, 168 B.C., 17 15.

Βόηθος (*Κηφισιεύς*), father of *Ἰερώννυμος*, 17 4.

Γλανκίας, 10 73.
Γλαύκιππος (*Κολλυτεύς*), father of *Ὑπερείδης*, 10 114.
Γλαύκων, father of *Λέαργος*, 2 1.

Ἀημοκλῆς *Ἀφιδναῖος*, *κυρωτής*, 10 167.
Ἀημόστρατος *Ἀφιδναῖος*, 10 156—157, 173.
Διότιμος, archon in 354/3 B.C., 10 65.
Δίων *Νουμηνίου* *Φαληρεύς*, ἐπιμελητής τῆς *Διαντίδος* *φυλῆς*, 10 168.
Δρακοντίδης, 9 14—15.

Ε - - -, chairman of the proedroi, early second century B.C., 16 7.
Ἑλπίνικος (*Ποτάμος*), father of *Χαρίας*, 10 151.
Ἑρμόλοχος, father of *Τηλέμαχος*, 10 133.
Ἑρσικλῆς *Ἀφιδναῖος*, 10 153.
Εὐαίνετος (*Ῥαμνούσιος*), father of *Αἰσχρίων*, 15 2.
Εὐθυκλῆς *Εὐθυμενίδου* *Μυρρινούσιος*, 10 118, 120.
Εὐθυκλῆς *Εὐκλέους* ἐκ *Κηδῶν*, *κυρωτής παρὰ προτάνεων*, 10 117—118.
Εὐθύμαχος *Μυρρινούσιος*, 10 122.
Εὐθυμένης *Εὐωνυμεύς*, 10 156, 158—159, 172, 175.
Εὐθυμενίδης (*Μυρρινούσιος*), father of *Εὐθυκλῆς*, 10 118.
Εὐθύφρων, father of [- -]ρων, 10 74.
Εὐκλε - - -, 10 81.
Εὐκλῆς (ἐκ *Κηδῶν*), father of *Εὐθυκλῆς*, 10 118.
Εὐκτήμων, 10 75.
Εὐμένης of Pergamon, 168 B.C., 17 15.
Εὐνικος, archon in 169/8 B.C., 17 2.

Θεάγγελος (*Ἀχαρνεύς*), father of *Τηλέμαχος*, [10 151].
Θεόδοτος (*Πλωθεύς*), father of *Νίκων*, 12 4.
Θεόφαντος *Ἑλευσίνιος*, *κυρωτής*, 10 166—167.
Θρα - - -, πάρεδρος ca. 288/7—263/2 B.C., 13 3.
Θρασύλοχος, 10 40—41, [54].
Θρασυερρ - -, 10 51.

- Ἰεροκλείδης Ἐρμειος, 10 [103], 107.
 Ἰερώνυμος Βοήθου Κηφισιεύς, secretary in 169/8 B.C., 17 3-4.
 Ἰππαρχος, the tyrant, [1 1].
 Ἰππόνικος Καλλίου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, 10 110.
 Καλλίας (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), father of Ἰππόνικος, 10 110.
 Καλλικράτης Καλλικράτους Βήσησι οἰκῶν, a metie, 10 141, [147-148].
 Καλλικράτης, father of Καλλικράτης, [10 141-142].
 Καλλισθένης, 5 4-5.
 Καλλίστρατος, secretary of epistatai of Athena Promachos, 4 II 25.
 Καλλιφάνης Καλλιφάνου Φυλάσιος, 17 13, 33, 48-50.
 Καλλιφάνης (Φυλάσιος), father of Καλλιφάνης, 17 33, 49.
 Κηφισόδορος, 9 9.
 Κηφισόδορος, 15 7, [45].
 Κηφισόδορος Ἀγνοθέου - -, κυρωτῆς παρὰ πρυτάνεων, 10 13.
 Κηφισοφῶν, father of Φυακίνης, 10 150.
 Κλενίας, father of Σωσίας, [10 14-15].
 Κλέων, 10 35.
 Κτησι - -, father of Κτησιφῶν, 13 4.
 Κτησίβιος, 10 2.
 Κτησιφῶν Κτησι - -, πάρεδρος ca. 288/7-263/2 B.C., 13 4.
 Λεάγρος Γλαύκονος, 2 1.
 Μεγακ - -, 10 213.
 Μειξίδημος Μυρρινούσιος, 10 123, 148.
 Μνησιδάμας Ἀριστοδάμαντος Μυρρινούσιος, 10 [3], 7, [9, 10].
 Μνησίθεος, 10 50-51.
 Νικη - -, 10 1.
 Νικητος, archon in 332/1 B.C., [11 2].
 Νικόδημος Ἀριστομένους Οἰναῖος, 10 154, 159, 171, 178.
 Νικοκλῆς, archon in 302/1 B.C., [12 2].
 Νικοκράτης Ξενοκράτους Ῥαμνούσιος, 10 184.
 Νίκων Θεοδώρου [Πλωθέυς], secretary in 302/1 B.C., 12 4.
 Νουμήμιος (Φαληρέυς), father of Δίων, 10 168-169.

- Ξενοκράτης (Ῥαμνούσιος), father of Νικοκράτης, 10 184.
 Πειθίδημος, archon in 267/6 B.C., 14 2.
 Πλάτων Ἀφιδναῖος, 9 4.
 Πολυμήδης (Οἰναῖος), father of Πολύφιλος, 10 169-170.
 Πολύφιλος Πολυμήδους Οἰναῖος, 10 169.
 Ποτάμων (Λαμπτρέυς), father of Ἀντίπατρος, 15 5.
 Προμηθίων Αἰσχ[ρα]ί[ου] ἐκ Κηδῶν, 10 186.
 Προξενίδης, archon in 203/2 B.C., 15 15.
 Πρώταρχος Πειραιεύς, 10 120-121.
 Πυθόδοτος, archon in 343/2 B.C., 10 126.
 Πυθόδωρος (Ἀγνούσιος), father of Φιλοκράτης, 10 46, [111].
 Σάτυρος Σατύρου ἐκ Κολ[ων]οῦ, orator in 169/8 B.C., 17 12.
 Σάτυρος (ἐκ Κολωνοῦ), father of Σάτυρος, 17 12.
 Σώδαμος Τιμασιθέου ἐξ Οἴου, orator in 196/5 B.C., 15 7.
 Σωσίας Κλε[ωνίου] - -, 10 14.
 Τηλέμαχος Ἐρμολόχου ἐμ Πειραιεὶ οἰκῶν, a metie, 10 133, 147.
 Τηλέμαχος Θεαγγέλου Ἀχαρνεύς, 10 151.
 Τιμαρχος Ἀφιδναῖος, 10 153.
 Τιμασιθεος (ἐξ Οἴου), father of Σώδαμος, 15 7.
 Τιμοκράτης Ἀφιδναῖος, ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς, 10 169.
 Τληπόλεμος (Εὐωνυμεύς), father of Ἀρέσαιχος(?), [9 10].
 Ὑπερείδης Γλανκίππου Κολλυτεύς, 10 [48-49], 114.
 Φανύλλος, 10 [22-23], 33-34.
 Φιλιστίδης Φιλιστίδου Αἰζωνεύς, 10 125, 147.
 Φιλιστίδης (Αἰζωνεύς), father of Φιλιστίδης, 10 125.
 Φιλοκράτης Πυθოდώρου Ἀγνούσιος, 10 [46, 47], 106, 107-108, 111, 112.
 Φυακίνης Κηφισοφῶ[ντος] - -, κυρωτῆς, 10 150.
 Χαρίας, archon in 415/4 B.C., 5 4.
 Χαρίας Ἑλληνίκου Ποτάμιος, κυρωτῆς, 10 150-151.
 Χαροκλῆς, archon in 196/5 B.C., 15 1.

Χαῤῥῖνος, 10 43.

Χαῤῥῖνος, 10 302. Perhaps the same as the preceding.

Χαῤῥῖσιος, 9 13–14.

[. . .]οφραάδης, 5 2–3.

[. . . ο]χίδης, 3 5–6.

[. . . .]άδης, 5 3–4.

[. . . .]θένης, 10 8.

[. . . .]ς, secretary in 451/0 B.C., 3 3–4.

[. . . .]ς, an epistates of Athena Promachos, 4 II 26.

[. . . .]ας, an epistates of Athena Promachos,
4 II 26.

[. . . .]ς, secretary of epistatai of Athena
Promachos, 4 III 31.

[. . . .]ίδης Σφήττιος, 10 77.

[. . . .]ος Ἀν[.]¹². . . .], chairman of
proedroi in 302/1, 12 9.

[.]ς Ἀγνούσιος, 10 50.

[– –]εόστρατος Κυδαθηναίεύς, 10 28.

[– – –]ν, an epistates of Athena Promachos,
4 III 32.

[– – –]ρων Εὐθύφρωνος, 10 74.

[– – –]ς, 9 4–5.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Ἀγκυλῆθεν: Ἀγκυ, 10 51.

Ἀγνοῦς: Ἀγνοῦντι, [10 15–16].

Ἀγνούσιος: Ἀγνούσι -, 10 56; Ἀγν, 10 46–47, 50,
[106], 108, [111].

Ἀθηναῖος: Ἀθηναίων, [3 8–9], 5 9, 10 124, 15 16,
[40, 47]; Ἀθηναίοισι, [1 1]; Ἀθηναίους, [5 7].

Αἰαντίς: Αἰαντίδος, 10 162, 168, 170, 182; Αἰαντίδι,
10 176, 177.

Αἰγής: Αἰγεῖδος, 15 1, [43].

Αἰζωνεύς: Αἰξ, 10 125.

Ἀκαμαντίς: Ἀκαμαντίδος, 14 2.

Ἀλαιεύς: Ἀλα, 10 64.

Ἀλωπεκῆθεν: Ἀλωπεκ, 10 110.

Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν: Ἀμφιτροπῆ, 10 5.

Ἀναγυράσιος, [11 4].

Ἀναφλύσιος: Ἀναφλύσι, [10 66].

Ἀντιγονίς: Ἀντιγονίδος, [12 3].

Ἀντιοχίς, 5 2.

Ἀρτεμίσιον: Ἀρτεμισίωι, 10 29–30.

Ἀτταλῖς: Ἀτταλίδος, 17 2–3.

Ἀφιδναι: Ἀφιδνήσι, 10 155.

Ἀφιδναῖος, [9 4]; Ἀφι, 10 153, 157, 167, 169, 173.

Ἀχαρνεύς: Ἀχαρ, 10 152.

Βῆσαι: Βῆση, 10 142.

Λαιδαλίδης: Λαιδαλίδου, 9 6.

Δημητριακός: Δημητριακόν, name of a mine, 10 301.

Ἑλευσίνιος: Ἑλεν, 10 167.

Ἑλλην: Ἑλλήνων, 15 30.

Ἑρμειος: Ἑρμ, 10 104, 107.

Εὐβοϊκός: Εὐβοϊκά, [4 II 60].

Εὐωνυμεύς, 9 10–11, 10 214; Εὐων, 10 [14], 172;

Εὐω, 10 156, 159, 175.

Ἡρακλείον: Ἡρακλείου τοῦ Ἀλεξικάκου, [10 108–109].

Θορία: Θορίαί, 9 7, 10 187.

Καρύσιος: Καρύ[σσιοι], 7 16.

Κεῖος: Κεῖοι, 7 15.

Κεκροπίς: Κεκροπίδος, 11 2–3.

Κηδοί: ἐκ Κη, 10 186; ἐκ Κ, 10 118.

Κηφισεύς, 17 4.

Κολλυτεύς: Κολ, 10 114.

Κολωνός: ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, 17 12.

Κυδαθηναίεύς: Κυδαθ, 10 28.

Κυθήριος: Κυθ, 10 6, 8.

Κύθνιος: Κύθνιοι, [7 14].

Λαμπιτρέύς, 15 5.

Μακεδονία: Μακεδονίαί, 17 19.

Μελιτεύς: Μελ, 10 71.

Μελίτη: Μελίτη, [10 105].

Μετα – (?), 10 52.

Μηθυμναῖος: Μηθυμναίων, 8 26.

Μιλητοπολίτης: Μιλητο[πολίται], 7 12.

Μουννυχία: Μουννυχίαι, 10 119—120.

Μυρρουνούσιος: Μυρρ, 10 118; Μυρρ, 10 [4, 8], 9, 10,
19, 120, 122, 123.

Νεανδρειεύς: Νεανδρ[ειῆς], 7 11.

Οἰναῖος: Οἶν, 10 154, 170, 172.

Οἰνεῖς, 3 3.

Οἶον: ἐξ Οἶου, 15 7.

Πειραιεύς: Πειραιεῖ, 15 4, [53], 17 7; Πειραιεῖ,
10 119, [138—139]; Πειραιᾶ, [10 76—77]; Πειρ,
10 121; Π, 10 133.

Πεταλίδαι: Πεταλιδῶν, 10 155.

Πλωθεύς, [12 4].

Ποτάμιος: Ποτ, 10 151.

Πρασιεύς, 16 3.

Ῥαμνούσιος, 15 2; Ῥαμ, 10 184.

Ῥωμαῖος: Ῥωμαίων, 17 14; Ῥωμαῖοις, 17 18.

Σιγριεύς: Σιγ[ριέων], 3 1; [Σ]ιγρι[ιῶ]ν, 3 11—12;
[Σι]γριεῦ[σ]ιν, 3 7.

Σκήριος: Σκή[ριοι], 7 10.

Σούνιον: Σουνίωι, 10 [217—218], 219.

Σφήτιος: Σφητ, 10 77.

Φαληρεύς: Φαλη, 10 169.

Φηγριεύς: Φηγα, 10 299.

Φυλάσιος, 17 13; Φυλάσιον, 17 33, 50.

[-----]η, city assessed tribute in 410/09 B.C., 7 2.

[-----]οι, people assessed tribute in 410/09 B.C., 7 5.

[-----]ς, people assessed tribute in 410/09 B.C., 7 1.

[-----]ς, people assessed tribute in 410/09 B.C., 7 3.

RELIGIOUS CLUBS, FESTIVALS, MONTHS, AND DEITIES

Αἶας: Αἶαντος, 10 179; Αἶαντι, 10 164.

Ἀλεξικάκος: Ἀλεξικάκου, 10 109.

Ἀνθεστηριῶν: Ἀνθεστηριῶνος, 16 4.

Ἀρτεμις: Ἀρτέμιδος, 8 25, 10 30, 32—33.

Ἀσκληπίος: Ἀσκληπιῶι, 10 143.

Βοηδρομιῶν: Βοηδρομιῶνος, [14 4].

Βρανθρώνιος: Βρανθρώνιας, 8 25.

Διονύσια: Διονυσίων, [15 48].

Διόνυσος: Διονύσου, [12 7].

Εἰκαδεῖς: Εἰκαδέων, 10 31, 42.

Ἐλαφηβολιών: Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος, 15 3.

Ἐλευσίνια: Ἐλευσινίων, [15 49].

Ζεύς: Διός, [13 8].

Θησεύς: Θησεῖ, 10 134—135.

Νίκη, 8 23.

Παναθήναια: Παναθηναίων, [15 49].

Ποσιδεῶν: Ποσιδεῶνος, 11 5, 12 5.

Πτολεμαῖα: Πτολεμαίων, [15 49].

Πυανοψιών: Πυανοψιῶνος, 10 11.

Σκυροφοριῶν: Σκυροφοριῶνος, 10 115, 17 5.

GENERAL

ἀγαθός: ἀγαθεῖ, [15 41], 17 27; ἀγαθῶν, 15 31;

ἀγαθοῖς, 3 8; ἀγαθοῦς, 15 38.

ἀγαλμα: ἀγάματος, [4 II 48, 71, 8 24].

ἀγορά: ἀγορᾶι, 15 33, [52], 17 41; ἀγοράν, [10 109].

ἄγω: ἄγο(υσα), 10 188; ἡχώς, 15 23.

ἄγών: ἄγῶσι, [15 36, 50, 55].

ἀδελφός: ἀδελφῶν, 17 15.

ἀδικέω: ἀδικῶνται, 3 14—15.

ἄδωροδοκήτως, 15 9–10.
 αεί, 15 35, [40], 54.
 ἄθροος: ἄθροον, 10 152, 185.
 αἰρέσις: αἰρέσεως, 15 27, 39.
 αἰτησις: αἰτήσεως, [15 57]; αἰτησιν, 15 36.
 αἴτιος, 15 28.
 αἰτέω: αἰτεῖται, 15 32–33.
 ἀκινάνης, [8 27].
 ἀκρόπολις: ἀκροπόλει, 10 [80–81], 150, 160, 164.
 ἀλλά: ἀλλ', 10 [49], 114, 149.
 ἄλλος: ἄλλην, [15 53]; ἄλλοι, [15 39]; ἄλλων, 15 30; ἄλλας, 15 11, 24.
 ἀμφισβητέω: ἀμφισβητῆι, [10 72–73].
 ἄν, 3 14, [15 38, 39, 42].
 ἀναγόρευσις: ἀναγορεύσεως, [15 50–51].
 ἀναγραφή: ἀναγραφῆν, [13 8].
 ἀναγράφω: ἀναγράφαι, 5 7–8, [13 5–6], 17 38–39.
 ἀνάθεσις: ἀνάθεσιν, 17 43.
 ἀνάλωμα, 17 42; ἀναλώματος, 4 II [20, 49], 74, 4 III 26, [58].
 ἀνασάξιμος: ἀνασάξιμον, 10 4–5, [304–305].
 ἀνατίθημι: ἀνέθηκεν, 2 1.
 ἀνεμι: ἀνιόντος, 9 8; (variously abbreviated) 10 [8, 26], 36, [78, 102], 106, 121, 157–158, 174, [211], 297.
 ἀνείπον: ἀνειπεῖν, [15 47].
 ἀνευ, 6 A 13, [8 27].
 ἀνήρ: ἀνδράσιν, [3 7]; ἀνδρας, 15 38.
 ἀνθίστημι: ἀντιστῆναι, 15 20.
 ἀνθραξ: ἀνθρακες, [4 II 13, 40, 66, 4 III 52].
 ἀπαγγέλλω: ἀπαγγεῖλαι, 17 20.
 ἄπας: ἅπαν, 10 152–153, 185; ἅπαντα, 10 [46], 180–181, 15 27; ἁπάντων, 10 111.
 ἀπό, 4 III 37, [8 23], 10 70, [108].
 ἀπογραφή, 10 185–186.
 ἀπογράφω: ἀπέγραφε, 9 [4], 13, 10 186; ἀπέγραψεν, 10 [15, 75], 118–119, [153–154]; ἀπεγράφατο, 10 [215], 301–302.
 ἀποδίδωμι: ἀποδέδωκεν, 10 163; ἀποδοίη, 10 181; ἀποδόντος, 10 176–177.
 ἀπόλλυμι: ἀπολομένον, 10 180.
 ἀπόπαξ, 4 II [15], 43, 68, 4 III, 54.
 ἀποφαίνω: ἀποφαίνων, [15 32].
 ἀργύριον, [4 II 47, 70], 10 163, 177, 179, 181; ἀργυρίου, 10 165.
 ἀργυροῦς: ἀργυροῦν (by assimilation), [8 22].

ἄρετή: ἀρετῆς, [15 46].
 ἀρχαῖος: ἀρχαίου, 10 70.
 ἀρχή: ἀρχῆι, [4 II 25, 54, 4 III 31, 62].
 ἀρχω: ἡρχε, [3 5, 5 4].
 ἀρχων: ἀρχοντος, 10 [65–66], 126–127, 166, [11 2], 12 2, 14 2, 15 1, [16 1], 17 2.
 ἄσημος: ἄσημον, [4 II 47, 70].
 ἄστατος, [8 28].
 ἄστιος: ἀστία, 10 121–122.
 ἄστν: ἀσται, [15 48].
 αὐτονομία: αὐτονομίαν, 15 30.
 αὐτός, 17 19–20; αὐτοῦ, 13 3, [15 52]; αὐτῆς, 15 26; αὐτῶι, 10 166, 15 53, [56]; αὐτόν, 10 48, [113–114], 15 12, [17 34]; αὐτοί, 3 13; αὐτῶν, [13 5].
 βασιλεὺς: βασιλέως, 17 14–15.
 βέβαιος: βεβαίους, 15 18.
 βορρᾶθεν: βορρᾶθεν, 9 8–9; βορρ, [10 107]; βορ, 10 6, 24, 35, 76, 120, 155, 172, 187.
 βουλή, 17 46; βουλῆς, [15 44], 17 31; βουλῆι, [3 2]; βουλῆι, 5 1; βουλεῖ, 15 6, 41, [45], 17 11, [28], 32; βουλῆν, [15 37].
 βούλομαι: βουλόμενος, 17 17.
 γείτων: γείτωμ, [9 7]; γει, 10 216, 221, [262]; γε, 10 [105], 155, 187; γ, 10 6, 21, 24, 35, 53, [76], 120, 172.
 γῆ: γῆν, 1 2.
 γίνομαι: γένεθ', [1 1]; γενόμενος, 10 161–162; γενομένου, 10 178; γενομένηι, 17 18; γενομένον, 17 42; γερονώς, 15 12, 28–29; γερονότα, [17 20–21]; γεγεννημένων, 10 145–146.
 γίνομαι: γνομένας, 15 19.
 γνώμη: γνώμην, [15 44], 17 30.
 γραμματεὺς: γραμματεῖ (for the epistatai of Athena Promachos), 4 II 45–46, [72–73], 4 III [24–25], 56–57; γραμματέα (τὸν κατὰ προτανείαν), [13 6], 17 39.
 γραμματεῦς: ἐγραμμάτενε, 3 4, 4 II 25–26, 54, 4 III 31, 62, 5 3; ἐγραμμάτενεν, 11 4–5, 12 5, 15 2, 16 4, 17 4.
 γραφή: γραφῆς, [10 48]; γραφῆν, [17 43].
 γράφω: γεγραμμένον, 3 14.
 γρῦν: γρῦπε, 8 19.
 γυμνικός: γυμνικοῖς, [15 49–50].

- δακτύλιος, 8 24; δακτυλίον, [8 27-28].
 δανειστής: δαν, 10 73.
 δέ, 10 120, 122, [183], 190, 13 [2], 6, [8], 15 3, 10, 12, 15, 17, 24, 30, [44, 48], 50, 52, 53, 55, 17 30, 39, 42.
 δέκα, 14 4, 15 3.
 δέκατος: δεκάτει, [11 6, 14 4]; δεκάτην, 10 136, 144.
 δέομαι: δέωνται, 3 13.
 δέντερος: δεντέραι, 10 11-12, 115-116, [12 5-6].
 δημόπρατος: δημοπράτων, [10 11].
 δήμος, 15 12, 18, [38], 17 47; δήμου, 15 2, [40]; δήμωι, 3 2-3, [5 1-2, 10 49, 11 8], 15 6, 22, 26, 17 11; δῆμον, [3 8], 15 8, 29, 33, [37, 44, 47], [17 32].
 δημόσιος: δημοσία, [10 16-17]; δημοσίωι, 10 79-80, 124, 159, 182-183; δημοσία, [10 45]; δημοσίων, [10 110].
 δι' (with genitive), 15 17.
 διά (with accusative), 15 27, 31.
 διάλυθος: διαλύθω, 8 19.
 διαμένω: διαμεμενηκώς, 15 26.
 διατελέω: διατελεῖ, 15 47.
 διατηρέω: διατηρήσει, 15 18; διατηρήσαι, 15 29.
 δίδωμι: ἔδωκε, [10 183]; δέδωκεν, 15 36; δοῦναι, [15 33].
 δίκαιος: δίκαιον, 15 31-32; δικαίους, 15 17.
 δικαστήριον, 10 [12], 116; δικαστηρίωι, 10 [50], 115.
 διοίκησις: διοικήσει, [13 1, 9].
 διπλοῦς: διπλῶν, [10 145].
 διπλόω: δεδιπλωμένο, 10 166.
 δίφρος, 6 A 11, 15.
 δοκέω: δοκεῖ, [15 45], 17 32; ἔδοξεν, 3 2, 5 1, [11 7-8], 15 6, 17 11; δεδόχθαι, 15 41, [17 27-28].
 δοκιμασία: δοκιμασίαν, [15 56].
 δόξα: δόξαν, 15 25.
 δοράτιον, 6 A 14.
 δόρυ, 6 A 13.
 δραχμή: δραχμῆς, [10 142]; δραχμάς, 10 66-67, [80], 129, 132, [137-138], 160, [13 9-10].
 δύο, 10 18, 105, 139, 188.
 δύω: δυομέ(νου), 10 122, 297-298; δυο, 10 [9], 26, 43, 78, [102-103], 107, 158, 175, 212.
 δώδεκα, 2 2.
 δωδέκατος: δωδεκάτης, 17 3.
 δωρεά: δωρεάς, 15 24.
 εαυτοῦ, [5 10], 10 180, 15 33; εαυτῶι, 15 34; εαυτόν, 15 32, 17 16.
 εβδομος: ἐβδόμης, 12 3; ἐβδόμει, [14 4]; ἐβδόμην, 10 127, 130, 135-136, 143.
 ἔγγονος: ἐγγόνων, [15 35, 54].
 ἔγγνάω: ἐνεγνήσατο, 10 124-125, 132-133, 141; ἡγγνήσατο, 10 148-149.
 ἐγγύη: ἐγγύην, 10 124, 129, 132, [140-141]; ἐνγύην, 10 138; ἐγγύας, [10 148].
 ἐγγνητής: ἐγγν, 9 11.
 ἔδαφος: ἐδάφη, 10 [7-8], 9; ἔδαφ, 10 8; ἐδάφεσιν, 10 [6], 219-220.
 εἰ, 10 181.
 εἰκάς: εἰκάδας, 12 6.
 εἰκοστός: εἰκοστεῖ, 15 3, 17 6.
 εἰκόν: εἰκόνα, 15 33, [34], 52, 17 41.
 εἰμί: ἦι, 3 14; εἶναι, 10 45, 69, 184, 15 53; ὦν, 17 19; οὔσης, 10 122; ὄντων, [10 110-111]; οὔσιν, [3 7]; ὄντας, 15 18.
 εἶπον: εἶπε, 3 6, 5 5; εἶπεν, 15 7, 17 12.
 εἰς, 10 [48], 76, 103, 109, [112], 189, [13 8], 15 23, [42, 44], 17 [29], 31, [43]; εἰς, 3 8, 4 II [23, 38, 47, 52, 65], 70, [76], 4 III [29, 60].
 εἶς: ἐνός, 3 15.
 εἰσαγγελία: εἰσαγγελίαν, 10 113.
 εἰσαγγέλλω: εἰσήγγειλεν, 10 [48], 113.
 εἰσάγω: εἰσαγαγεῖν, [15 55-56].
 εἰσηγέομαι: εἰσηγήμενος, 15 17.
 εἰσφέρω: εἰσηνηνοχῶς, 15 24.
 ἐκ, [4 II 29, 58, III 35, 65], 10 118, 186, 13 2, 15 56, 17 12.
 ἕκαστος: ἐκάστην, 10 128, 131, 137, [139-140, 144].
 ἐκάτερος: ἐκάτερον, 13 5.
 ἐκροάω: ἐκγεγραμμένον, 10 [80, 149], 160, 163-164.
 ἐκκλησία (ἐμ Πειραιεῖ), 17 6-7; (ἐν Αἰονύσου), [12 7]; (κυρία), [16 6]; (κυρία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ), 15 4; ἐκκλησίαν, 15 42, 17 29.
 ἐκκλίνω: ἐκκεκλικώς, 15 10.
 ἐκλέγω: ἐκλέξας, 10 162; ἐκλέξαντος, 10 178-179.
 ἐκτενής: ἐκτενήν, 15 7.
 ἐκτίνω: ἐκτεισάντων, 10 146.
 ἔκτος: ἔκτην, 10 127, 130, 135.
 ἐλεφάντινος: ἐλεφαντίνην, [8 26].
 ἐμ, see ἐν.

ἐμπορίον: ἐμπορίῳ, 15 34, [53].
 ἐμπροσθεν, [13 7-8].
 ἐμφορβίδε(?), [10 71].
 ἐν, 3 [10], 15, [4 II 37, 46, 64, 73, III 25, 57], 5 9, [8 28],
 10 [5-6], 49, [80], 115, 129, [149-150], 155, 160, 164, 171,
 [12 7], 13 7, 15 14, 18, 33, 34, 35, [48, 52], 53, [54, 55],
 17 40, 41; ἐμ, 3 12, 10 52, [105], 119, 133, [138],
 15 4, 8, [53], 17 7, 19.
 ἐνατος: ἐνάτης, 15 1; ἐνάτει, 17 5; ἐνάτη, [16 5];
 ἐνάτην, 10 127-128, 136, [143-144].
 ἐγγρή, see ἐγγρή.
 ἐνδέκατος: ἐνδεκάτει, [11 5].
 ἐνεκεν, 15 10, [46], [17 35].
 ἐνεπίσημμα, 10 167, 183.
 ἐνεπισηπτομαι: ἐνεπεσηπνάντο, 10 170.
 ἐνιαυτός: ἐνιαυτοῦ, 4 II [29], 58, [III 36, 66], 10 68-69;
 ἐνιαυτῶ, 15 15.
 ἐνος: ἐνει, 17 5.
 ἐνοφείλω: ἐνοφείλεσθαι, 10 175-176.
 ἐξ, 15 7.
 ἐξέρχομαι: ἐξέλθωσιν, 15 56.
 ἐξωθεν, 15 20.
 ἐπαινώ: ἐπαινέσαι, [3 6, 13 2], 15 45, 17 32.
 ἐπειδή, [5 6], 15 7, 17 12-13.
 ἐπειμι: ἐπιούσαν, 17 29.
 ἐπί (with genitive), 8 23, 10 65, 126, 166, [11 2,
 12 2], 14 2, 15 1, 14, 26, [43], [16 1], 17 2;
 (with dative), 9 6-7, 13 1, [9], [14 4], 15 3;
 ἐφ', 15 16; (with accusative), 10 47, 187; ἐφ',
 15 12.
 ἐπιβολή, 10 195; ἐπιβολήν, 10 161.
 ἐπιβουλή: ἐπιβουλᾶς, 15 19-20.
 ἐπιμελέομαι: ἐπιμεληθῆναι, [15 51].
 ἐπιμελητής, 10 161; ἐπιμελητοῦ, 10 178; ἐπιμεληταί,
 10 167-168.
 ἐπινοώ: ἐπινοομένων, 15 28.
 ἐπιστατέω: ἐπεστάτει, 3 4-5, 5 4.
 ἐπιστάτης: ἐπιστάται, [4 II 26, 55], 4 III 32, [63];
 ἐπιστάτησι, 4 II [17, 45], 72, [III 24, 56].
 ἐπίτηκτος: ἐπίτηκτον, 8 21.
 ἐπίχρυσος, 8 [26-27], 27.
 ἐπιψηφίζω: ἐπεψηφίξεν, [11 7, 12 8], 15 4-5,
 [16 7], 17 7-8.
 ἐπτά, 10 136.

ἐπώνιον: ἐπώνια, 9 3, 12.
 ἐργαστήριον, 10 104, [107]; ἐργαστήρια, 10 105.
 ἔργον: ἔργῳ, 4 II [37], 64; ἔργοις, 10 129-130.
 ἔρμος: ἐρήμην, 10 49, 114-115.
 ἔς, see εἰς.
 ἐσχατιά: ἐσχατιάν, [9 6], 10 [38-39], 61, 67-68,
 186-187.
 ἔτερος: ἐτέραν, 10 38, 129, 132, 138, [140]; ἔτερον,
 10 20-21, 23, 34; ἐτέρους, 15 19.
 ἔτος, 4 II 23, [52], 76, III 29, [60]; ἔτει, 4 II [46], 73,
 [III 25, 57]; ἔτη, 15 9.
 εὔ, [5 6].
 εὐεργέτης: εὐεργέτην, [5 8-9].
 εὐμένεια: εὐμενείας, 15 29.
 εὐνοια: εὐνοίας, [15 47, 17 34-35]; εὐνοίαν, 15 8.
 εὐσχημοσύνη: εὐσχημοσύνην, 15 25-26.
 ἐφ', see ἐπί.
 ἔχω: ἔχει, 8 23; ἔχων, [15 47]; ἔχον, 10 [5], 262,
 301; ἔχοντα, 15 25.

ζηλωτής: ζηλωταί, 15 39.

ῆ, 10 72.

ῆ, [1 1].

ἡλιος: ἡλίον, 9 7-8, 10 [8, 9, 25-26], 26, 36, [43], 78,
 [101-102], 102, 106, 121, 157, 158, 174, 175, 211, 212, 221,
 [296-297, 297].

ἡμέρα: ἡμέραι, [15 56]; ἡμέραν, [4 II 14, 42, 67,
 III 53].

ἡνίκα: ἡνίκα, [1 1].

ἡπειρος: ἡπειρώ, 3 16.

ἡρώς: ἡρώ, 10 194.

θαλλός: θαλλοῦ, [17 34].

θεός: θεόν, 15 3, [16 5]; θεοί, [11 1, 12 1, 14 1],
 17 1; θεῶν, 15 29; θεοῖσιν, 2 2.

θεσμοθέτης: θεσμοθέτας, [15 55].

ιερόν, 10 32, 190, 192.

ιερός: ιερόν, 10 162-163, 179.

ἴσος: ἴσους, 15 16.

ἴσθημι: στήσαι, [13 7], 15 52, [17 41]; ἴσταμένον,
 10 [12], 118, [16 5].

καθ', see κατά.

καθάπερ, 3 13.

καθαρώς, 15 9.

καθίστημι: κατέστησεν, 15 12.

καινός: καινών, 10 12—13, 117; καινοῖς, [15 48].

καιρός: καιρῶι, 15 8.

καλός: καλᾶς, 15 21.

καλῶς, 15 13.

κάμινος: καμίνων, [4 II 39, 65].

κάροπος, 6 A 17, 19.

κατά (with accusative): καθ', [4 II 14, 42, 67, III 53];

κατά, 4 II [14], 42, [67], III 53, 10 113, 181, [13 5, 6],
15 3, 32, 37, [43—44, 46], [16 5, 17 40].

καταβάλλω: κατεβλήθη, 10 152, 185.

καταβολή, 9 1—2, [11]; καταβολήν, 10 128—129, 131—132,
137, 140, 145; καταβολᾶς, 10 137.

κατακυρώω: κατεκύρωσαν, [9 5, 14].

κατατίθημι: καταθέτω, 3 12.

καττίτερος: καττίτερον, 4 [II 62], III 40.

καύσιμος: καύσιμα, 4 II [13], 40, [66], III, 52.

κεῖμαι: κεμένας, [9 7].

κεραυικός: κεραμική, 6 A 18.

κεφάλαιον, [4 II 20, 49, 74, III 26, 58].

κίνδυνος: κίνδυνον, 15 10.

κλευσον(?), 10 187—188.

κνέφαλλον, 6 A 6, 7.

κοῖλος: κοῖλον, [8 22].

κοινός: κοινοῦ, 15 11.

κρίσις: κρίσιν, [10 47—48, 112].

κτείνω: κτείνει, [1 1].

κυλιχνίς: κυλιχνίδι, [8 28].

κυμβίον: κυμβία, [8 20].

κύριος: κυρία, 15 4, [16 6]; κυρίαν, 15 42.

κυρωτής, 10 [13], 117; κ = κυρωταί, 10 150, 166.

κωλακρέτης: κωλακρετών, 4 [II 27, 56], III 33, [64].

λαγχάνω: λάχωσιν, [15 42]; λαχόντας, 17 28.

λαμβάνω: έλαβον, 4 [II 27, 56], III [33] 63.

λείος: λεία, 8 20.

λειτουργία: λειτουργίας, 15 11.

λήμμα, [4 II 28, 57, III 35]; λήμματος, 4 II [22, 51],
75, III 28, [59].

λίθινος: λιθίνη, 6 A 20; λίθινον, [6 A 22]; λιθίνει,
[3 11], 17 40; λιθίνη, [5 9—10, 13 7].

λιθοτομία: λιθοτομίαν, 10 138.

λουτήριον, [6 A 21].

μάλιστα, 15 28.

μέγας: μεγ', [1 1].

μέγιστος: μέγιστα, 15 31; μερίστων, 15 22—23.

μέν, [3 6], 15 9.

μένω: μένοντας, 15 19.

μερίζω: μερίζαι, [13 9], 17 44.

μέρος, 15 37.

μέσος: μέσον, 10 116.

μετά, 10 64; (with genitive), 15 29, 17 14; (with
accusative), 12 6.

μεταλλον, 10 [4, 214—215], 300.

μετέχω: μετασχόντα, 10 125—126, 133—134, 142.

μετοίκιον: μετοικίου, 10 126.

μή, 3 14, 10 181.

μηδέ, 3 15.

μισθός: μισθοί, 4 II [14, 15, 17], 42, [43, 45], 67, [68, 72]
III [24], 53, [54, 56].

μισθόω: ἐμίσθωσε, [10 67].

μισοπονηρῶς, 15 27.

νέος: νέαι, 17 5.

νίκη: νίκηι, 17 18.

νόμος: νόμον, 13 2, [15 56]; νόμον, [13 5], 15 32,
[44, 46]; νόμους, 10 181, 15 15.

νοτόθεν: νοτό, 10 [7, 30—31], 40, [77], 108, 120, 156, 307;
νοτ, 10 173, 190.

νυν, [15 33].

ξύλον: ξύλα, 4 II [13, 40], 66, III 52.

ξυμβάλλω: ξυμβάλλεσθαι, [15 44, 17 31].

ὄγδοος: ὀγδόης, [16 2]; ὀγδόει, 14 4, 15 3; ὀγδόην,
10 127, 131, 136, 143.

ὅδε: τόδε, 13 6, 17 39; τάδε, 10 10.

ὀδός, 10 6, [24—25], 26—27, 36—37, 76, 103, [108], 121,
[187].

οἶδα: εἰδῶσιν, [15 39].

οἰκέω: οἰκῶν, 10 133, 142.

οἰκία, 10 [42—43, 106], 108, 120, 121, 122; οἰκίαν, 10 15,
39—40, [76].

οἰκοδομία: οἰκοδομίαν, 4 II 38, 65.

οἰκόπεδον: οἰκοπέδων, 10 53.

ὀλίγος: ὀλίγοις, 15 30; ὀλίγας, 15 24.

ὀμόνοια: ὀμονοίαι, 15 16.

ὄνυξ, 8 27.

ὄπου, 10 192.

ὄπως, 3 13–14, [15 38, 39].

ὄρος, 10 44–45, 55; ὄρη, 10 188.

ὄρρος, 10 156, 173.

ὄς: οὗ, 15 17; ὡι, 10 6, 21, 24, 35, 172, 216, 262; ἦι, 10 120, 187, [11 3], 12 4, 15 1, [16 3], 17 3; ὄν, 8 23, [10 48]; ἦν, 10 113, 124, 132, 141, [15 47]; οἷς, 10 53, 76, [105], 155, [15 36, 55]; αἷς, [9 7]; ᾧς, [10 148, 15 12].

ὅστις: οὔτινες, [15 42].

ὅταν, 15 56.

ὅτι, 10 161, 15 39, [44], 17 32.

οὐθεῖς: οὐθένεα, 15 10.

οὐκ, 10 146, 163, 176, 15 24, 30; οὐχ, [10 47, 111–112].

οὗν, [15 38].

οὕτε, 10 [146], 147, 148, 15 10.

οὗτος: τούτου, 4 [II 61, 63], III 39, 41, [43], 10 165; ταύτης, 10 123; τοῦτον, 15 48; τοῦτο, 10 152, 177, 185; ταῦτα, 10 45–46, 15 31; τούτων, 10 145, [15 43, 17 30]; ταύτας, 10 128, 131, [136–137, 139], 144.

οὐχ, see οὐκ.

ὀφείλω: ὀφείλοντος, 10 [79], 123–124, 159, 164–165.

ὀφλισκάνω: ὀφλόντος, 10 [49], 114, 161; ὠφληκόςτος, 10 180.

πάγος, 10 37.

παῖς: παῖδας, 5 6.

παλαιός: παλαιόν, 10 4, 300, [305].

παρά (with genitive), [4 II 27, 56, III 33, 64], 8 26, 10 [13], 117, [15 40]; (with accusative), 17 41.

παρασκευάζω: παρασκευάζειν, 17 16–17.

πάρεδρος: παρέδρους, [13 2–3].

πᾶς: παντί, 15 8; πάντα, 15 31; πάντων, 15 16; πᾶσι, 15 35, [55]; πάσας, 15 12.

πατρίς: πατρίδι, 17 17; πατρίδα, 1 2.

πέμπτος: πέμπτης, [11 3]; πέμπτει, [11 5]; πέμπτην, 10 135; πένπτην, 10 139.

πένπτος, see πέμπτος.

πεντεδραχμία: πεντεδραχμίας, 10 134; πεντεδραχμίαν, 10 130.

περί (with genitive), 15 43, 17 30.

περιγίγνομαι: περιεγένετο, [4 II 22, 51, 75, III 28, 59];

περιγενόμενον, [4 II 28, 57, III 35, 65].

περιποιέω: περιπεποιημένοι, 15 30–31.

πέταλον: πέταλα, 8 22.

πιπράσκω: ἐπράθη, [10 10–11].

πίστις: πίσκει, 15 18.

πλέθρον: πλέθρα, 9 9.

ποιέω: ποιεί, [5 6–7].

ποιήσις: ποιήσεως, [15 50].

ποικιλία: ποικιλίαν, 4 II 47–48, [70].

πόλις, [15 36, 55]; πόλει, 3 12–13, [10 146]; πόλιν, 5 7, 10 149; πόλεσιν, 15 23.

πολιτεύομαι: πεπολιτευμένος, 15 9.

πολίτης: πολίταις, 17 20.

πολύς: πολλά, 15 25.

πόνος: πόνον, 15 10.

πόρος: πόρους, 15 16.

πράξις: πράξιν, 15 25.

πράττω: πραττομένων, 15 28; πεπραγμένων, 15 37.

πρεσβεία: πρεσβείας, 15 22.

πρεσβεύω: πεπρεσβευκώς, 15 22.

πρεσβύτατος: πρεσβυτάτωι, 15 35, 54.

πρίαιμα: ἐπρίατο, 9 10.

προεδρεύω: προεδρεύειν, [15 42].

προεδρία: προεδρίαν, 15 35, [54].

προέδρος: προέδρων, 11 6, [12 8], 15 4, [16 7], 17 7; προέδρους, 15 41–42, [17 28–29].

πρόξενος: πρόξενον, 5 8.

προοράω: προεωραμένος, 15 20.

πρός (with genitive), 9 7, 10 [8, 9], 25, [26], 36, [43], 77, [78, 101, 102, 105, 106], 121, 157, 158, 174, 174–175, 210–211, [211–212], 221, [296, 297]; (with accusative), 10 149, 15 8, 9, 36, [47].

προσήκω: προσηκούσης, 15 40.

προσκεφάλαιον: προσκεφάλαια, [6 A 4].

προσκητάομαι: προσκήσεται, 15 19.

προσοφλισκάνω: προσοφλεῖν, 10 132.

προσάττω: προσεταγμένος, 15 20–21.

προσφέρω: προσενηνεγμένος, 15 8.

πρότερος: προτέρων, [4 II 29, 58, III 36, 65–66].

πρυτανεία: πρυτανείας, [11 3, 6, 12 3–4, 6–7, 14 3, 5], 15 1, 4, [43], 16 2–3, [6], 17 3, 6; πρυτανείαν, [4 II 14–15, 43, 67–68, III 54], 13 7, 17 40.

πρυτανεῖον: πρυτανείω, [15 34–35, 54].

πρυτανεύω: ἐπρυτάνευε, [3 3], 5 2.

πρύτανις: πρυτάνεων, 10 [13], 117.

πρῶτος: πρῶτη, [12 6]; πρῶτον, 10 2.

σανίς, 6 A 16.

σίτησις: σίτησιν, 15 34, [53].

σίτος: σίτον, 15 24.

σιτωνικός: σιτωνικῶν, 15 13.

σκύτινος: σκύτινα, [6 A 5].

σταθμός: σταθμόν, 8 [19–20, 20], 21, 22, 24, 25–26.

στέφανος: στεφάνου, [8 23, 15 50]; στεφάνω, [15 46, 17 34]; στεφανον, [15 48].

στεφανώω: στεφανῶσαι, 13 4–5, [15 46, 17 34].

στήλη: στήλης, 13 9, 17 44; στήλει, 17 40; στήλην, [3 10–11, 5 9, 13 7]; στήλην, [10 5, 261, 301].

στοά: στοάς, [13 8].

στρατεύομαι: στρατευόμενος, 17 13–14.

στρατηγός: στρατηγούς, [15 51].

στρατιωτικός: στρατιωτικῶν, 15 13, [51–52], 17 44–45.

στρεπτός, [8 24–25].

σύραξ: σύρακ(ος), 6 A 13.

συβήνη: [8 26].

συμβάλλω, see ξυμβάλλω.

συμβουλεύω: συμβεβουλευμένος, 15 17, 21.

σύμβουλος: σύμβουλοι, 9 5, [14].

συμμαχία: συμμαχίας, 15 21.

συνπάρεμι: συναρῶν, 17 18.

σύνπας: σύνπαν, 4 III [34], 58, [64]; σύνπαντος, [4 II 21, 50, III 27].

συμπρόεδρος: συμπρόεδροι, [12 9–10], 15 5.

συμφέρω: συμφέροντος, 15 11; συμφέροντας, 15 15; συνενήνοχίας, 15 21–22.

συνδιεξάγω: συνδιεξηγῶς, 15 14.

συνέχεια: συνέχειαν, 15 27–28.

συνουκία: συνουκίας, 10 123; συνουκίαν, [9 6], 10 119.

σύνπας, see σύμπας.

σωτηρία: σωτηρίαν, 15 23.

τάλαντον: τάλαντα, 4 II [60], 62, III 38, [40], 42.

ταμίας (τῶν στρατιωτικῶν), 15 12; ταμίαν, 15 51, 17 44.

ταμεία: ταμείαν, 15 14.

τε, 15 11, 14, 18, [48].

τειχητός: τειχητόν, 10 189.

τέλος: τέλους, 10 126, 134, 142; τέλεσι, [3 11]; τέλεσιν, [5 10].

τέταρτος: τετάρτην, 10 135, 139.

τέτταρες: τέτταρας, 10 128, 144.

τίδημι: τίδησιν, 15 36, 55; ἐδέτην, 1 2; τεθηνῶς, 15 15.

τιμάω: τιμῶν, 15 38.

τιμή, 4 [II 61, 63], III 39, [41, 43], 10 183; τιμῆς, 15 32, [41].

τοιοῦτος: τοιαύτης, 15 39.

τόκος: τόκον, 10 69–70.

τραγωιδός: τραγωιδοῖς, [15 48–49].

τράπεζα, 6 A 10; τραπέξα, 6 A 9.

τρεις, 10 131.

τριάνοντα, 15 9.

τρίβων, 6 B [1, 2], 3, 4, 5, 6, [7].

τρίτος, 15 14; τρίτης, [14 2–3]; τρίται, 15 3.

τριχ - -, 4 II 16.

τρόπος: τρόπον, 15 17.

τυγχάνω: τυγχάνουσιν, 15 40–41; τυχεῖν, 15 32.

τύχη: τύχει, [15 41], 17 27.

ύάλιον, 8 21–22.

ύπακούω: ύπακούσαντος, 10 [47], 112.

ύπέρ, 10 170, 15 22.

ύπερον: ύπερα 6 A 12.

ύπό (with genitive), 15 20; (with dative), 10 29, 119; ύφ', (with genitive), 3 15.

ύπομένω: ύπομεμενηκῶς, 15 11–12.

ύστερος: ύστερον, 4 II 23, [52, 76, III 29, 60].

ύφ', see ύπό.

φαίνομαι: φαίνηται, [15 38].

φέρω: φέρουσα, 10 27, [55–56, 77, 109, 303].

φιλοδόξως, 15 13.

φίλος: φίλους, 15 18.

φιλοτιμία: φιλοτιμίας, 17 35.

φιλοτιμοῦμαι: φιλοτιμούμενος, 17 19.

φώς, [1 1].

φυλή: φυλῆς, 10 162, 163, 168, 171, 182, 184; φυλῆι, 10 177–178; φυλῆι, 10 176.

χαλκός, 4 [II 60], III 38.

χαλκοῦς: χαλκῆν, 15 33, [34], 52.

χαράδρα, 10 158, 174.

χάραξ: χάρακας, 10 62.

χεῖρ: χερός, 8 23—24.

χρῆμα: χρήματα, 15 23; χρημάτων, 15 16.

χρηματίζω: χρηματίσαι, [15 43, 17 30].

χρήσιμος: χρήσιμον, 17 16; χρήσιμα, 15 25.

χρόνος: χρόνον, 15 27.

χρυσίον, [8 21].

χρυσοῦς, [8 25]; χρυσῶι, 15 46; χρυσῶ, [8 19];

χρυσᾶ, 8 20, 22—23.

χώρα: χώραι, 15 23.

χωρίον, 10 [15, 21], 23—24, 31—32, 34, 44, 57, [76],

154—155, 155, 156, 157, 158, 172, 173, 173—174, 175;

χωρίωι, 10 171.

ψηφίσμα, [13 6], 17 39; ψηφίσματα, 15 2,

24—25.

ψιάθος: ψιάθοι, 6 A 8.

ὠνή: ὠνήν, 10 148.

ὠνητής: ὠν, 10 9, 22, 33, 37, [66, 104, 109], 151,
184.

ὦς, [3 7].



The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis: perspective view

THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS¹

INTRODUCTION

The important buildings of the ancient Greeks were usually designed with the utmost simplicity. The builders aimed at rigid symmetry, sunny beauty through the use of exterior colonnades, and perfection in proportion, execution and detail. These features, however, did not entirely satisfy the sensitive taste of the Greeks. Color, discreetly used, added life to their architecture. And the seemingly straight lines of their buildings were often slightly curved and the vertical faces inclined, to correct certain optical illusions which their acute observation had detected. As a result, their noblest buildings display a perfection which has never been surpassed.

The same praise, however, cannot be accorded before Hellenistic times to the manner in which their ensembles were designed. Today even the casual visitor in Greece finds those sites which have been occupied from a remote antiquity—Olympia and Delphi, for example—a jumble of buildings. The trained architect admires the beauty of the individual buildings of early date, but he calls the grouping of the buildings by its real name—a mess. And he wonders how the ancient Greeks, who were famous for their keen artistic appreciations of all kinds, tolerated such unsightly group planning. Early Greek indifference to formality in group compositions is undoubtedly due to the gradual growth of the sacred enclosures and to the deep respect for the holy shrines; the former permitted no well conceived plan of expansion, while the latter forbade radical changes. In the case of early Greek civic architecture the lack of funds, without which no extensive building

¹ The writer wishes to state that what follows largely records the observations and deductions of an architect. He will take it for granted, however, that his readers are familiar not only with such established facts as the date of the principal buildings on the Acropolis, the existence of a propylon before the time of Mnesicles, and many other kindred matters, but also with the chief books dealing with the history and monuments of the Acropolis, such as Jane Harrison's "*Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*," J. G. Frazer's "*Pausanias's Description of Greece*," R. Bohn's "*Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*," and Kavvadias and Kawerau's "*Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*."

The published investigations of the past dealing with the Acropolis are far too numerous to be reviewed in this work. The reader, therefore, is asked to consider the present discussion—small as it is—as a supplement to what others have already contributed to the subject.

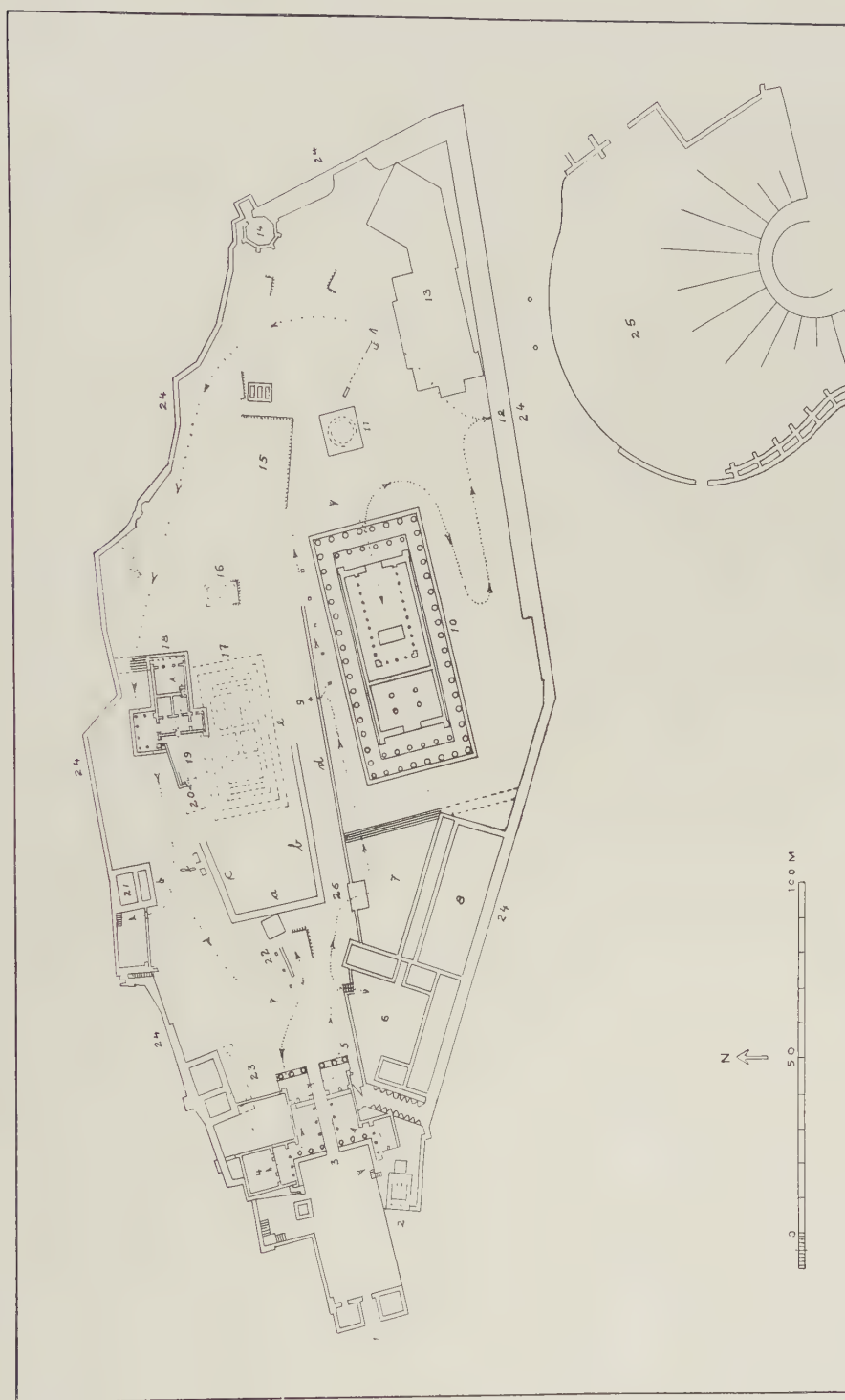
To Bert Hodge Hill the writer owes special thanks for valuable advice, which has saved the text from numerous blunders. Important suggestions were likewise due to Oscar Broneer, who has kindly read the proofs.

operations can be carried out, must have precluded the erection of any group of public buildings according to a well devised general scheme. The latter, however, appears in Greek architecture just as soon as the Greeks acquired wealth and political prestige.

But, there is considerable evidence that even before Hellenistic times the analytic mind of the Greeks felt, that, if their rambling ensembles could be made more orderly, greater beauty would ensue. Athens led the way, as the present study, it is hoped, will demonstrate. The national enthusiasm that followed the expulsion of the Persians, the glory and wealth that accrued to Athens as the champion of all Greece, and the fact that the Persians had left the Acropolis in ruins, created an unusually auspicious moment for the erection of a remarkable set of new buildings. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that Pericles and his artistic advisers of surpassing skill—such men as Phidias, Ictinus, Mnesicles, and others—appreciated the importance of the opportunity to create an ensemble worthy of the greatness of Athens. And we shall endeavour to show in what ways these artists succeeded in relating the various new buildings one to another, and in thus giving a more orderly appearance to the Acropolis as a whole than had existed before the time of the Persian invasions.

The Entrance Court of the Acropolis and its dependences, that is, the space lying immediately to the east of the Propylaea and comprising about one half the area of the Acropolis, can be studied to the best advantage by following the route of Pausanias. He is the fullest and most trustworthy of all the extant ancient writers upon Athenian topography, and, furthermore, there can have been little change in the general appearance of the Acropolis between the completion of the Periclean monuments—let us say about 400 B.C.—and the time of Pausanias's visit in the middle of the second century A.D. His route, according to the known points he visited, was as follows: Nike Temple, Propylaea and Pinakothekē, Statue of Athena Hygieia, Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis, Statue of Ge, Parthenon, south wall of the Acropolis at a point north of the Theatre of Dionysus, Erechtheum, Pandroseum, House of the Arrephoroi, and the colossal statue of Athena "Promachos"; he then left the Acropolis by way of the Propylaea (Fig. 1). As these monuments are described in the above order by him, and, furthermore, as it is natural to visit them in this order, there can be little doubt but that he actually took the route as outlined above. If this be true, the monuments which he mentions between his description of any two consecutive known monuments can be roughly located. We must, however, remember that there were far too many statues and monuments for him to mention every one. Does he not say, when he obtains his first glimpse of the Entrance Court, as though he were overwhelmed by the number of monuments before him, "I do not mean to mention inconspicuous statues"?¹ Thus, if we would attempt a restoration of the western portion of the Acropolis, there is no better method to pursue than to study the route of Pausanias in relation to the actual archaeological evidence along the route,—the evidence, in this particular case, consisting chiefly of architectural remains and rock cuttings.

¹ Pausanias, I, 23, 4.



1. Beulé's Gate; 2. Nike Temple; 3. Propylaea; 4. Pinakothek; 5. Statue of Athena Hygieia; 6. Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis; 7. Court in front of the west facade of the Parthenon; 8. Chalkotheke; 9. Inscription of Ge; 10. Parthenon; 11. Temple of Roma; 12. Votive group of Attalus; 13. Modern museum; 14. Modern belvedere; 15. Altar(?), highest point of the Acropolis rock; 16. Altar(?); 17. Old Temple of Athena; 18. Erechtheion; 19. Court of the Pandroseum; 20. Temple of Pandrosus; 21. Dwelling of the Arrephoroi; 22. Group of the "Promachos"; 23. So-called Heroon of Pandion; 24. Wall of the Acropolis; 25. Theatre of Dionysus

Fig. 1. Plan of the Acropolis showing the route of Pausanias

For the sake of clarity, our discussion will be divided into the following six headings: I, the Propylaea; II, the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis; III, the Court in front of the West Façade of the Parthenon together with certain matters pertaining to the Parthenon itself; IV, the Old Temple of Athena and the Erechtheum; V, the Group of the "Promachos"; VI, the part the Periclean Entrance Court played in the general scheme of the Acropolis. The above division of the material will thus take us over the route of Pausanias.

I. THE PROPYLAEA

Pausanias first visits the Nike Temple (Fig. 1, 2). During the winter of 1935–1936, the bastion on which this temple stands began to fail so badly, that both bastion and temple had to be taken down: they are now being carefully restored. In the process of demolition, a small early temple in poros stone was found under the fifth century temple in marble. The earlier temple had an orientation which differed by about 20° from that of the later temple. The exposed position of the poros temple must have courted destruction at the hands of the Persians. When the fifth century temple was erected, the new orientation brought the new temple more nearly perpendicular to Mnesicles' Propylaea: in other words, the new temple accorded better with the Propylaea of Mnesicles than if the earlier orientation had been preserved. We may, therefore, reasonably infer that the erection of the larger temple in marble, begun soon after the middle of the fifth century B.C., formed part of the Periclean embellishment of the Acropolis.

From the Nike Temple, Pausanias goes to the Pinakotheke (Fig. 1, 4), where he spends some time admiring an exhibition of pictures.

Having thus, in methodical manner, disposed of the two most important sections of the Acropolis immediately outside the central portion of the Propylaea, Pausanias proceeds to discuss the main part of the Propylaea itself. He notes that there were two pieces of sculpture "just at the entrance," one a Hermes and the other a representation of the Graces. There is proof that, in many places, the floors and walls of the Propylaea never received their final finish. In the case of the floors, about 0.008 m. of marble was left above the finished floor line. The excess marble was designed to protect the final surface during building operations and was removed only at the last moment. The pavement at G and H, figure 2, was dressed down to its final surface, each to receive the base of a monument. The care with which these surfaces were cut indicates that the monuments were put in place at, or about, the time the Propylaea was built. There are two sets of cuttings, however, at G: one is like that at H; the other is designed for a considerably larger base which was approximately square in plan; the second set of cuttings is later in date than the first, judging from the roughness of the tooling. Although we cannot definitely assert from Pausanias's wording that the Hermes and the Graces occupied positions G and H respectively, there is a possibility that the former, which was probably a statue,

was placed, at least in Pausanias's time, over the square cutting at G, and that the representation of the Graces, which often occurs in ancient sculpture in the form of a bas-relief, was located at H, upon a rectangular base, which is suitable for the support of a bas-relief.

We should note that the monuments at G and H were placed in deep niches and were at a considerable distance from the main axis of the Propylaea, so that they in no way interfered with the circulation of large crowds passing through the building.

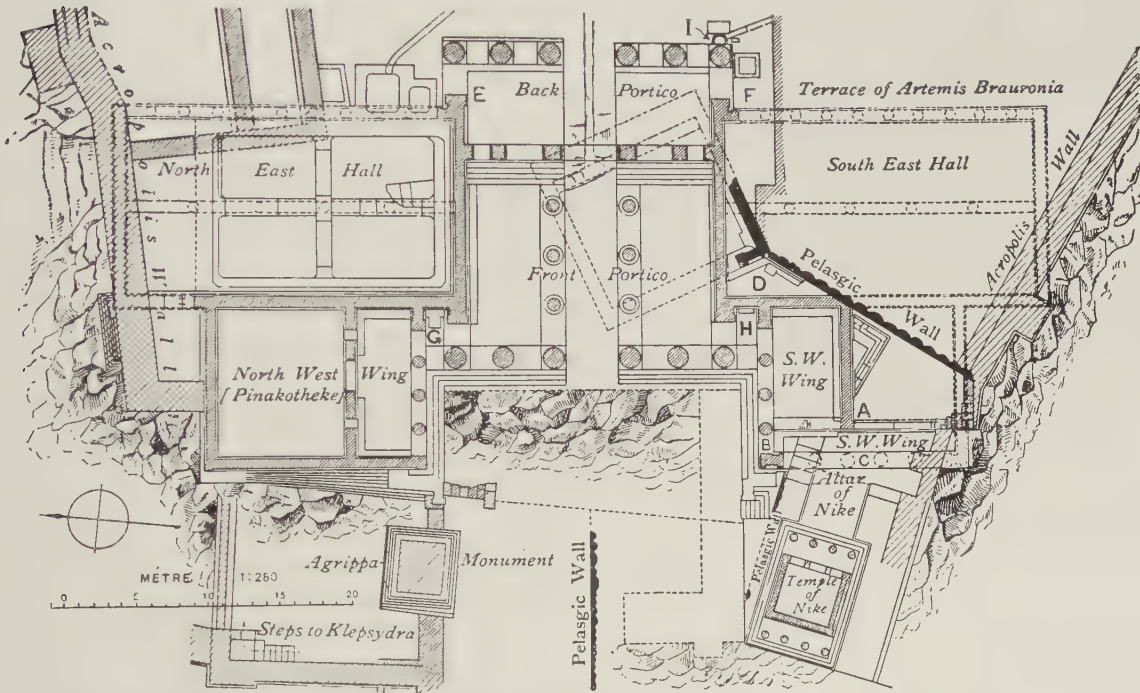


Fig. 2. Plan of the Propylaea (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 352)

Still another matter to be noted in this connection is that monuments of late date either rest directly upon, or are roughly countersunk (about 0.025 m. to 0.05 m.) in, the unfinished surface of the pavement, as we shall see when the statues in the east portico of the Propylaea are discussed.

Five doors lead from the central portion of the Propylaea into the east portico (Figs. 2 and 3). The north and south doors are the smallest; the central door, through which the Panathenaic procession passed, is by far the largest. All but the central door are approached by a flight of five high steps.¹ A study of the central passage is complicated by the fact that it has been in continuous use since the second half of the sixth century B.C.

¹ Riser of top step, 0.33 m.; risers of the others, 0.29 m.; treads, 0.40 m.

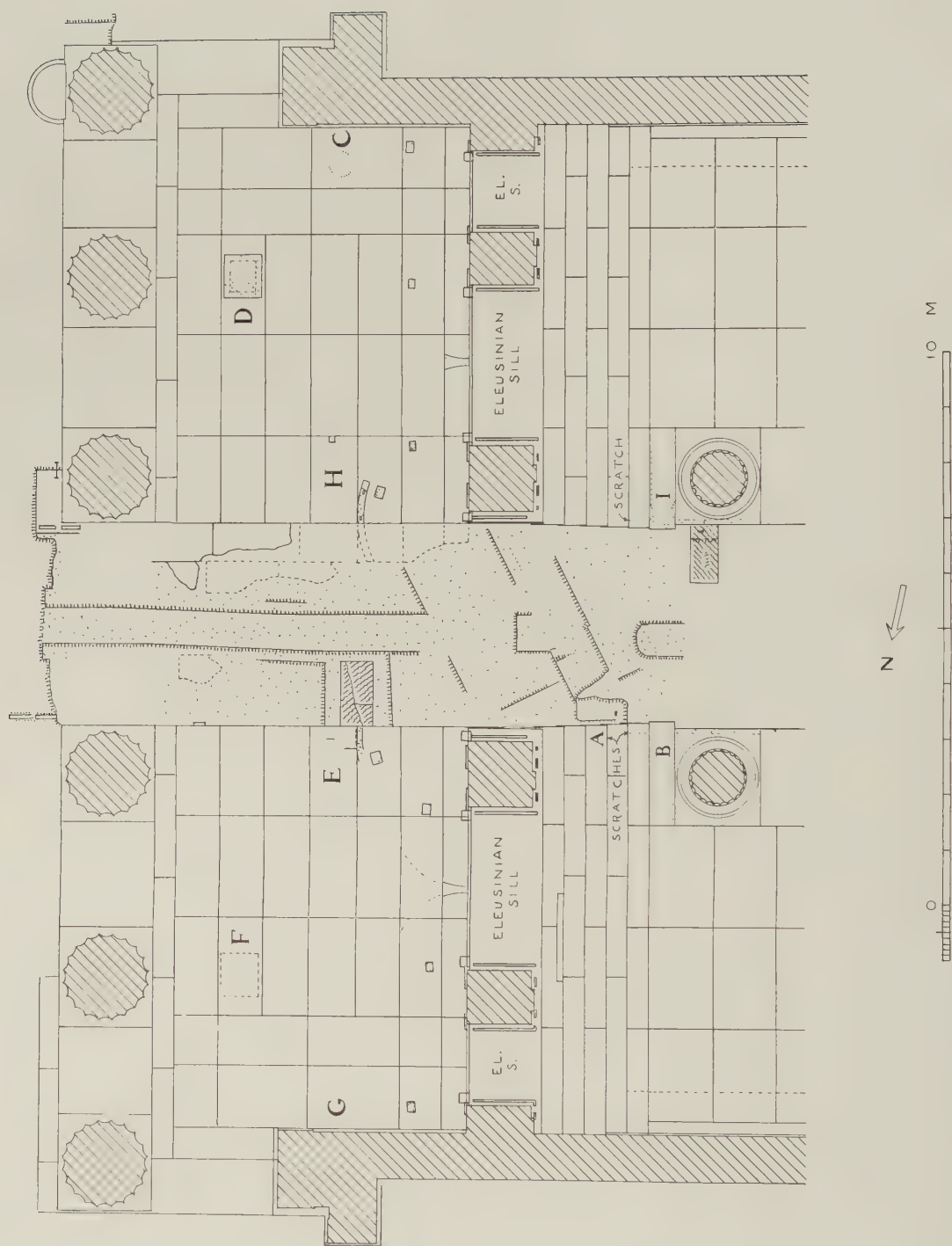


Fig. 3. Plan of the east portico of the Propylaea

until our own day—for the internal entrance of the propylaea which antedated the Propylaea of Mnesicles practically coincided with that of Mnesicles (Fig. 2). Consequently many building periods are encountered here. Fortunately the first two periods of Mnesicles' Propylaea can be distinguished without too much difficulty. He left the Acropolis rock visible in the central passage (except for a small section near the western part of the flight of five steps). This fact is proved by the manner in which the stones facing the central passage—some bedded in the Acropolis rock—are finished on their vertical exposed faces, namely, those faces which are toward the main axis of the building. None of these faces is dressed with an anathyrosis of contact. Most are finished with well dressed bands along the four edges of the exposed face, while the center of the face is slightly raised and left unfinished,—characteristics of faces which are not to be hidden

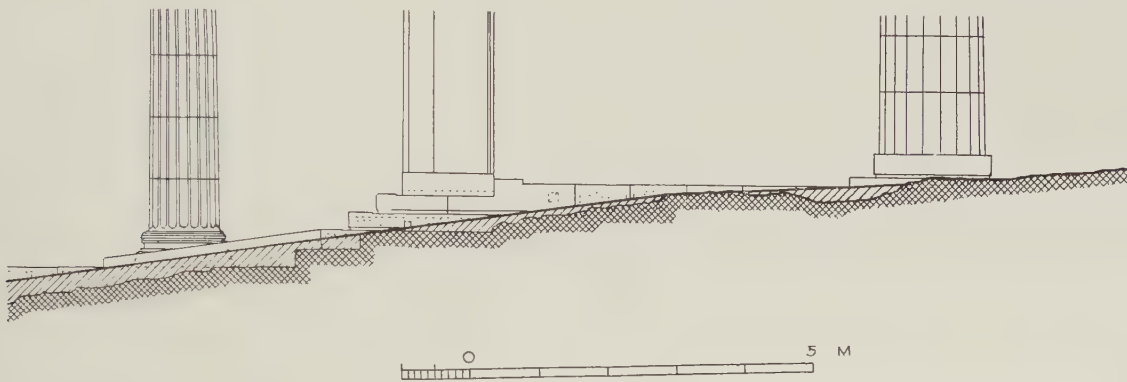


Fig. 4. Section, looking north, through the east portico of the Propylaea: first period

by contact with the faces of neighboring blocks. Others of the vertical surfaces have a band of final finish along the bottom of the vertical face, with a projecting surface immediately above, which was destined to be removed just before the completion of the building. Still others of the vertical surfaces are beautifully finished and were evidently intended to be seen (not to be covered by blocks). These are sure signs that, when the Propylaea was first built, the Acropolis rock was visible in the central passage-way. Furthermore, the slope of the Acropolis rock here is gentle enough for the transit of processions and of animals destined for sacrifice, and for the passage of blocks of stones for building purposes, and heavy and bulky materials of all kinds.¹ A fairly even incline could have been obtained by filling the few holes in the Acropolis rock which occur here with damp earth, ramming and covering it with gravel. The rock-cuttings for the pre-Mnesiclean Propylaea, which lie near the westernmost of the five steps, were too high for animals to negotiate; here Mnesicles was obliged to construct a small ramp with retaining

¹ Four meters east of the east face of the stylobate of the east portico and almost on the axis of the central passage is a rock-cutting suitable for anchoring a tackle for hauling materials up the incline. The rock-cutting measures 0.13 m. \times 0.16 m. \times 0.09 m. deep.

cheeks on either side, as will be seen by glancing at figures 3 and 4. With little doubt, it was soon discovered that heavy rains sent a stream of water, coming from the higher portions of the Acropolis, through the central passage of the Propylaea—streams for which even a covered rock-cut transverse drain (with inlets) about 0.30 m. wide and 0.30 m. deep, approximately 12 m. east of the portico (Figs. 63, 66), proved insufficient, for we find that the stylobate of the east portico was made continuous at a fairly early date, thus effectually keeping water out of the central passage-way (Fig. 5). Other changes in the central passage of about this time were:

1. A marble pavement, 0.11 m. thick, in the east portico;
2. A rock-cut drain, 0.50 m. wide and 0.30 m. deep, destined to carry away, under the new pavement, rain-water which banked up against the new section of stylobate;

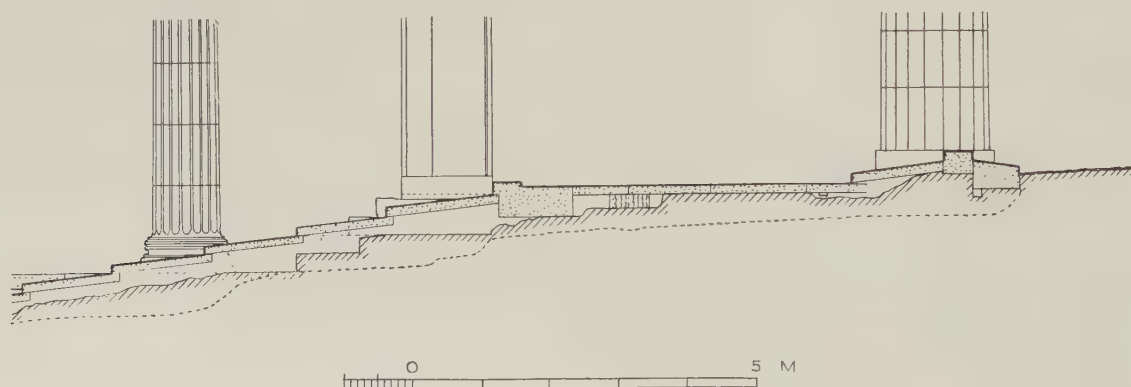


Fig. 5. Idem: second period

3. A stepped ramp leading down from the east portico (Fig. 5). The height of the steps was only half that of the five steps (destined for human beings) at either side of the ramp, and was, therefore, not too high for sacrificial animals. As the new ramp was somewhat higher than the first ramp, broader cheeks were required than before (Fig. 3, A, B and I). Although the dressing on the pavement at B and I, figure 3, is rough (probably a repair of late date), the vertical scratch on the second riser at A, and lining with the rough dressing at B, is exactly similar to the scratches on the building, which obviously belong to the first building period, such as the scratch lines under columns, for example. In this particular scratch at A we have a possible indication that the ramp was changed at a fairly early date.

A study of the east side of the five entrances leading into the east portico of the Propylaea reveals the fact that all the entrances were closed by doors, or possibly grilles (see Fig. 3). In general, propylaea are entrances, and, as such, the proper places to cut off the circulation of people. The black Eleusinian sills are slightly raised, for the bottom of the doors to strike against (Figs. 3, 5); the pivot holes are cut in a surface which is lifted a few centimeters above the general pavement of the east portico, so that the

bottom of the doors would be sure to swing clear of the pavement (Fig. 5). These two features are usually employed in good Greek times for swinging doors.

The cuttings for the bumpers seem to be of the best Greek workmanship, that is, of the time of Mnesicles. All the cuttings for the pivot and center bolt holes have been repaired in late times, as we should expect to find in the case of doors which have been in use for centuries. The cutting for the metal circular track upon which the southern valve of the big central door ran is of fairly good workmanship: it may, or may not, date from the time of Mnesicles.

The manner in which Mnesicles intended to close the big central passage-way alone presents difficulties. A study of figures 3 and 4 will show that no swinging door descending to the Acropolis rock could be opened, unless the lower part of the door had some special contrivance at the bottom, which could be dropped in place when the door was in a closed position,—an awkward arrangement. Possibly the door was of the port-cullis type, which does not swing; but then the cuttings for its bumpers must date from the time the circular track was installed. Mnesicles had a reputation for ingenuity. Perhaps his device for closing the opening did not stand the test of time successfully, and it was found necessary to put in a sill at the level of the black Eleusinian sills which we see today, so that the central passage-way might be closed with the usual type of swinging door (Fig. 5).

Obviously the cutting for the circular track under the southern valve of the central door does not belong to the first door which closed the central opening, for originally there was no pavement in the central passage-way upon which the track could rest. This means that the track was installed when, or after, the pavement in the central passage-way was laid. The purpose of the track is clear,—a heavy swinging valve needs a wheel and track beneath it to prevent the valve from sagging and to relieve the strain upon the jambs.

We must suppose that all five doors stood open upon days of important festivals and upon extraordinary occasions. One small door, however, would give better control for ordinary days,—fewer guards were required, there was greater certitude that the same number of persons passed out that entered, and, in case of rioting or surprise attacks of any kind, one small door was more quickly shut than five doors, some of which were far from small. As Pausanias's visit seems to have taken place upon an ordinary day, it is thus probable that he found but one door open, and that that door was a small one. Through which did he pass? There are three indications that he used the small northern door:

1. After the Pinakothke the next fixed point in Pausanias's route is the statue of Athena Hygieia (Fig. 1, 5; Fig. 2, I, and Fig. 11). The base for this Athena is *in situ*, and the inscription, cut upon it, an absolute identification. In between the Pinakothke and the Athena, Pausanias mentions the following: a Hermes, the Graces, a Leaena, an Aphrodite, and a Diitrephes. The probable location of the first two in the western portion of the Propylaea has been discussed (p. 446). It is, therefore, natural to place the other three in the eastern portico, provided we can show that statues once stood there. As a matter of fact there are traces for pedestals at C and D, figure 3, and possibly the trace for another

at E. The traces, however, are quite different from those we have already noted in the western portion of the Propylaea (p. 446). The round base at C rested directly upon the unfinished surface of the pavement; the rectangular base at D was countersunk 0.025 m. below the unfinished surface of the pavement, and the workmanship of the sinkage is poor (the cutting also shows that the pedestal was not a solid block—its core was sheathed with some sort of stone); the pavement at E is so badly damaged that only a small part of the sinkage remains—it is countersunk 0.06 m. and is exceedingly roughly cut. The monuments at C, D and E were well located, for they interfered as little as possible with the east and west circulation of the throngs of people which must have passed through the Propylaea upon festival days; monument C was placed so that the valve of the door next to it opened freely, and it also had the advantage of a plain marble wall for a background. As it is probable that all the monuments in the east portico were symmetrically placed, we may think of three additional monuments in the portico, their locations being H, F and G. There is a most uncertain weathering at H, so uncertain, in fact, that there is extreme doubt that a base ever stood over it. Furthermore, the cutting at E is so crude that it can be assigned to a date long after that of Pausanias: it hardly seems possible, therefore, that statues stood over H and E at the time of Pausanias's visit. The possibilities of F and G alone remain to be discussed. The pavement at F is too badly destroyed to assert anything; the same reasons, however, for placing a statue at D apply equally well here. A good deal of the pavement at G is now hidden by a monument which is not *in situ*: although we cannot say definitely that a monument once stood here, yet the chances favor such a supposition, for, if C were found to be a suitable place for a monument in antiquity, position G was equally suitable. Thus, in the time of Pausanias, there is some ground to believe that monuments stood at C, D, F and G. How soon did monuments begin to be placed in the east portico of the Propylaea? The fact that we find only traces of monuments which were either placed directly upon the unfinished pavement or countersunk in the unfinished pavement does not exclude the possibility that monuments may have been installed here soon after the building began to be used. There are numerous examples of both types of traces for pedestals in Greek buildings contemporary with the Propylaea. The statues of Diitrephes, Aphrodite and Leaena all commemorate events prior to 400 B.C.: for Diitrephes died about 409 B.C.; the dedicator of the Aphrodite fought in the battle of Marathon; while the statue of Leaena commemorated an event which occurred before 500 B.C. Thus these three statues, which Pausanias presumably saw in the east portico, had stood there, in all likelihood, for many years. Now, we have seen, that, from actual traces of bases, or inferences therefrom, there are four good places for statues in the portico (Fig. 3, C, D, F and G). Fortunately the base of the Diitrephes is still preserved; it is now lying about 35 m. west of the Parthenon. The base of the Aphrodite, although described by a number of modern writers, has not fared so well, for its present whereabouts is unknown.¹ As both these bases were rectangular, neither could have gone over the circular trace at C, figure 3. Therefore, the Diitrephes probably

¹ Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 387. Also, *I. G.*, I², 607.

went at D, for this trace of a pedestal is the nearest to the Athena Hygieia of all the traces within the portico, and the order of the Diitrephes and the Athena would thus agree with that in Pausanias's description. The base of the Diitrephes (of Pentelic marble) measures 0.695 m. \times 0.755 m. \times 0.478 m. high and has the inscription on the short side. The top of the block shows that the statue had a base, probably of bronze, which was set back on the front, sides and rear 0.01 m. from the vertical faces of the base.¹ There are uncertain shallow cuttings in the top of the block, which may have been necessitated by the protruding portions of bronze required to re-enforce the junction between the feet and the



Fig. 6. Rock-cut path leading from the northernmost intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea toward the Erechtheum

bronze base. As the rough sinking at D, figure 3, measures 0.675 m. \times 0.795 m. \times 0.025 m. deep, and consequently is too narrow for the inscribed base of the Diitrephes, if the base ever stood at D—certainly a possibility from the order in which Pausanias mentions the statues in this portion of his route—it must have been removed after Pausanias's visit and replaced by some other base and statue. This is not an impossibility, if we remember the great number of statues which, after Pausanias's day, were taken to Italy, Constantinople and other places, or which found their way into the melting pot during the late political disturbances. Let us, then, assume that the Diitrephes was standing at D on the day Pausanias visited the Acropolis. The Aphrodite would then go at F and the Leaina at G,

¹ One would expect to have the set-back appear on all four sides. Fortunately enough of the traces of the set-back remain to make the above statement possible.

"near the Aphrodite," as Pausanias says. This logical distribution of the statues brings Pausanias through the small north door.

2. The second reason for supposing that Pausanias entered the east portico of the Propylaea through the small north door is the following: From the Athena Hygieia he goes almost due east as far as the east front of the Parthenon. If we follow his example, we



Fig. 7. Rock-cutting, probably for the base of the Lemnian Athena. The columns belong to the east portico of the Propylaea

encounter two fixed points in his route, namely, the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the statue of Ge (Fig. 1); we are thus certain of this portion of his route. When he leaves the Acropolis, he comes from the general direction of the Erechtheum, and in all likelihood he passes along a rock-cut path which, starting from the northernmost intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea and, consequently, from the small north door as well, heads in the direction of the Erechtheum (Fig. 6). The last statue which he mentions before leaving the Acropolis is the famous Lemnian Athena. If he has already disposed of all the statues in the east portico of the Propylaea, as we believe he has, it is probable that the Athena stood just outside the portico and near the rock-cut path. And in fact we find

a suitable rock-cutting in just this position (Figs. 7, 62 and 63). If this be conceded, then Pausanias is on his way out of the Acropolis through the small north door of the east portico of the Propylaea.

3. The third reason for believing that Pausanias passed through this particular door can be quickly set forth. The treads of the steps in front (to the west) of the small door in question are much more worn by the passage of feet than in the case of any of the other doors (Fig. 8). Of course it is possible that in Christian and Turkish times the internal arrangements of the Propylaea were such as to force the circulation of pedestrians through this particular door. But it is tempting to believe that Pausanias and the thousands who visited the Acropolis in classic times are responsible for the largest portion of the wear upon the steps in front of the small north door.



Fig. 8. Steps to the west of the north door leading into the east portico of the Propylaea

Before leaving the east portico, a word or two may be said about the character of the monuments which adorned it. Following Greek precedent, they would differ widely from one another in both subject and material—a variety which was firmly and pleasingly bound together in this case by the formal and vigorous architecture of the portico itself. Monument C, as its base was round, was undoubtedly some sort of small column supporting a votive offering. A bronze cock would be appropriate—a cock on a small column almost always accompanies Athena on Panathenaic amphorai, and, furthermore, the Acropolis was dedicated to Athena. D, the bronze Diitrephes, is, in all likelihood, represented on the vase shown in figure 9: a warrior is sinking backward, his legs pierced with arrows. The inscription on the marble base tells us that Cresilas was the sculptor. Nothing is known about the Aphrodite at F except that it was of bronze, judging from the cuttings on the top of the base, and that the sculptor was Calamis according to the inscription on the base.

As for the Leaena at G, various ancient authors give us the following information: it was of bronze, and represented a lioness with its tongue cut out, to signify that Leaena, even in the agony of death, did not betray her associates: the sculptor was Amphicrates. As a large statue at G would be a hindrance to the passage of many people, it is possible that the representation of Leaena had the form of a small votive offering somewhat similar to that at C, figure 3 (see frontispiece).

Pausanias's next fixed point after that of the Athena Hygieia is the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (Fig. 1). Between the two he must have seen a variety of monuments. A few meters to the east of the Athena Hygieia he passed the altar used in connection with the worship of the goddess (Figs. 10 and 11). It is a typical altar, with a platform on the



Fig. 9. Diitrephes pierced with arrows: vase painting (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, Fig. 13)

west side, so that the priest, while officiating, might face east. After the altar comes a great variety of rock-cuttings indicative of stelai, statues, commemorative monuments, votive offerings, and the like (Fig. 12). The rock-cuttings are of the shallow variety used for heavy monuments of stone or of a combination of stone and bronze. We find here no deeply countersunk cuttings such as are required for wooden posts which cannot stand firmly without being well held in a socket. The "Promachos" group, mentioned later on, will furnish good examples of the deep cuttings required for wooden posts. The cutting directly east of the altar of the Athena Hygieia (Fig. 10, L, and Fig. 12) is the only one of all the cuttings between the altar and the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis to which a statue can even tentatively be assigned. The cutting measures 0.82 m. \times 0.77 m. and is thus the

right size to receive the base of the Diitrephes, which is 0.755 m. \times 0.695 m. It must be admitted, however, that the cutting is too well made to suppose that after Pausanias's visit a Diitrephes in the east portico was removed to this new location east of the altar. There is some possibility that the Diitrephes stood over this rock-cutting from the beginning instead of in the east portico of the Propylaea; for the statue of the Athena Hygieia is hidden behind a column of the Propylaea to anyone who has not actually passed through the east portico, whereas the Diitrephes, if placed east of the altar, would be a conspicuous object from the colonnade of the Propylaea, and, therefore, would be likely to attract attention before the Athena did. The "pros" and "cons" for the location of the Diitrephes thus nicely balance each other. If we believe, however, that Pausanias did not "double back" in this description of the statues he saw, which seems likely, then the scales of the balance slightly favor the site in the Propylaea.

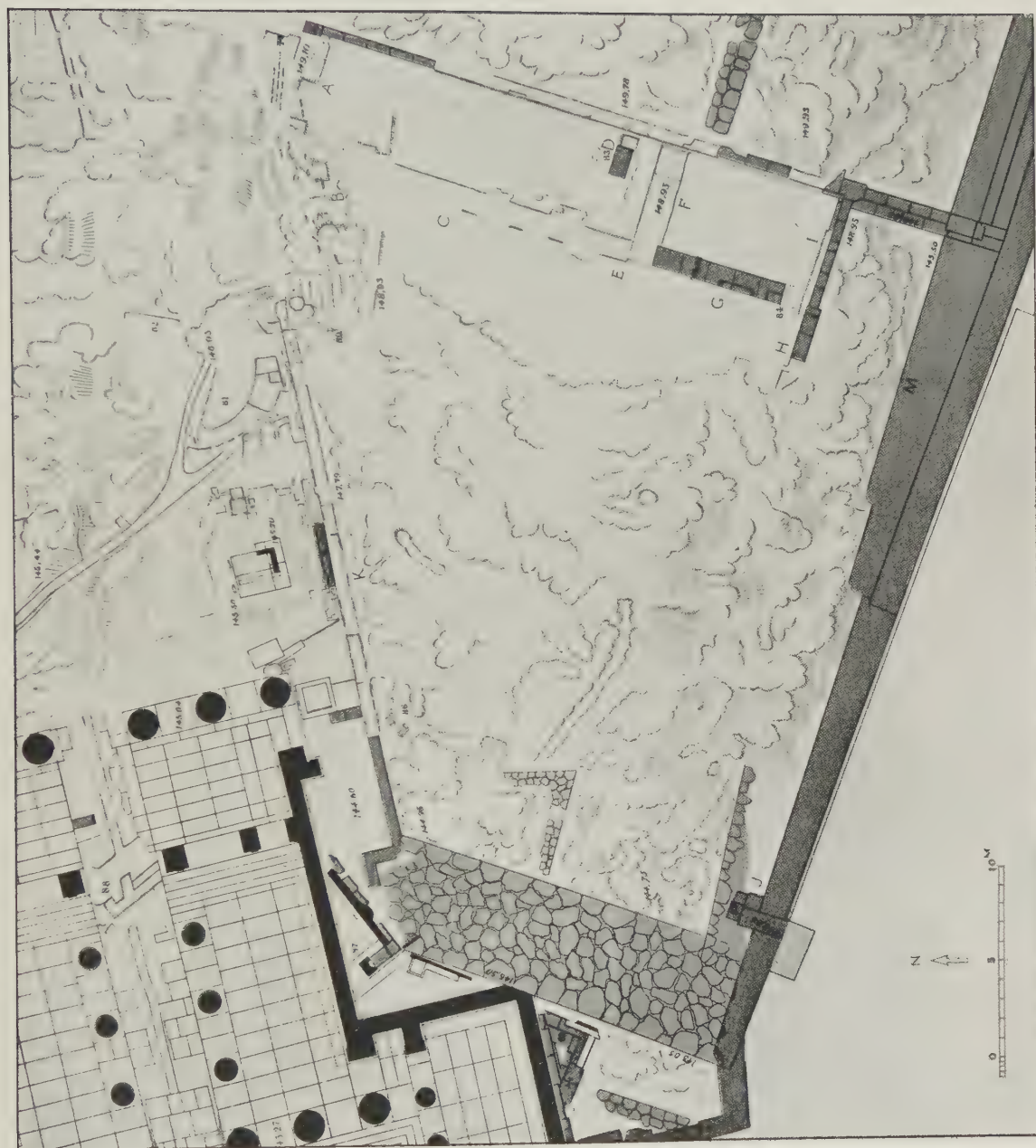


Fig. 10. Plan of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis: present condition



Fig. 11. Altar and pedestal of Athena Hygieia



Fig. 12. Rock-cuttings for some of the monuments between the Propylaea and the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The statue of Diitrephes possibly stood over the one in the immediate foreground

II. THE SANCTUARY OF THE BRAURONIAN ARTEMIS

Back of the cuttings between the Propylaea and the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis is a wall of rock formed artificially by cutting away the natural rock perpendicularly (Figs. 11, 12 and 13). Its orientation is almost exactly that of the Propylaea, an indication that the date of the two is the same. Mnesicles undoubtedly desired that the approach to the Propylaea from the side of the Acropolis should be as dignified and orderly as possible, especially as he was obliged to abandon his ambitious



Fig. 13. Entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the wall of rock to the west of it

wings to the north and south of the east portico of the Propylaea. The top of the artificial wall of rock is dressed in a series of steps and originally carried an ashlar wall of poros stone, of which many of the blocks, about 0.53 m. thick, are still *in situ* at the western end of the wall. The wall is the northern boundary of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (Figs. 1 and 10). The entrance to the Sanctuary is at the east end of the wall of rock, where we find an obvious rock-cut flight of steps, bordered by a row of stelai on its western side (Fig. 13). Advancing within the Sanctuary, we note, without too much difficulty, that it originally covered an area of considerable size, half rock-cut, half fill,¹

¹ Ancient Greek terraces on rocky slopes may be classified under three headings:

I. Those that avoid all cutting of the rock by the use of a high retaining wall with an earth fill back of it. They are the cheapest. The wall is often utilized for defensive purposes on account of its height. Such terraces occur more frequently in early than in late times. (Continued on p. 460.)

bordered on the east and south with stoa-like structures. The area extended on the west to a portion of the Mycenaean wall, here immensely thick (6 m.), which formed part of the western defences of the Acropolis (Fig. 10). If we follow the east stoa to its northern extremity, we find that we are standing directly between the Propylaea and the Parthenon (Fig. 1); that is, the stoa must have concealed a large part of the Parthenon from those emerging from the east portico of the Propylaea. Strange to say,

this is rather a new conception. To determine how much of the Parthenon the stoa hid, we shall be obliged to marshal all the literary and archaeological data possible, and then to re-enforce what we succeed in bringing together with a careful study of both the rock-cuttings and the scanty architectural remains of the sanctuary.

From inscriptions¹ it is known that at least as early as 346–345 B.C. there were two images of the goddess Artemis within the precinct,—an old stone idol, probably seated, and an upright statue in bronze (?) by Praxiteles. Were there two separate shrines in which these two statues were placed? Possibly. Pausanias mentions the statue by Praxiteles. But he is tantalizing in his silence about many features which are needed for a faithful reconstruction of the sanctuary.

He also speaks of a bronze copy of the Trojan Horse, which, from his ambiguous wording, we may place either inside the precinct or immediately outside of it. Fortunately there are good reasons from

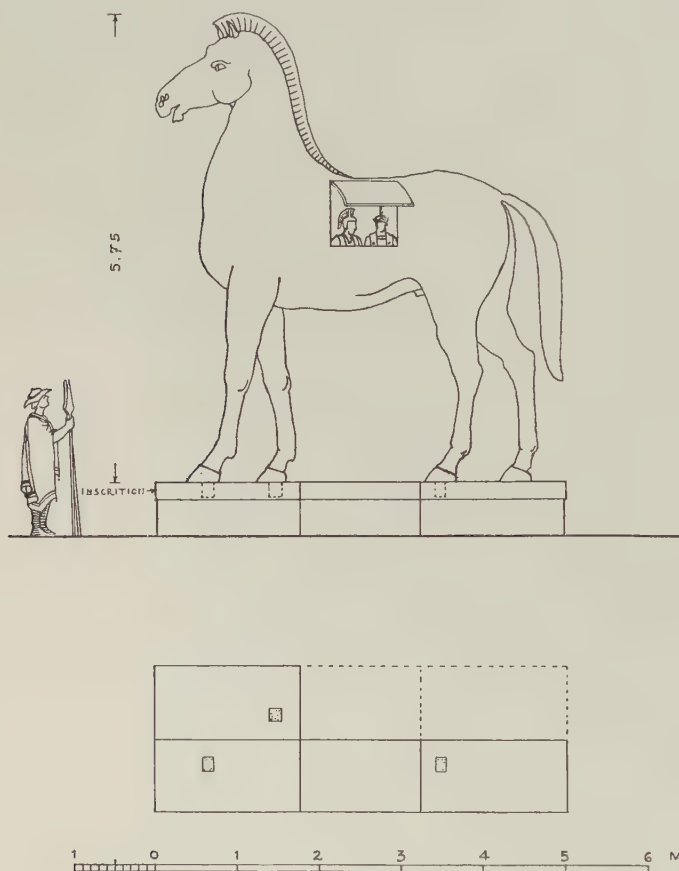


Fig. 14. Bronze copy of the Trojan Horse: restoration

- II. Those that are half rock-cut and half fill; what is cut out of the rock is immediately thrown where the level is to be raised. This type of terrace requires a lower retaining wall than in the first type, and access to the terrace is easier for those coming up the slope, as less climbing has to be done.
- III. Those that are entirely rock-cut. They are rare on account of their expense, and usually narrow for the same reason.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 1517, 1511, 1515, 1516, 1522, 1524.

a literary source for putting the horse in the precinct,¹ and, furthermore, two of the six huge marble blocks which formed the base were actually found in the Sanctuary, although not *in situ*. Pausanias says that "Menestheus and Teucer are shown looking out from the inside of the horse; so also are the sons of Theseus." Probably two heroes on each side were peeping out of the horse. The top of the head of the horse must have reached to a height of about 5.75 m. above the base, judging from the distance between the front and rear hoofs. The horse was so large, that the men peeping out of it could be represented at natural size



Fig. 15. Rock-cuttings for the north end of the east stoa of the Brauronian Artemis: A, cuttings for two stelai antedating the stoa

(Fig. 14). These are scant data so far for a reconstruction of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis.

Fortunately, a study of the rock-cuttings and the few architectural remains yields considerably more information, although at first glance this does not seem likely. Starting with the rock-cuttings at A, figure 10, we observe that three stelai were removed when the north wall of the east stoa was built (Fig. 15 shows at A two of the stelai). The rock-cuttings for the part of the precinct wall which ran from the northwest portion of the stoa to the entrance of the sanctuary also passed directly over a cutting for a stele (Fig. 10, B). Three to four meters south of A and B, figure 10, are rock-cuttings for a wall with quite a different orientation from that of the east stoa. The deduction that there were at least two building periods over the area in question is clear. Further confirmation of different building periods is found south of the shallow rock-cut trench C (in which the west façade

¹ Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, pp. 405-406.

of the stoa was set), namely, at D, E, F, G, H, and I. The block of poros stone at D, figure 10 (also shown in Figs. 16 and 17) is still *in situ*. Its characteristics show that it faced an open area on the south, that the top of the block was raised 0.20 m. above this open area, and that the south face projected 0.24 m. from the wall above. As trench C is continuous between A and E, the poros block must have formed part of the south wall of the building which had its north wall at A. Thus we have a building extending from A to D, which required the removal of at least three monuments as well as a wall of different orientation from its own when the building itself was erected.

The edifice which stood over the rock-cutting at F and had the blocks of poros stone at G, H, and I as part of its construction, is quite a separate building from the one we have just discussed, and possibly antedates it, judging from the fact that it is built over no previous rock-cuttings. The dressing of the top surface of the block at G shows that half engaged columns with a wall between them rested on the blocks in question. The

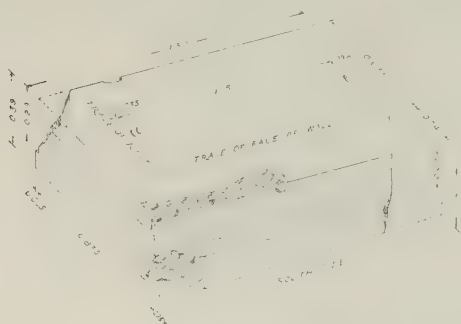


Fig. 16. Poros block at D, figure 10: isometric drawing

circular traces of the columns measure 0.69 m. in diameter, and the axial distance between columns may be calculated at 2.438 m. (Figs. 10, 17, and 18). Enough data remain to show that chamber FI, figure 10, had no door on its east, west or south sides. Therefore the door—we cannot imagine chamber FI without any door—must have been on the remaining side, namely, the north side. There is further proof of a door toward the north, in that we find the rock-cutting at F considerably wider than that at G. This is as it should be, for the usual Greek practice requires that a door should

have a sill wide enough to project somewhat both outside and inside. In fact, if we suppose a projecting course of 0.24 m. (like the projecting base at D) along the base of the wall on its north side, and sufficient projection on the inside—say 0.15 m. as a minimum—to allow a secure arrangement for the pivots of the door, we obtain a total width which will fit the existing rock-cutting beneath. There is, furthermore, a finer dressing of the rock for this sill than for the blocks to the east of it—sills must be particularly well bedded on account of their greater length than that of ordinary wall blocks and also on account of the concentrated loading upon their ends coming from the jambs (Fig. 10, F).

The dressing on the top of the stylobate at H indicates that there was here an open colonnade—the stylobate is well finished from front to back. The axial distance between the columns can be calculated at about 2.235 m. (Fig. 18). This axial unit is 0.203 m. less than that at G, but both aesthetically and constructively this difference is desirable. The smaller axial unit is employed for an open colonnade and where the dark shadows between the columns make the columns themselves look slimmer than they really are. The greater axial unit occurs where the wall between the columns helps the columns to support the cornice and where there is but little shadow in the intercolumniations. For

these reasons the free standing columns can be advantageously spaced nearer together than the engaged columns. The circular trace of the column at H, figure 10, measures 0.345 m. in radius: this gives a diameter of 0.69 m., the same as that at G, and establishes the fact that the two orders at H and G were identical (except that one order was engaged and the other was not). There is a further indication that the orders were the same, for the buildings on the east and south of the sanctuary were the same in width, as will be shown later on (see Fig. 20)—the same width is an indication that the façades were the same in height. The order was Doric. For, if we suppose the lower diameter



Fig. 17. Stylobate blocks and rear wall (the lower portion rock-cut for almost its entire length) of buildings along the east side of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis

of the column to be 0.69 m., that is, equal to the diameter of the trace of the column on the stylobate, the intercolumniation, with an axial distance of 2.235 m., becomes a little less than $2\frac{1}{4}$ diameters—a wide intercolumniation even for the Doric order, but a possible intercolumniation. If, on the other hand, the order be Ionic with a base measuring 0.69 m. over all, the lower diameter of the column becomes about 0.46 m., the intercolumniation about $3\frac{7}{8}$ diameters (that of the Nike Temple is 2 diameters), and the height of the column about 3.54 m. (0.46 m. less than that of the Nike Temple). These are quite impossible proportions for our building. In the case of the Doric order, a wide intercolumniation of $2\frac{1}{4}$ diameters means that there were two triglyphs between the columns, like the arrangement of triglyphs over the central openings of the Propylaea. The building will be shown later on to date from the fifth century B.C. Using fifth century

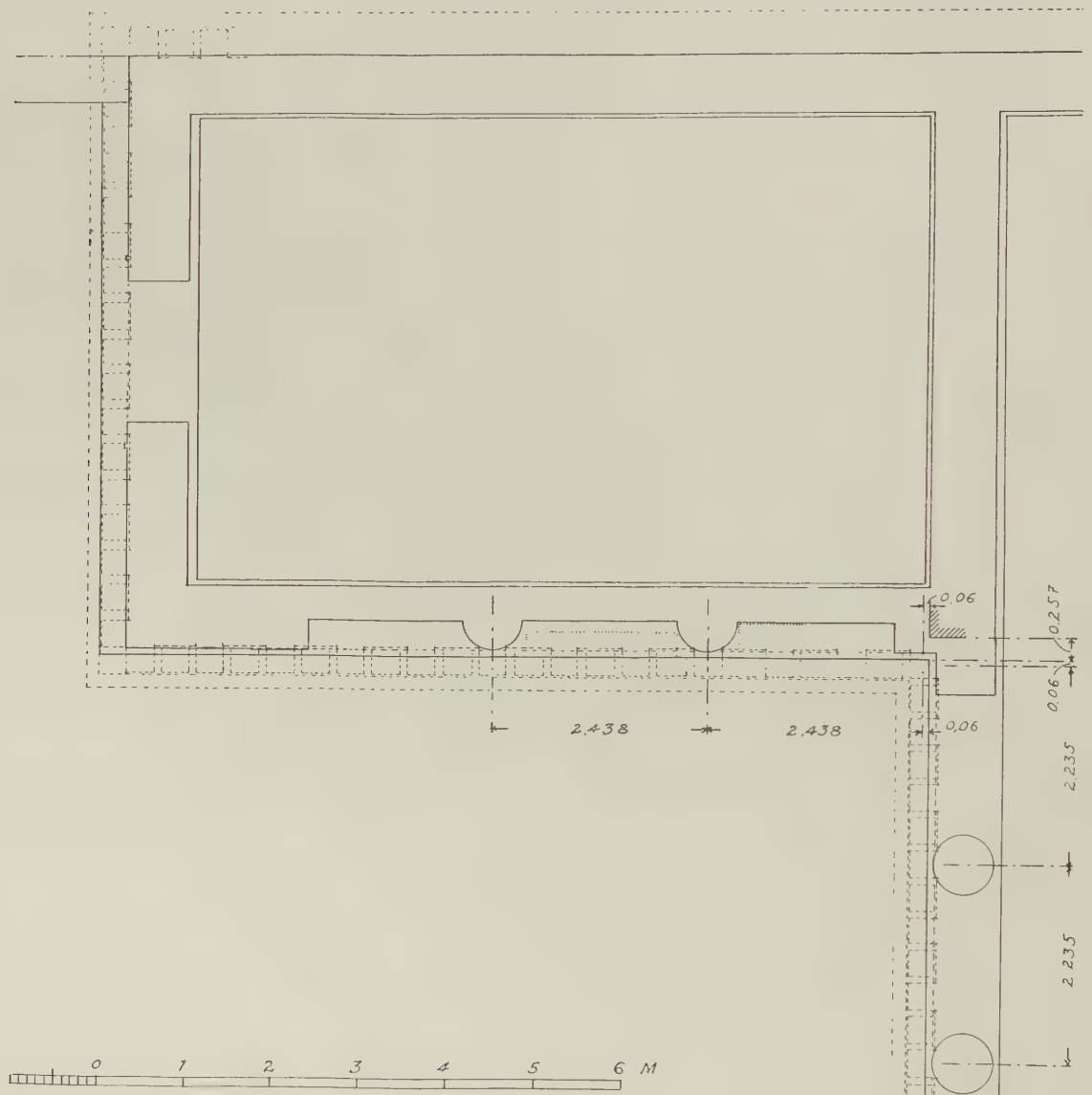


Fig. 18. Calculations for axial distances of columns in the southeast corner of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis

proportions, the various heights connected with our Doric order may be calculated as follows:

Stylobate, from the actual remains	0.38 m.	
Column, 5.78 diameters high	3.99	
Cornice,	<u>1.45</u>	
Total height of order		5.82 m.
From top of cornice to top of ridge-pole, 1 : 4 slope	<u>0.95</u>	
Total height above rock-cutting under stylobate		6.77 m.
Level above sea of rock-cutting under stylobate		<u>148.93</u>
Level of top of ridge-pole		155.70 m.

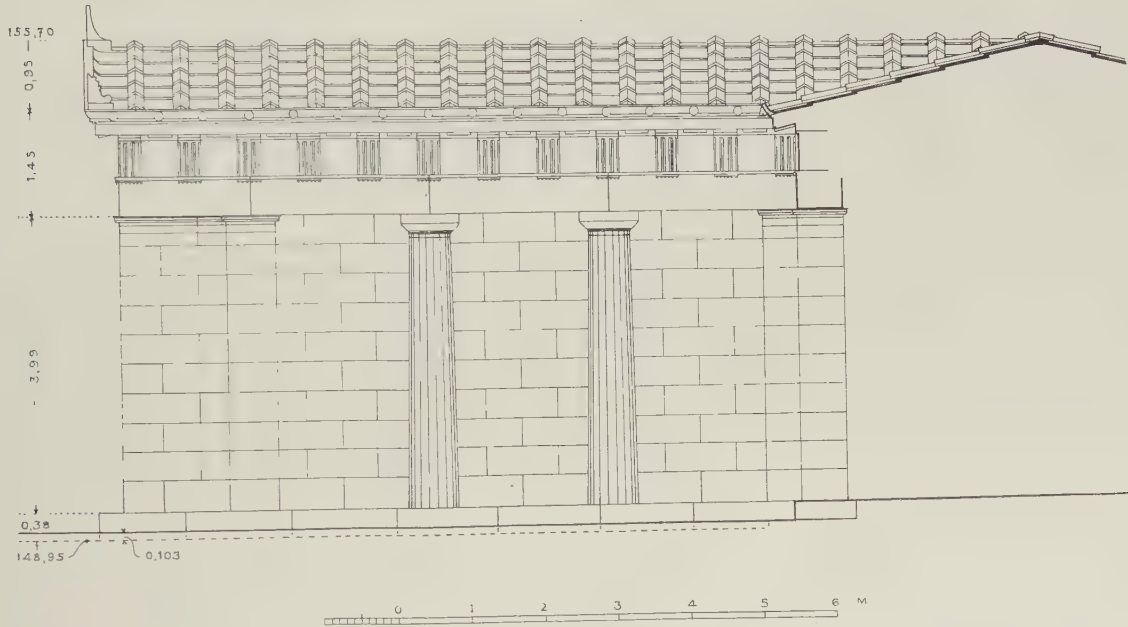


Fig. 19. Elevation at "G," figure 10: restoration

Using these dimensions, the restored elevation at G, figure 10, becomes as represented in figure 19.

Buildings AD and FI, figure 10, although separate, had many features in common. Block D and stylobate G are both of poros stone, and the top of block D lies in the same plane with that of the stylobate G. The rock-cuttings for the west portions of both buildings have the same orientation and practically line with each other, the only difference being that the width of the rock-cutting for building AD is 0.12 m. wider and 0.04 m. lower—small differences and easily accounted for, if we remember that the two buildings were probably of different date. The walls of the two buildings have the same thickness. It is likely that building FI had a projecting base on its north side, like that which building AD had on its south side, as we have already noted. The west stylobates of the two

buildings were physically united by a sill, as the rock-cutting between the buildings, at E, shows: the top of this sill probably lined with the rabbet of block D (see figure 16), to allow rain-water falling in the uncovered area between the two buildings to escape freely into the central court. There are two additional features which indicate that building AD was carefully designed to harmonize with building FIH—there was a solid angle at the northwest corner of AD similar to the solid portion at the northwest corner of building FI, and the axial unit of the columns for building AD was the same as the axial unit of those at H: these two features will be explained in some detail later on.

We are now ready to attempt restorations of the Sanctuary in both periods.

First, or Cimonean, period (Figs. 20 and 21): Wall K, figure 10, was probably cut, as we have seen, at the time of the erection of the Mnesiclean Propylaea. It is likely, therefore, that before Mnesicles' time there was some such wall as A, figure 20, which is parallel to the risers of the steps leading into the Sanctuary. There is a rock-cutting about 3 m. southwest of 81, figure 10, which has the same orientation as that of wall A, figure 20. It is a rougher cutting than those near it, which have the orientation of Mnesicles' rock-cut wall and are, consequently, either contemporary with, or later than, his wall. The cutting in question was, perhaps, made for the base of a monument which stood in front of wall A (Fig. 20) and which had the same orientation as that of the wall. All traces of wall A itself were obliterated by Mnesicles.¹ The rock-cut steps of the entrance to the Sanctuary seem to have been in use during both periods. East of the rock-cut steps we have already noted the rock-cuttings for wall B, figure 20. The north boundary of the Sanctuary is thus complete. Let us turn to the south boundary. We will begin with the only architectural remains of this period which we have not so far discussed, namely, the start of a wall at J, figure 10. This is none other than the beginning of the west wall of stoa E, figure 20. It is almost parallel to the east face of the Mycenaean wall on the west side of the Sanctuary, and not exactly perpendicular to the outside of the south wall of the Acropolis. A further important feature about the west wall of stoa E is that it is solidly bonded into the south wall of the Acropolis, which, at this point, was built by Cimon (see Fig. 10, J). Stoa and wall are of the same date—about the middle of the fifth century B.C. The blocks at J (Fig. 10) tell us, also, another important fact, namely, the width of stoa E, figure 20. For, if wall IH, figure 20, be continued westward to L, then the stoa at LJ will be the same width as stoa C; the foundations at M, figure 10, will be, by position and direction, suitable for the southeast corner of the south stoa; and the roofing of C and E becomes a simple matter. Furthermore, proper defence of the south Acropolis wall required that the south stoa be kept back from the south face of the Acropolis wall. Note that the rear wall of the Chalkotheke (which touches our stoa and which, furthermore, only leans against the Acropolis wall, see Fig. 1) and that of our stoa formed, together, a long stretch of Acropolis wall which might occasionally have to be defended. This stretch of wall need not have been either high or thick, as the Acropolis

¹ It is also possible that the cutting gives the position and direction of wall A itself.

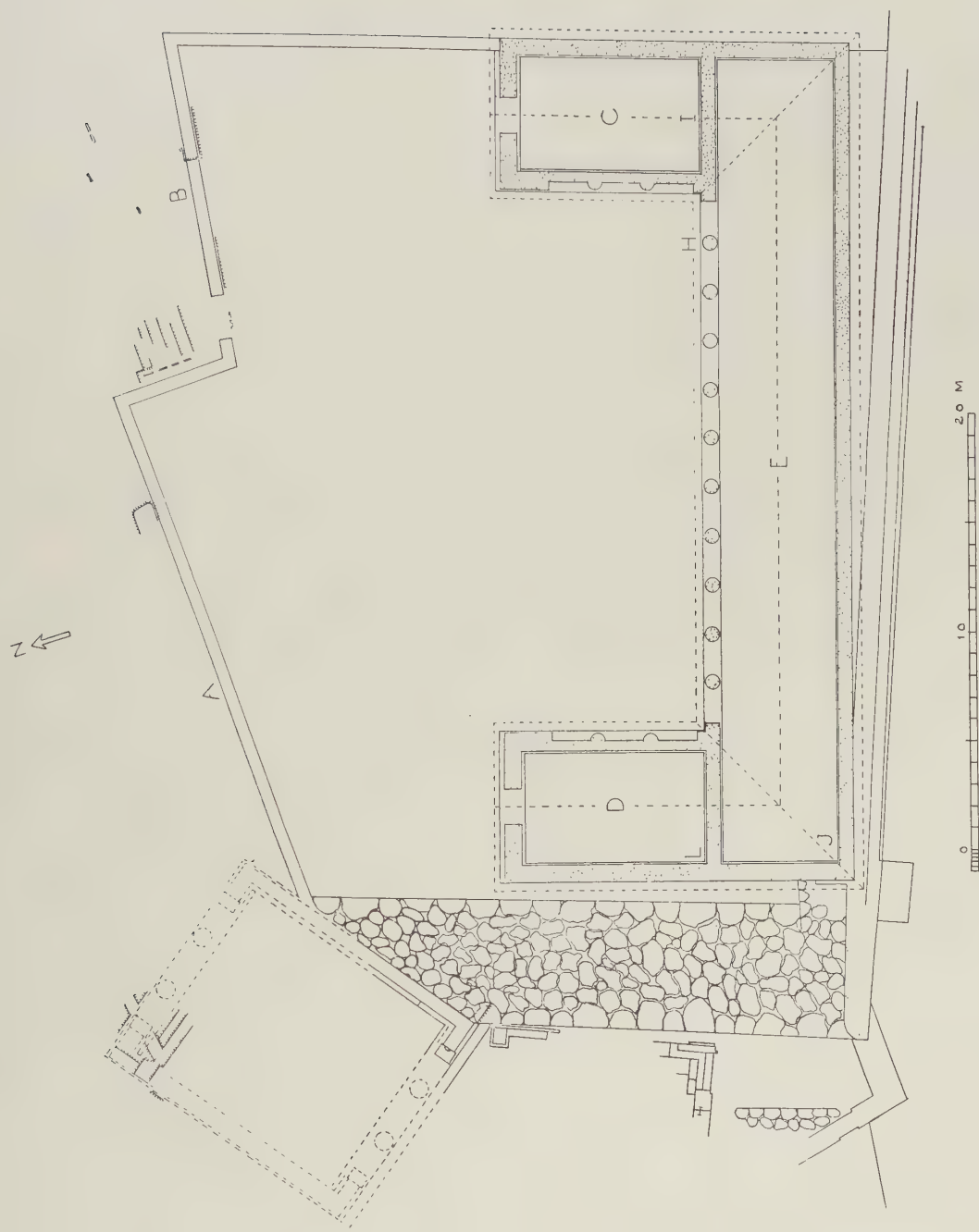


Fig. 20. Plan of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis shortly before the erection of the Mnesiclean Propylaea: restoration

rock here falls away precipitously forming a natural defence. Hence the necessity of some sort of "chemin de ronde," with a minimum width for soldiers to pass each other, plus a parapet. On the west side of the Sanctuary rose the Mycenaean wall, already referred to, which was no less than 6 m. thick. It reached at least as high as the cornice of the south wing of Mnesicles' Propylaea, for the cornice of that wing was cut at an angle to fit against the Mycenaean wall. The Acropolis rock west of this Mycenaean wall has a comparatively gentle slope, which necessitated a good defensive wall at this point. A glance at figure 10 will show that the different defensive possibilities along the south and west of the southwest portion of the Acropolis were fully appreciated in Mycenaean times; and the Greeks of the time of Pericles must have also seen the same possibilities: for the Mycenaean wall toward the west was much thicker than that along the south. The wall along the south, therefore, was probably less high than that along the west in both Mycenaean and classical times. On the east side of the Sanctuary there seems to be

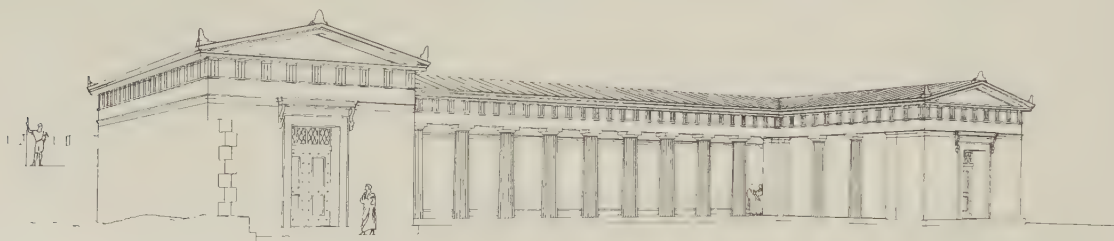


Fig. 21. Pre-Mnesiclean stoa along the south side of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis: restored perspective view

no reason for not continuing the east wall of building C, figure 20, northward until it meets wall B. We must consider one more feature before attempting a restoration of the precinct. We have already spoken of the inscriptions of 346-345 B.C., which prove that at that time two images of Artemis were objects of veneration within the Sanctuary. As the religion of the Greeks was conservative—like all religions—it is highly probable that there were two cult statues at the time of Mnesicles. Two separate shrines would be appropriate for the two statues. (If we could have gazed upon the Sanctuary just after the sack of the Acropolis by the Persians, we would probably have seen, somewhere within the precinct, the ruins of an archaic temple of Artemis, facing east, no traces of which exist today.) The above, then, are the various elements we must endeavour to incorporate in our restoration of the first period (Figs. 20 and 21). Note that stoa E, figure 20, has the same width as that of the projecting wing C, and that there is room south of the stoa to man the Acropolis wall. Stoa E is suitable for the location of cult offerings which needed protection from the sun or rain. The projecting wings C and D may have housed the two cult statues (see p. 520). The reason for isolating the building from the Mycenaean wall on the west, instead of building it against the wall, was, doubtless, to allow soldiers, with their various fighting materials, easy access to this important defensive wall.

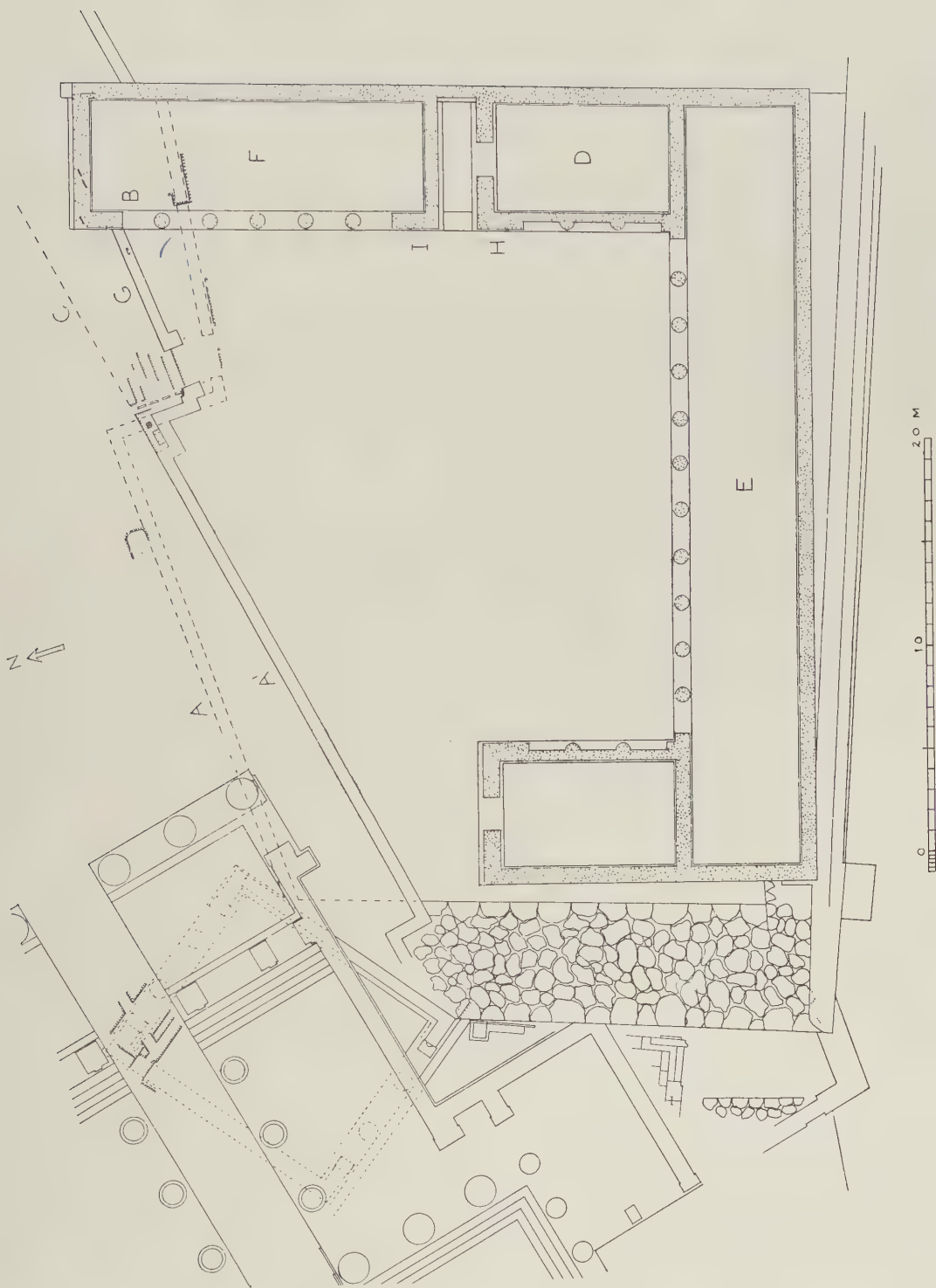


Fig. 22. Plan of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis at about the time of the erection of the Mnesiclean Propylaea: restoration

Second, or Mnesiclean, period (Fig. 22): The removal of wall A to A' decreased the size of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis without interfering with proper access for military purposes to the large Mycenaean defensive wall along the western boundary of the Sanctuary. To compensate for the lost area, it seems likely that the Sanctuary was increased by an area at B. That the area B was intended to be greater is, perhaps, indicated by the line C—a trace actually cut in the Acropolis rock and lying in the prolongation of the north face of wall A': if C were the boundary line of the Sanctuary, the additional area would be more equal to the lost area north of A'. There seems to have been a change of plan which may be explained as follows. If, by the time of Mnesicles, stoa E had become overcrowded with votive offerings, due to increased wealth and increased population after the Persian wars, we may suppose that a compromise was reached whereby less land was given at CB in exchange for a new stoa at F, destined to accommodate the great number of new votive offerings. Turning our attention to stoa F, we may draw three conclusions, as follows:

1. The wall at G, for which the rock-cut traces are certain, shows that stoa F had a solid end at B, like that at H, for wall G could not be properly received against stoa F if the northwest angle of the latter consisted of an anta only;
2. As a corollary to conclusion number one, we may place a similar solid end at I;
3. As the distance between the two solid ends can be exactly filled with a colonnade whose axial unit is the same as that of stoa E, and as stoa F had many features in common with structure D and consequently with stoa E, as already explained, we may restore stoa F as an open stoa with an order like that of stoa E.

It has been necessary to study the architectural remains of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis in some detail for three reasons:

1. Stoa F, figure 22, was visible from the Entrance Court of the Acropolis. If we would know what in this direction greeted the eye of the ancient Greek as he entered the Acropolis, we must needs establish the architectural elements of the stoa;
2. As part of stoa F lay directly between the Propylaea and the Parthenon, the height of its ridge-pole had to be determined to know how much of the Parthenon was hidden by the stoa;
3. Pausanias tells us that the crest of the Athena "Promachos" and the head of her spear were visible to sailors as they came from Sunium to Piraeus. When we stand on the site of the "Promachos" we can see the Aegean Sea in a southwesterly direction, the sight line passing directly over the terrace of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (Figs. 1 and 48). Therefore, if the crest and the spear-head of the "Promachos" were visible from the sea, they must have been at a higher level than the ridge-pole of stoa E, figure 22, a fact which will be proved when the Group of the "Promachos" is considered. The sight line in question will give us a fairly accurate idea of the total height of the "Promachos" and her pedestal (Fig. 49).

III. THE COURT IN FRONT OF THE WEST FAÇADE OF THE PARTHENON TOGETHER WITH CERTAIN MATTERS PERTAINING TO THE PARTHENON ITSELF

Pausanias now leaves the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and proceeds eastward along the Processional Way, mentioning monuments and statues as he goes (Fig. 1). The location of these monuments is uncertain until we come to that of the Goddess Ge (Fig. 1, 9). "Earth praying Zeus to send rain upon her," is what Pausanias says about

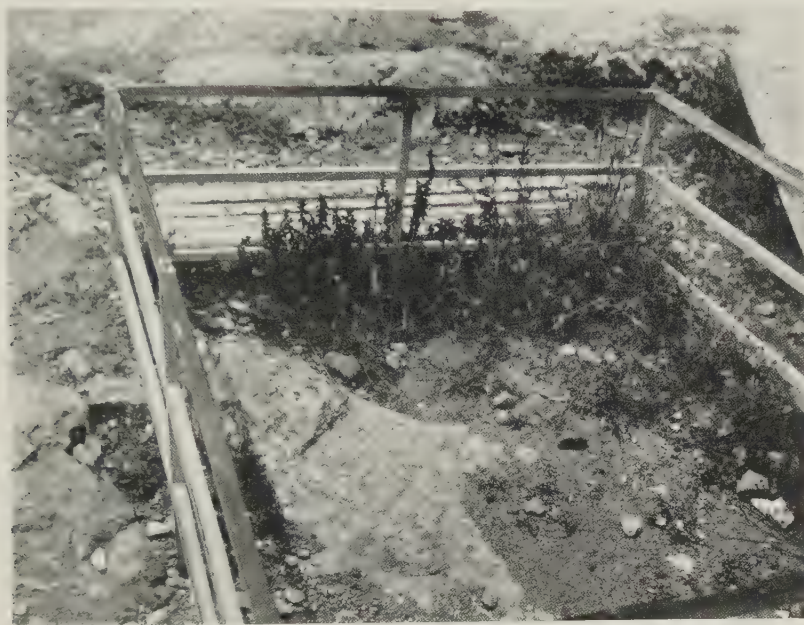


Fig. 23. Inscription of Ge

her. Her inscription is cut in the rock of the Acropolis, thus making the location absolutely assured (Fig. 23). Let us, too, take the route between the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the statue of Ge. As we leave the entrance to the Sanctuary we note that the Processional Way, where unusually steep, is provided with a series of approximately parallel grooves, 0.06 m. to 0.14 m. on centers, running across the direction of the Processional Way. They are intended to provide good footing. They start at the Propylaea and can be followed for a distance of about 25 m. beyond the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. There they suddenly turn to the right, that is, to the south, through an angle of about 90° (Figs. 24 and 52). In an easterly direction from the turning point the Acropolis rock has no more grooves whatever, although this portion of the Acropolis rock is as steep as those we have just traversed. Clearly the circulation over the Processional Way turned at this point to the south. Let us follow the grooves. We may discover the reason for this sudden turn.

As we advance southward, we find that the grooves lead to a series of small rock-cut platforms (Figs. 25 and 52). Passing over these for the time being without comment, we come to a large terrace or court (Fig. 1, 7), partly rock-cut and partly fill, just as in the case of the terrace of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. A high flight of rock-cut steps on the side toward the Parthenon indicates how much rock-cutting—a laborious and expensive kind of work—had to be done (Fig. 26). The steps are parallel to the west façade of the Parthenon, and are cut with a vertical curvature similar to that of the Parthenon steps. As a person standing in the court sees the rock-cut steps projected against the



Fig. 24. Rock-cut grooves for good footing at 26, figure 1: their change in direction shows that the Processional Way turned toward the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

steps of the Parthenon, it follows that the architect who designed the rock-cut steps felt the necessity of harmonizing them with the steps of the Parthenon. The rock-cut steps originally went as far as the Acropolis wall on the south, as is proved by a foundation wall which continues the line of the steps southward as far as the Acropolis wall.¹ As this foundation wall was partly built of stylobate blocks of the Old Temple of Athena taken from beneath the Porch of the Maidens, we are led to believe that the foundation and the steps it supported were laid a few years after the Porch of the Maidens was started—410 B.C. seems a justifiable approximate date for the rock-cut steps.² The steps led to the platform upon which the Parthenon stood: but, on the axis of the Parthenon, where the

¹ Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Πίναξ Ζ*: 78 and pp. 124, 126.

² Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, p. 126.



Fig. 25. Rock-cut platforms viewed from the north for the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon



Fig. 26. Rock-cut steps in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

rock-cut steps which we see today reach their highest level, the seven upper steps were built of poros stone—there are rock-cuttings for the foundation of these poros stone steps. From this highest level the Acropolis rock falls away to right and left, and, where the rock was lacking, the steps were made of poros stone. There are many cuttings in the rock-cut steps for small stelai. They must be looked upon as an accumulation of centuries. On the south side of the court stood the Chalkotheke, a “place of deposit for bronzes” (Fig. 1, 8)—a large building with a portico toward the court (Fig. 27). The Chalkotheke made a considerable angle with the rock-cut steps in front of the Parthenon, because



Fig. 27. Rock-cutting for the stylobate of the portico of the Chalkotheke, on the south side of the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

the Chalkotheke was built parallel to the Acropolis wall back of it (Fig. 1). As the Chalkotheke was built up against the Acropolis wall, not bonded to it, it follows that the Chalkotheke was erected after the time of Cimon. The date of the Chalkotheke may be precised even more closely, for its northeast corner was built over the rock-cut steps in front of the Parthenon: the Chalkotheke was, then, probably built a few years after the steps were cut. We may, therefore, assign to it an approximate date of 400 B.C. On the west, the court extended as far as the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis; what was cut out of the Acropolis rock to form the long flight of steps in front of the Parthenon was utilized, without doubt, as a filling against the east wall of the east stoa of the Sanctuary.

To determine the nature of the northern boundary of the court presents more difficulties than we have encountered on the other three sides. We must make a patient study of rock-cuttings. A convenient place at which to begin is the northern end of the rock-cut

steps in front of the Parthenon. At A, figure 28, we find a dressing of the Acropolis rock and a block of poros stone, inserted in a hole of the Acropolis rock, upon which rested the foundation blocks (about 0.80 m. wide) of a wall. Following the wall westward, we encounter, first, two stele cuttings, B and C, on the south side of the wall and parallel to the wall, then a series of stele cuttings, D, seven of which run at exactly right angles to the wall, while one, at T, is parallel to the wall and in line with the stele cuttings B and C (Fig. 29). To the west of the stele cuttings at D is the series of small rock-cut platforms over which we passed when first entering the court (Fig. 25).

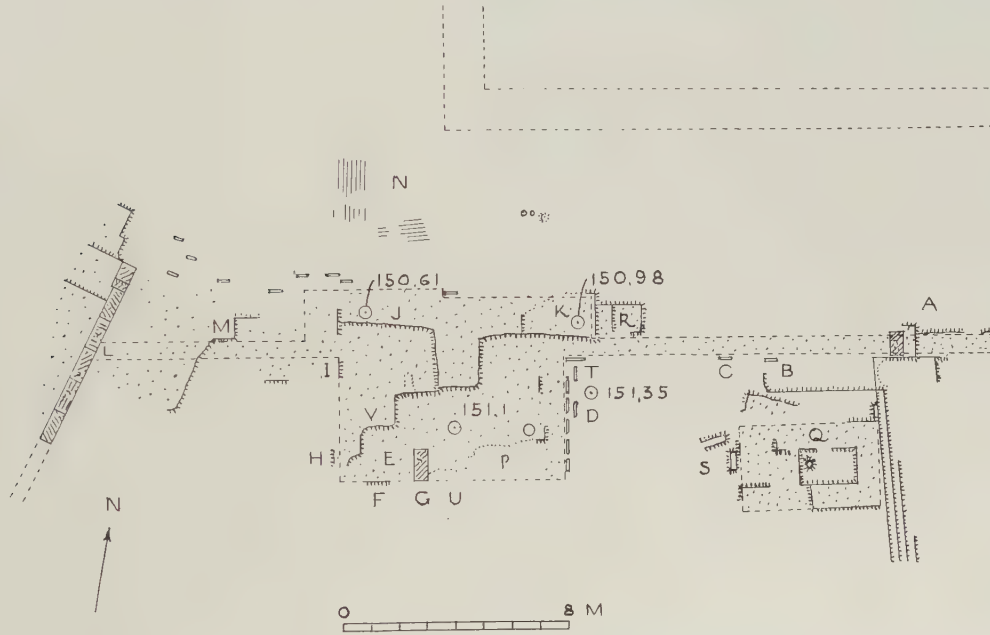


Fig. 28. Plan of rock-cuttings on the northern side of the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

It is apparent that the stelai at D indicate a wall, or raised platform—for the time being we shall assume a wall—running at right angles to the first wall. The two eastern stelai of the group of seven parallel stelai at D were evidently put in place after the row composed of the other five stelai was complete. Therefore the wall parallel to the direction of the seven stelai was located to the west of the stelai. The width of the foundation blocks of this wall is given by two rock-cuttings to the west of the five stelai (O is one of these; the cutting north of it, the other),—the width of the foundation was about 0.80 m. The stele cutting at T, running east and west, clearly indicates the interior angle between the two walls. The wall parallel to the stelai at D certainly ran south as far as the southern face of the southernmost stele; but we have here no indication of how much farther south the wall ran. If, however, we stand over the southernmost stele cutting and turn to the west, we observe that the rock-cut platform at E is terminated on the south

by the rock-cutting F, that the south end of the block of poros stone at G (inserted in a hole of the Acropolis rock to make the level of platform E continuous) lines with cutting F, and that the line FG is perpendicular to the stelai at D. We have only to prolong line FG eastward to obtain the southern extremity of the wall west of the stelai at D. In a somewhat similar way the wall which bordered the west side of the small rock-cut platforms is determined by rock-cuttings H and I. On the north side of the small rock-cut platforms

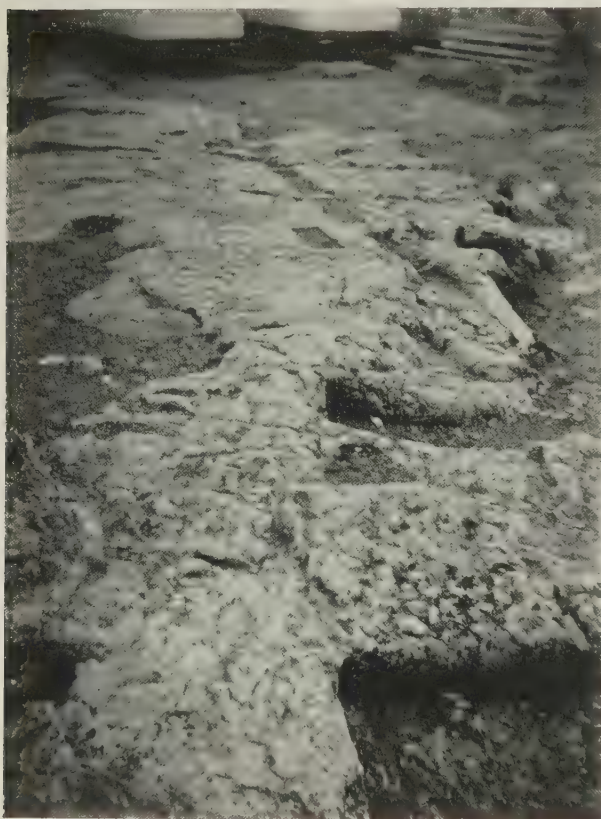


Fig. 29. Rock-cuttings, viewed from the north, for stelai along the east side of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

are cuttings J and K, which can only be interpreted as cuttings suitable for steps to overcome a difference of level of 0.74 m. between T and J. To return to wall AT for a moment: If we follow it westward from the series of small rock-cut platforms until it encounters the rear wall of the Stoa of Artemis at L, we find that the Acropolis rock is dressed from I to L, and that there is a rock-cutting at M, with the same orientation as that of the wall, and in which a monument probably stood, with the wall at its back. From the above it follows that an important monument stood over the series of small rock-cut platforms. Its nature is indicated by the turning of the grooves at N—thousands of people were passing through some sort of gate or small propylon in wall AL on their way into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. Figure 1 shows that the small propylon was visible from the Entrance Court of the Acropolis, and that it and the wall in which it was located partially concealed the Parthenon from people coming up the

Processional Way. If we are to have some idea of how much of the Parthenon the small propylon hid, we are called upon to attempt a restoration of it.

The series of platforms on which the small propylon stood measures, over all, 8 m. east and west by 6.75 m. north and south (including the cuttings for the steps on the north). Comparing other small propylaea of about the same date and, especially, of about the same width with our propylon, we conclude that ours had three openings and was probably of the Doric order. For instances, the width of the propylon at Sunium was 8 m.; that of

the Temple of Aphaia on the Island of Aegina was 7.50 m.;¹ both had two Doric columns *in antis*, with the central passage-way considerably wider than the two side passage-ways; both probably had pediments. If the main propylaea for the entire Acropolis required five passage-ways, we would expect to find three passage-ways in the propylon which led into the court in front of the west façade of the most important building on the Acropolis. Moreover, the type of Doric propylon with three passage-ways is usual for small propylaea in the days of Pericles. Let us see if this type can be made to fit our rock-cuttings. The steps from J to K, extending across the whole façade, may very well indicate columns on the northern side of the small propylon. The difference in level between J and the level inside the court is 0.74 m., a drop of three steps, with risers of 0.247 m.; K is a step and a half below the level of the court: the difference in level between J and K is due to the natural slope of the Acropolis rock, which pitches downward from K to J. If we follow classical precedent, we should have within the small propylon a cross wall pierced with three openings and closed either with doors or grilles: the rock is suitably dressed in two places for such a cross wall; either from O, figure 28, westward as far as wall HI, or from V eastward as far as the stelai at D. We should like to see the rear façade exactly like the front façade, except for one step toward the court instead of three or four toward the north (Fig. 30). Such an arrangement would bring a column at P, figure 28; but, unfortunately, the rock there has been left so uneven that no good builder would believe the foundation suitable for a stone column carrying a stone cornice and pediment. We would expect to find good rock-cuttings for the whole stylobate under the columns. Two possible solutions of the difficulty are presented (Figs. 31 and 32). In the first solution (Fig. 31) the plan is the same as that of the typical propylaea (Fig. 30), except that the two rear columns are omitted. The side walls which project southward from the cross wall are here supposed to support a projecting wooden roof in line with the main roof. In the second solution (Fig. 32), the cross wall has been supplanted by a colonnade exactly like that of the north façade, and, south of the colonnade, there is nothing more than a projecting marble platform. We shall try to decide later on which of the two plans is to be preferred. There is no difficulty in restoring the façade of the typical propylon of the Periclean Age (Fig. 33).

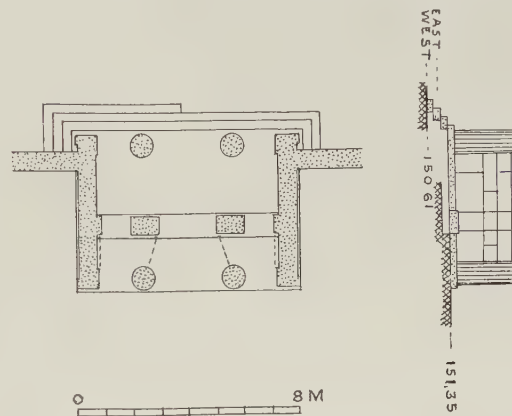


Fig. 30. Plan of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon: normal restoration

¹ Additional examples are found at Olympia, Eleusis, Delos, and many other places in Greece proper. They also occur in Asia Minor, Magna Graecia and northern Africa.

But there is some doubt that the propylon was of the classical type, for there is another variety found in Greece, but only in Roman times, which fulfils the conditions just as well. We refer to the type of the small inner propylon at Eleusis, which has three openings, like our small propylon at Athens. In another way, too, the cases are similar, for the main propylaea at both Eleusis and Athens have five openings. Undoubtedly the small propylon at Eleusis had a prototype, but, whether or not that prototype was our small propylon on the Acropolis at Athens, we have no means of saying; on account of the

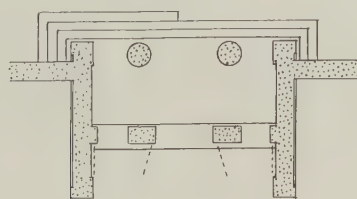


Fig. 31. Idem: first alternative restoration

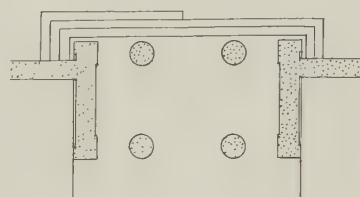


Fig. 32. Idem: second alternative restoration

remote possibility, however, we submit to the reader a sketch plan and elevation, showing our propylon restored in the manner of the Eleusinian type (Fig. 34), so that he may form his own judgment.

Were there doors (or grilles) in our small propylon? The platform around the Parthenon does not seem to have had an enclosure at the east. Why, then, keep people out of the court at the west if they could enter by going around by the east? If this be true, the

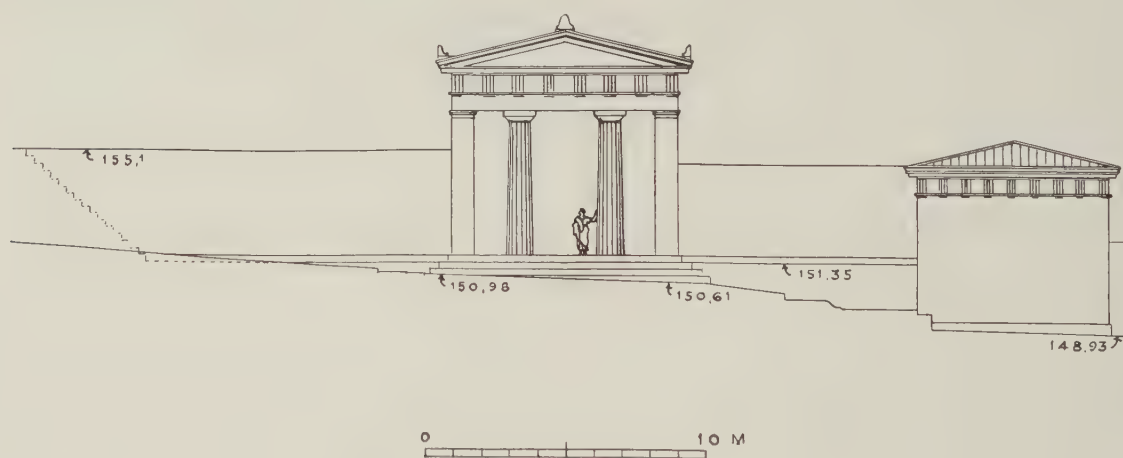


Fig. 33. Elevation of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon: restoration

small propylon becomes simply a glorified entrance. The scheme represented in figure 32, which has no doors, becomes just as possible as the scheme represented in figure 31, in which doors are provided. The former scheme is perhaps preferable to the latter. To choose between the classical and Eleusinian types on the evidence of the rock-cuttings is more difficult, as the evidence is so evenly balanced; but, as the classic type is more in keeping with the severe character of the Parthenon, the chances, we believe, are in favor of the classic propylon (see frontispiece).

Both types of propylaea would conceal the Parthenon to about the same degree from people in the Entrance Court.

To return for a moment to figure 28. There are many rock-cuttings at Q for votive offerings and monuments of various kinds. If it be granted that a propylon protruded into the court, there is a plausible explanation for these rock-cuttings. They lie in the dead space between the propylon and the rock-cut flight of stairs—they are out of the line of general circulation. As there are no other cuttings in the platform of the court for votive offerings—of course there may have been many monuments in the western half of the court, where the platform was a fill—the cuttings at Q assume a special importance. We shall refer to them later on.

There are six features which testify to the importance of the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon:

1. We have seen that the grooves for good footing on the Processional Way turn southward toward the court (Fig. 28, N). This indicates that ceremonial trains, such as the Panathenaic, headed at the turning for the court;
2. A special propylon of no mean proportions marked the entrance into the court;
3. The court itself was spacious, especially in its original form, when the flight of steps in front of the Parthenon extended to the southern wall of the Acropolis, and when there was no Chalkotheke (see Fig. 1);
4. The spacious court required an enormous amount of expensive rock-cutting;
5. As time went on, many stelai were placed on the rock-cut flight of steps in front of the Parthenon;

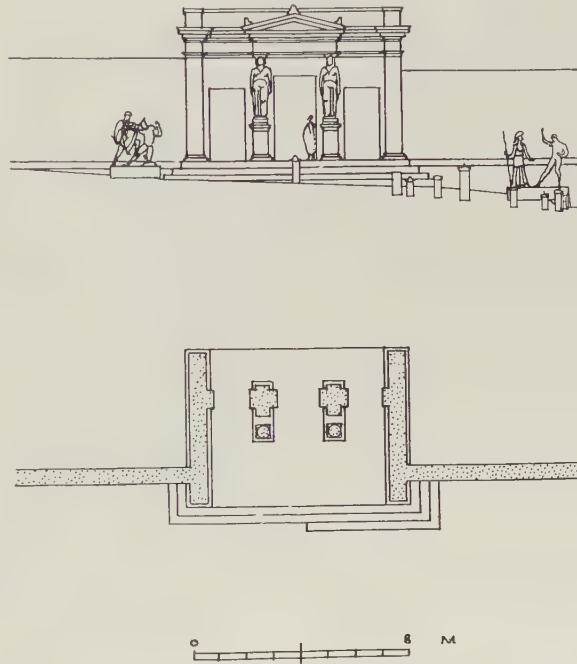


Fig. 34. Plan and elevation of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon: restoration in the manner of the small inner propylon at Eleusis

6. The west façade of the Parthenon was ornamented with just as much sculpture as the east façade—one façade was considered as important as the other. If there had been no court, the expensive sculptures of the western pediment could not have been well seen and, consequently, would probably have been omitted.

For these six reasons, therefore, the court must be considered an essential element in the design of the Parthenon.

The court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon would hardly be made so important, as indicated in the last paragraph, without reason. We have seen that the grooves of the Processional Way turn into the court, indicating that important processions passed through the court; and we arrive at the same conclusion if we study the cuttings for the stelai and votive monuments along the Processional Way. They are found in great numbers along the south side of the Processional Way as far as the small propylon, but no farther; and they begin again immediately after traversing the small propylon, this time between the open space of the court and the north wall of the court (Fig. 28, D, T, C, B, S, and Q). Once in the spacious court, the Panathenaic procession—if we suppose the most important religious procession in Athens to be approaching the Parthenon—may have manoeuvred so that half the procession could proceed along the north side of the Parthenon and the other half along the south side, just as the Panathenaic marble frieze of the Parthenon does, to meet, finally, before the main entrance of the temple at the east. The sacrificial animals, however, could not follow this route, as the rock-cut steps between the court and the west façade of the Parthenon were too numerous and too steep for the passage of such animals. They, doubtless, did not pass through the small propylon, but kept straight on in an easterly direction from the point where the Processional Way turns into the court (Fig. 28, N). The western part of this route for animals is marked by a series of regular depressions in the Acropolis rock, which suit the gait of large animals, such as oxen, for example (Fig. 28). The eastern part of their route is less steep and so did not there require special footing for animals. Furthermore, the route from N eastward passed between two high walls, which were fairly near together, as we shall see later on. Under such a condition this part of the route could never have been made attractive—it was more or less a service road. A preliminary manoeuvre, then, took place outside the propylon—the pedestrians in the procession turned south through the propylon, while the sacrificial animals were led off toward the east, in the direction of the great altar of Athena (Fig. 1).

The Acropolis rock fell away so rapidly at the northwest corner of the Parthenon, that here the terrace upon which the temple stood was wholly artificial, and, consequently, had to be sustained on its north side by a retaining wall. The latter was none other than the prolongation of the wall along the north side of the court to the west of the Parthenon. The wall can be traced by its rock-cuttings eastward to a point about north of the fifth column of the Parthenon, counting from the northeast corner of the temple; here the level of the Acropolis rock rises to the level of the terrace and makes a retaining wall farther east unnecessary. One of the rock-cuttings for the retaining wall, which can be easily located, occurs south of the inscription of Ge; the axis of the wall is 1.80 m. from the

center of the inscription, and the dressing of the Acropolis rock shows that the bottom course of the wall was about 0.80 m. thick—a thickness similar to that of the bottom course of the same wall (already noted) on the north side of the court. It is doubtful if the terrace of the temple had a parapet, as the retaining wall averaged only 1.88 m. in height and thus presented little danger if a person were to fall over the edge. The level of the terrace at the northwest corner of the Parthenon is 3.77 m. above the level of the court on the west, and, as this is a good height for a precinct wall, the top of the wall on the north side of the court probably had the same level as that of the terrace platform: the broad flight of steps to the west of the Parthenon could then be received against the precinct



Fig. 35. Panathenaic frieze as seen from the terrace of the Parthenon

wall in a simple and logical manner (Fig. 66). But by far the most interesting feature about the retaining wall is that it was made parallel to the south side of the Old Temple of Athena, and not parallel to the north flank of the Parthenon (Fig. 1). There was a good reason for this, as we shall see later on.

The bottom of the marble Panathenaic frieze is considerably raised above the bottom of the main architrave of the temple. As a result, this important decorative element could be seen only in perspective, the best angle for viewing it making as much as 45° with the horizon. In fact, the frieze could be seen well only from the platform which surrounded the temple (Figs. 1 and 35), and not at all from the peristyle of the temple. This emphasises the importance of the terrace upon which the Parthenon was built—it clearly indicates where crowds of people were expected to gather. The many statues which once probably decorated the four terraces about the Parthenon have left no rock-cut traces, as

all the terraces were artificially made (except at the northeast corner of the temple, where the Acropolis rock rises to the level of the platform upon which the temple rests, and where we do find numerous rock-cuttings for various kinds of monuments). However, we have a good indication that there were monuments on all the terraces, for there are traces for pedestals on the tread of the middle step of the temple in front of many of the columns and on all sides of the temple, except the east side where the tread has been too badly worn to make any assertion. The terrace on the south was extended to the Acropolis wall by means of a high and expensive retaining wall and an immense amount of fill. The north façade was to have as much "elbow room" as the south façade, for Pericles and his advisers certainly intended to take down the Old Temple of Athena when the Erechtheum was built, as will be shown later on,—the observer was to be able to back away from the Parthenon as far as the Erechtheum. At the east, too, there was as much open space as at the west. Evidently, the Parthenon, with its elaborate and beautiful sculptures on all four façades, with ample room on every side, was designed to be a complete architectural jewel—a glorious national shrine, more imposing than anything of its kind erected up to that time, and a monument to inspire future generations with an idea of true beauty. It was rightly classed among the wonders of the world.

Pausanias does not definitely state that he entered the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. But he mentions so many statues and votive offerings between the Trojan Horse and the Ge—undoubtedly those he describes being only a portion of what he actually saw—that some of the statues he describes may well have stood in the court, where they would be entirely appropriate. Indeed, it is probable that he actually passed into the court, mounted the flight of rock-cut steps near its northern extremity and proceeded to the east front of the Parthenon along the northern part of the temple platform. Objection to this route may be raised, because Pausanias would have to look down upon the statue and inscription of Ge (Figs. 1 and 23): this is not too serious an objection, however, when we note that the Acropolis rock at the Ge is only 1.38 m. below the platform of the Parthenon, and that the inscription is turned at an angle of about 45° to the temple terrace and therefore would not have to be read absolutely upside down. Pausanias makes no mention of the inscription, although it must have been there in his day, as the letters date from about Hadrian's time. Thus Pausanias does not seem to have taken the route over which we believe that the sacrificial animals were led, the route which started eastward at N, figure 28; as we have said, there are no cuttings for monuments along it until the Ge is reached. On the other hand, we have seen that there were a quantity of cuttings at Q, figure 28, inside the court, between the small propylon and the broad flight of rock-cut steps. We cannot say how many monuments, if any, stood on the terrace to the east of Q, for, as previously pointed out, the terrace there is artificial (except for its eastern end, where various cuttings do occur). But votive monuments are certainly better displayed upon a large raised platform than along a narrow inclined way between high walls. And certainly it was more dignified for the Panathenaic procession to advance along the raised temple platform than to walk through what was hardly more than a tunnel

—more inspiring for both participants and spectators. We can almost see the procession as it passes between the many votive monuments, with the majestic Parthenon for a background: and, if by chance members of the procession glanced upward at the temple, they saw themselves carved in marble in the Panathenaic frieze—a beautiful and permanent reminder of the importance of their mission in life (Fig. 35).

None of the many statues and monuments which Pausanias saw between the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the Statue of Ge can be definitely located. Tentative positions may, however, be assigned to three. After speaking of the bronze copy of the Trojan Horse, which we have seen probably stood in the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis, he mentions five statues. This would bring him somewhere near the entrance into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. He says at this juncture, “Here there is also a statue of Athena



Fig. 36. Athena and Marsyas; vase-painting (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, Fig. 17)

striking Marsyas the Silenus, because he took up the pipes when the goddess meant them to be flung away. Opposite the monuments I have described is a representation of Theseus and the bull called the Minotaur, . . .” At R, figure 28, is a rock-cutting suitable for a group, and there is another cutting at M with various smaller cuttings in its immediate vicinity. If Pausanias were about to pass through the small propylon and saw the Athena and Marsyas at M and the Theseus and the Minotaur at R, is it not possible that he described the two monuments as being “opposite each other,” as they were on either side of him as he went through the propylon? Both groups were popular works of art in antiquity, as representations upon Athenian coins and Greek vases testify, and it would therefore be fitting to give them places of honor on either side of the propylon. The first was from the hand of Myron, and, as he worked in bronze, the group was probably in that material. Athena is said to have invented the double flute, and the story of how Marsyas incurred her ire in connection with it was a familiar tale in antiquity.

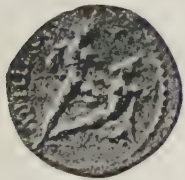


Fig. 37. Theseus and the Minotaur: Athenian coin (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 410)

Pausanias's description of the group agrees fairly well with the known representations of it, one of which is given in figure 36. The second, Theseus and the Minotaur, is depicted on three different Athenian coins (Fig. 37)—a testimonial to its popularity. An excellent marble torso of the Minotaur, which was found near the Tower of the Winds, is now preserved in the National Museum at Athens. It is probably a copy of the original on the

Acropolis. The distance between the elbow and the top of the head in the copy is 0.90 m., a space which measures only 0.65 m. in a normal man. The original, therefore, was probably an imposing group.

The third monument to which a tentative position may be given—we must announce at once that the assignment is extremely tentative—is the so-called Temple of Athena Ergane (Athena the Worker). She was the goddess of the arts of life and, as such, was worshiped by artisans. Pausanias's text is defective. He may have seen any kind of monument which could be used in connection with the worship of the goddess, such as an image, an altar, and the like. Under the circumstances we prefer to call what he saw "a monument to Athena Ergane." Five inscriptions containing dedications to Athena Ergane were discovered on the Acropolis, two of which came to light in the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon.¹ When Pausanias mentions the monument, he must have been standing somewhere near the northwest corner of the terrace of the Parthenon. In fact, when we examine the rock in the northeast corner of the court in front of the Parthenon, we find a series of shallow cuttings (Fig. 28, Q) of the same general width (0.80 m.). They are suitable for a monument of fair size. Some of the cuttings to the north of Q seem to have been made when the Acropolis rock was being excavated to form the court in front of the Parthenon, and they appear to have been left unfinished because they were hidden by the monuments in front of them. The cutting to the southwest of B seems to antedate somewhat the cutting at Q—perhaps this is an indication that a monument was removed when that at Q was put up. The monument at Q may have been erected to replace one destroyed by the Persians, which had stood possibly on, or near, the same site. It was built against the rock-cut steps, thus making the date of the monument later than that of the steps. The character of the rock-cuttings under the monument is so good, however, that the difference in date cannot be great. The situation, then, is this: Pausanias has reached Q, approximately, when he mentions a monument of Athena Ergane. As we find rock-cuttings at Q for a monument, there is at least a slight probability that her monument stood on that spot. We admit, however, that the monument may have been located on the terrace of the Parthenon, near the northwest corner of the terrace: as the latter at this point was artificially made to a considerable depth, the monument would leave no traces in the Acropolis rock.²

Thus Pausanias seems to have followed the route of the Panathenaic procession. And that route was, apparently, the usual one for visitors to take. He omits, it is true, to mention the small propylon: but he makes more serious omissions; for example, he says nothing about the Great Altar of Athena, although, as we shall see later on, he must have passed near it.

We shall pause briefly at only three features along Pausanias's route between the Monument of Ge and the Erechtheum (Fig. 1):

¹ J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, p. 296.

² The connection of Athena Ergane with the Acropolis has been a favorite subject of discussion among archaeologists. Consult J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, p. 297.

1. The first is the socket for the vertical wooden post which formed the central support of the armature for the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena in the Parthenon (Fig. 38). The marble base of the statue, presumably about 1.50 m. high, rested upon a foundation of poros stone. Some of the blocks of the marble base have been identified and replaced over the foundation. It is evident that a rectangular socket measuring 0.55 m. \times 0.76 m. ran through the marble base and down into the foundation of poros stone. It is equally clear that a wooden mast was inserted in the socket, the function of which was to support the statue. The rectangular form



Fig. 38. Remains of the pedestal of the gold and ivory statue of Athena in the Parthenon, showing the socket (0.55 m. \times 0.76 m.) for the timber which acted as a central support for the armature of the colossal statue

of the timber permitted secure attachment (by bolting, countersinking, or a combination of the two) of the various cross timbers, which, in turn, must have supported some sort of rough form, probably of wood, of the statue itself. The gold plates—it is known that all were removable—and the ivory parts were then fastened to the rough form in their proper positions. As this complicated internal mechanism of posts, struts, etc. reached a total height of about 13.50 m. above the pavement, and was called upon to support a considerable weight, we are not surprised at the large size of the timber which acted as the central support of the armature. Attention is called here to the nature of the socket for a vertical timber destined to be strained under a loading some of which was excentric, as all parts of the statue could not have been perfectly balanced. The rock-cuttings which we have

encountered thus far were designed for marble bases supporting either marble or bronze statues. Such cuttings, as already explained, do not require to be counter-sunk in the rock to any great depth, as the weight of the monument is sufficient to prevent overturning. Later on we shall come to large deep cuttings, or sockets, in the Acropolis rock, and their function will be found to be similar to that of the socket in the base of the Athena in the Parthenon, namely, to support a vertical timber under strains of various kinds.

2. Pausanias, after leaving the Parthenon, turns in a southerly direction. He mentions a number of statues some of which may have stood upon the broad terrace south of the Parthenon. That this terrace was of considerable importance is proved, as has been shown, by its width, costliness of construction, and the row of statues against the southern columns of the Parthenon, traces of which are to be seen on the middle step of the temple. How many monuments stood on the terrace itself we cannot say, as it was formed by filling: probably many. Pausanias describes four votive groups in considerable detail: they stood at the south wall; they were dedicated by Attalus I, King of Pergamon, to commemorate his victories over the Gauls; they were half life size; the subjects of the groups were a) the war with the giants, b) the war of the Athenians against the Amazons, c) the battle of Marathon, d) the destruction of the Galati. Ten of the individual statues are known today by marble copies in various museums, but there must have been many more in the original groups. Plutarch says that the figure of Dionysus in the group representing the battle of the giants was blown over into the Theatre of Dionysus during a violent storm.¹ Plutarch's statement thus locates the group of the battle of the Giants—it was on the wall of the Acropolis directly above the Theatre of Dionysus (Fig. 1, 12).
3. Pausanias does not speak of the chief altar of Athena on the Acropolis, although he must have passed near it. Many authorities place it at 15, figure 1, the highest point of the Acropolis rock. Others prefer to locate it at 16 over a rock-cutting of considerable width; they believe that this was the altar connected with the Old Temple of Athena, and that it continued to be used after the erection of the Parthenon and Erechtheum, because it was conveniently placed between these two temples, and also because there was a good deal of space about it for the accommodation of large crowds of people. The writer favors the second theory.

IV. THE OLD TEMPLE OF ATHENA AND THE ERECHTHEUM

Pausanias now goes to the Erechtheum (Fig. 1, 18). If we follow his account literally, he passed through the principal entrance, namely, its north door, and then visited the various sections of the temple in the following order: the west cella, the east cella (Temple of the Polias), the Court of the Pandroseum, and, finally, the Temple of Pandrosus (Fig. 1).

¹ Plutarch, *Antonius*, 60.

The route is logical if we suppose that there was an interior staircase connecting the western and eastern cellas, between which there is a difference of level amounting to 3 m. Unfortunately the interior of the temple has been so damaged by fires and alterations, that there is no positive evidence today that such a staircase existed. A staircase is possible, however. There is, moreover, a classic reference which implies an interior staircase precisely between the western and eastern cellas. This is the famous passage of the antiquary Philochorus. As quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus it runs thus: "On the Acropolis the following portent took place. A female dog entered the Temple of the Polias, and, having gone down into the Pandroseum, ascended the altar of Zeus, and there lay down. Now, it is an old established custom with the Athenians that no dog shall ascend the Acropolis."¹ It is highly probable that this profane dog found the east door of the east cella open, entered, and ran down a stair into the west cella and out into the Pandroseum through the door in the western wall of the temple. Pausanias possibly did not find the east door leading into the east cella open, as the dog did. The door may have been closed, forcing him, and visitors in general, to use the main entrance in the north portico. After visiting the "House of Erechtheus," where Poseidon, Erechtheus, Butes, Hephaestus, Athena Polias, Hermes and Pandrosus were worshipped almost side by side, he was probably let out again by the same main door in the north portico, his exit being thus controlled. We have seen that Pausanias passed through a single door in the Propylaea, and it is in keeping, therefore, to find a similar one door control in the case of the complex Erechtheum. On festival days, of course, all the doors of the temple would be thrown open; and more guards would be required for supervision than on ordinary days (see p. 520).

There has been much controversy over the Old Temple of Athena—a complicated controversy which is far from being settled (Fig. 1, 17). Briefly, the history of the site is as follows: A building existed here in Mycenaean times, perhaps the megaron of a Mycenaean palace, judging from the two Mycenaean bases for columns (shown in figure 39, enclosed in railings) and the Mycenaean foundations for walls in the vicinity of the column bases. Some authorities believe that the column bases indicate a Mycenaean temple, and they argue, in support of their theory, that, when a temple fell into ruin, a new temple was usually built on the same sacred site. As there are remains of two later temples on this particular site, the two Mycenaean bases may, therefore, indicate a Mycenaean temple. There was a pre-Pisistratean Doric temple of the *in antis* type. This is known today as the Old Temple of Athena. In the sixth century B.C. Pisistratus, according to most authorities, made the Old Temple of Athena more imposing by the addition of a Doric peristyle: the Old Temple of Athena thus became the cella of Pisistratus's temple. Pisistratus's temple was destroyed by the Persians when they sacked the Acropolis in 480 B.C. After the return of the Athenians the temple was probably hastily rebuilt, but without its peristyle, to house temporarily religious and valuable public property, until the Erechtheum could be completed. About 420 B.C. the Erechtheum was started, and in 406 B.C. the

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Dinarcho iudicium*, 3.

temple was practically finished. That the Erechtheum was designed to replace the Old Temple of Athena is definitely proved by the fact that the elaborate Porch of the Maidens almost touches the long blank north wall of the cella of the Old Temple of Athena as rebuilt after the Persian wars. If the restored temple remained standing after the completion of the Erechtheum, it must have completely hidden the beautiful Caryatids—a condition which an art-loving people such as the ancient Athenians would not have tolerated, it seems justifiable to believe, for a great length of time. Thus the artists who were responsible for the building operations on the Acropolis at the time of the erection of the



Fig. 39. Podium of the Porch of the Maidens of the Erechtheum, from the south; Mycenaean bases (railed in); foundations of the Old Temple of Athena in the foreground; to the left of the steps of the Porch of the Maidens the foundations for the north colonnade of the peristyle with which Pisistratus surrounded the Old Temple

Erechtheum certainly intended that the Old Temple of Athena as restored after 480 B.C. should come down. But, was it really demolished in 406 B.C. when the Erechtheum was completed? If not, how long was it before it actually came down? Some authorities believe that it was removed as early as 406 B.C.; others, as late as Byzantine times. For the two reasons just stated—that is, on account of (1) the certainty that Pericles and his advisers intended to remove it and (2) the possibility that it actually came down at a fairly early date—we have purposely omitted to represent it both in the frontispiece and in figure 44. We shall appreciate some of the difficulties, briefly described above, if we place ourselves in the middle of the east cella of the Old Temple of Athena and look toward the southwest corner of the Porch of the Maidens (Fig. 39). We can easily make

out the four building periods: 1) the bases enclosed with railings are Mycenaean; 2) the roughly dressed blocks (of blue Acropolis rock) in the foreground are the foundations of the Old Temple of Athena; 3) the better dressed blocks (of Kara stone) to the left of the steps of the Porch of the Maidens are the foundations and part of the stylobate for the north colonnade of Pisistratus's peristyle; 4) the marble podium upon which the Caryatids stand is part of the Erechtheum. Unfortunately it is extremely doubtful if all the complicated questions relating to the Old Temple of Athena will ever be completely solved.

Little is known about the Temple of Pandrosus, except that it seems to have formed a subdivision of the Erechtheum. Pausanias mentions the olive tree in the court of the Pandroseum and then goes on to say that the Temple of Pandrosus adjoins the Erechtheum.



Fig. 40. Foundations of the House of the Arrephoroi from the southeast

If it actually touched the Erechtheum, as we are led to infer from the wording of Pausanias, we may conjecture that the Temple of Pandrosus was the small building which abutted the west wall of the Erechtheum, traces of which exist over the small door in the west wall of the Erechtheum. A more probable conjectural position for the temple is at the west of the court of the Pandroseum, where there is a rock-cutting which was possibly made to carry the eastern façade of the temple (Fig. 1, 20). A temple occupying this position would be physically bonded to the Erechtheum by the wall along the north side of the Court of the Pandroseum, and also there were, probably, structures on the south side of the court, which likewise united the two temples.

Immediately after mentioning the Temple of Pandrosus, Pausanias speaks of the Arrephoroi. They were four girls of noble birth, between the ages of seven and eleven, who served Athena. We learn from Pausanias that they dwelt near the Erechtheum, and

that they periodically descended from the Acropolis by way of a "natural underground descent," carrying mysterious bundles on their heads. Plutarch¹ informs us that they had a court for hand ball on the Acropolis. The above data permit us to identify their residence (Fig. 1, 21 and Fig. 40). The technique of the foundation blocks shows that the structure was erected in the fifth century B.C., but, as it is not bonded into the Acropolis wall back of it, the date must be later than the time of Cimon, who here built the Acropolis wall. The building was square in plan and was composed of one large room with a portico on the south. It was built over a stoa of earlier date. Of particular interest to us, however, is a staircase to the northwest of the square building, with its upper portions within the foundations of the stoa of earlier date. The stair is modern in its upper portion, but it ends abruptly in a void, against the rough walls of which are the traces of an ancient wooden stair leading to the grotto of Aglauros below. The remains of the ensemble correspond so closely to Pausanias's description, that we can have little doubt but that we are dealing with the House of the Arrephoroi. The square structure was the house proper, the court for hand ball utilized the foundations of the earlier stoa, and the secret staircase started downward from within the court, where it was concealed from general view. Pausanias may perhaps have seen the secret staircase, for he makes little mystery about it.

A fairly accurate restoration of the House of the Arrephoroi can be made (Figs. 44 and 66). The foundations of the house proper are thick enough to carry three steps and a Doric order (which would not compete with the Ionic order of the Erechtheum).² The bottom of the lowest step lined with the bottom of the lowest step of the North Portico of the Erechtheum, an indication that the two buildings were related to each other in date and possibly in other ways. As the main building of the house was square in plan, it was probably covered with a pyramidal roof (a pediment would compete with the pediment of the Erechtheum, and, furthermore, give little domestic character to the home of the Arrephoroi). The building was far enough removed from the Acropolis wall to allow defenders to pass along the wall behind the house. As the south wall of the court for hand ball abuts upon the square building between the east-west cross wall of the house and the colonnade of the south, the columns of the portico were *in antis*. The columns themselves must have been about 4.85 m. in height, if we suppose that there was but one triglyph between each column—a sturdy proportion suggested by the solid foundations. We admit that the residence is substantial, especially for only four young girls. But we must remember that the Arrephoroi were of noble birth, and that they served Athena. They were considered so important, that it became the common practice to set up on the Acropolis statues of girls who had been Arrephoroi, as several bases inscribed to this effect testify.

¹ Plutarch, Vit. X, *Orat.* p. 839 b.

² Kavvadias and Kawerau do not believe that such thick foundation walls would be used for a dwelling; but the set-backs which three steps require account fully for the thick foundations (Kav. and Kaw., *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, pp. 76–78).

The House of the Arrephoroi was by far the most important monument which greeted Pausanias's eyes as he stepped out of the North Portico of the Erechtheum. After describing the house, he seems to look about him and to notice smaller monuments, such as groups and statues. This section of the Acropolis was once covered with Mycenaean buildings. They were levelled off in classic times and covered with a fill which raised the ground considerably. There is scant evidence, therefore, of the grandeur of this part of the Acropolis in the fifth and following centuries. The few traces of monuments consist in a series of cuttings for stelai and statues in the foundations of poros stone of the North Portico of the Erechtheum, and two foundations of conglomerate, still *in situ*, situated about 15 m. south of the House of the Arrephoroi (Fig. 1, *f*, and Fig. 41). The two foundations are not in line with each other (a difference of about 0.30 m.) and their tops are not at the same level (a difference of 0.20 m.), and, moreover, there is a clear space of undressed rock between them of about 1.50 m.—proof that they did not belong to the same monument. They are suitable for the foundations of groups. There are a number of other conglomerate blocks lying near at hand, but not *in situ*, which were probably used for similar foundations.



Fig. 41. Foundation blocks of conglomerate, probably for groups of statues, at *f*, figure 1

V. THE GROUP OF THE "PROMACHOS"

Pausanias now approaches a unique group of monuments which were carefully related both to each other and to the Acropolis as a whole (Fig. 1, 22). We shall call this cluster of monuments "the Group of the Promachos," because it was dominated by a colossal bronze statue of Athena. This statue was known at first as the "Great Bronze Athena," but later as the "Promachos" (Champion): the name "Promachos" clung to it to distinguish it from other statues of Athena on the Acropolis. A convenient way to understand quickly the nature of the group is to consult figures 42, 43 and 44. We shall forthwith endeavour to justify the restoration of figure 44.

It is fitting to begin with the "Promachos," as she undoubtedly was the first figure in the group to attract attention on account of her colossal size. There can be no doubt about the site of the large base upon which she stood, with its careful rock-cuttings and foun-



Fig. 42. Plan of the Group of the "Promachos": actual state

dation blocks of poros stone (Fig. 42, 1). Much is known about the statue itself from literary sources. Pausanias tells us, that: 1) she was a bronze figure from the hand of Phidias, 2) she was made out of the spoils captured from the Medes at the battle of Marathon, 3) her shield was decorated with a scene representing the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs by the well-known engraver Mys, and 4) the tip of the spear and

the crest of the helmet were visible by mariners approaching the port of Athens over the route from Sunium. Three inferences may be drawn from what Pausanias says. First—as an engraver makes decorations which are either incised or extremely low in relief, the



Fig. 43. Plan of the Group of the "Promachos": restoration

ornament by Mys was probably near the ground, where it could be appreciated. In other words, the pedestal was probably low, with the shield resting on the pedestal, similar to the arrangement for the Athena Parthenos. Second—the spear was carried in an upright position, for only the head of the spear was visible from some part of the Gulf of Aegina. Third—as the Gulf of Aegina is visible from the base of the "Promachos" only in the

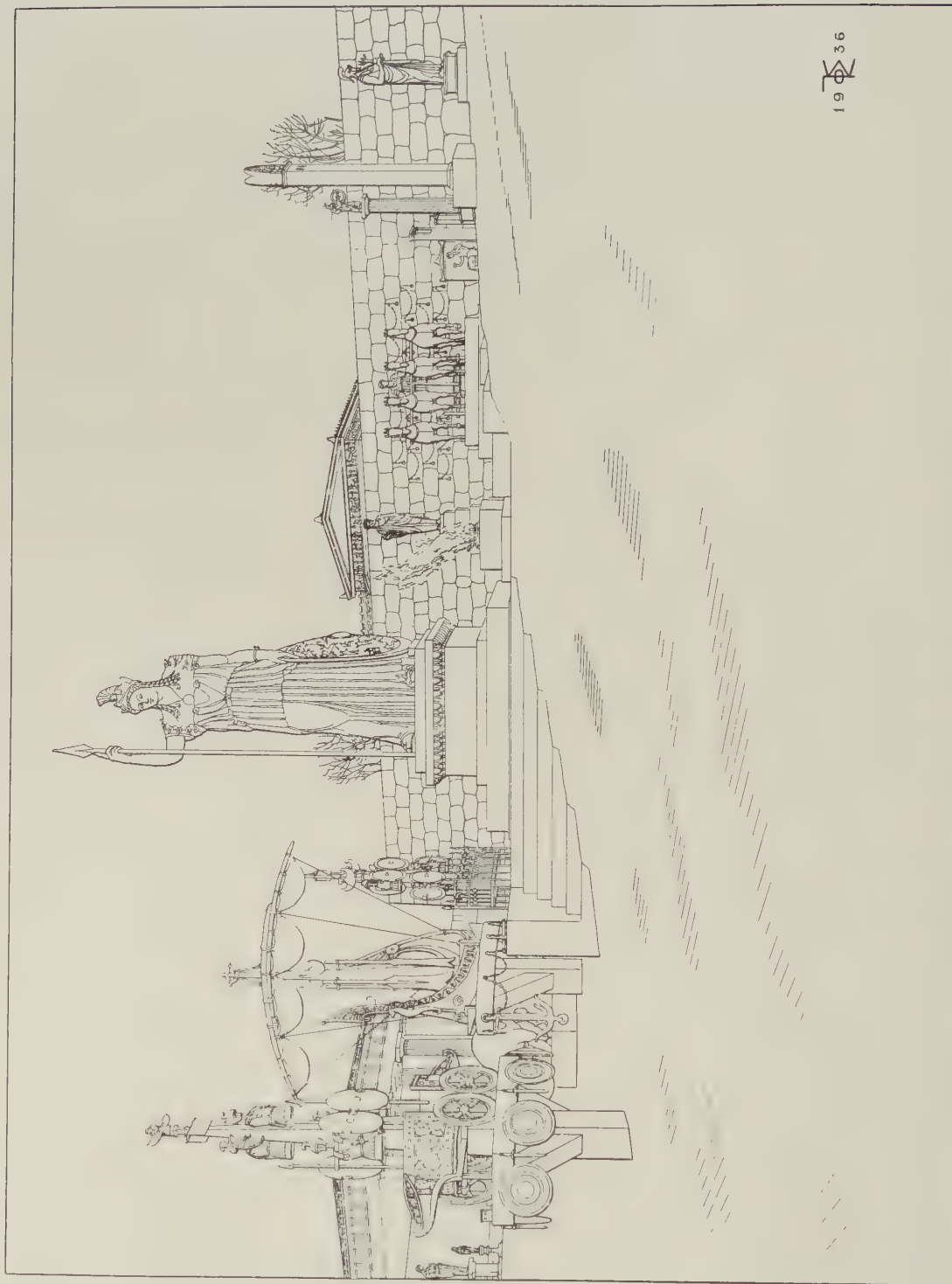


Fig. 44. Perspective view of the Group of the "Promachos" from the Processional Way; restoration

direction of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis, the spear head and crest must have been higher than the ridge-pole of the stoai of the Sanctuary (it has been shown that the Acropolis wall back of the south stoa of the Sanctuary was probably not as high as the ridge-pole).

The "Promachos" stood on the Acropolis until the time of Justinian, when she was taken to Constantinople and set up in the Agora. In 1203 the superstitious people of Constantinople broke up the statue, because, after the first siege and capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders, they fancied that the outstretched hand of the statue (by that time she had lost both the spear and the shield seen by Pausanias) had summoned the invaders from out of the west. Fortunately the mediaeval historian Nicetas Choniata has left us a minute description of the statue in the condition in which he saw it in Constantinople. After relating how the image was destroyed, he tells us that the statue had the following characteristics: 1) a standing bronze figure, 30 feet high, 2) helmet with a horse-hair plume, 3) hair plaited and fastened at the back of the head, but with some locks straying over the brow from beneath the helmet, 4) a benign expression, 5) tunic falling to her feet, 6) aegis on her breast, 7) tight-fitting girdle, 8) left hand lifting her tunic (probably at the point where the upper part of the shield rested against the tunic), 9) right hand stretched out in front of her and her face turned in the same direction, as if she were beckoning to someone.¹ This is a remarkably full description for a mediaeval historian.



Fig. 45.
Coin of Athens,
representing the
"Promachos"
between the Propylaea and the Parthenon (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons of Ancient Athens*, p. 523)

Before the height of 30 feet given by Nicetas was available for scholars, A. Michaelis, in 1877, had estimated the height of the statue at 25 feet and the height of the pedestal at 5 feet.² Nicetas did not say whether his 30 feet included the base or not, but, as he did not mention a base, the presumption is that the 30 feet referred to the statue alone. If he estimated the height by merely looking at the statue, he may very well have been 5 feet out. But there is a direct method of checking the total height of the statue and base, which we will now explain. We shall begin with the pedestal, and then endeavour to establish the level of the top of the spear and crest. That the pedestal was low in proportion to the statue, because the delicate decorations on the shield could be appreciated only if the shield were near the ground, has already been suggested. A coin of Athens (Fig. 45), representing the "Promachos" between the Propylaea and the Parthenon, confirms the probability of a low base. Furthermore, the huge egg-and-dart moulding (the eggs are no less than 0.305 m. on centers), represented in figure 46,³ has always been associated with the pedestal of the "Promachos." For the large scale of the moulding suggests that it was used with some object of big size; a carved moulding of

¹ Nicetas Choniata, ed. Bekker, pp. 738-740.

² A. Michaelis, *Mitteil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 89 sq.

³ One whole block and a piece of another are on the Acropolis, both between the "Promachos" Group and the Propylaea. Another whole block is in the court of the "Library of Hadrian."

this type is appropriate for a standing figure above it—witness the Caryatids of the Erechtheum with the carved egg-and-dart moulding below them, an association which may well have been inspired by a similar combination in the case of the “Promachos” (earlier in date than the Maidens) and the crowning moulding of her pedestal; the carving of the huge eggs, the cramps and dowels all belong to the fifth century B.C. These facts help to associate the big egg-and-dart moulding with the pedestal of the “Promachos.” There is a weather line on the top surface of the huge egg-and-dart moulding, which indicates that there was a course of stone above; the latter was set back 0.04 m. from the face of the



Fig. 46. Crowning moulding of the pedestal of the “Promachos”

pedestal. With these data, then, we may restore the pedestal as shown in figure 47. The bottom of the egg-and-dart moulding is about on the level of a man's eye when he is standing on the rock-cut platform in front of the “Promachos,” which may well be considered the ground line for the statue. This is about the lowest level at which the moulding can be placed, for a carved egg-and-dart moulding is not intended to be seen below the eye. The pedestal proper is shown resting upon a platform of marble—marble, because the egg-and-dart is marble—two steps high, which would keep people at the distance from the colossal statue desired by Phidias. The marble platform rested in turn partly upon a foundation of poros stone, of which many blocks are still *in situ*, and partly upon the Acropolis rock, which is unusually well dressed to receive it. A 25-foot “Promachos” may now be placed upon the pedestal (Fig. 47). The top of her crest rises to level 158.54 m. above the sea (Fig. 47). If we stand on the site of the pedestal and look in all directions,

we can see the ocean—and this through a horizontal angle of about 30° —only in the direction of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The sight line has a southwesterly direction, and the middle of the south stoa of the Sanctuary is about in the middle of the strip of visible ocean. Evidently it was the stoai of this Sanctuary which prevented the ancient mariners from seeing more of the “Promachos” than the head of her spear and the crest of her helmet; and, as the south stoa is nearer the sea than the east stoa, it is the ridge-pole of the south stoa—the ridge-pole of both stoai being at the same height—which concealed all but the upper part of the statue. To find out how much of the statue was hidden from mariners, we may proceed as follows: We have

seen that the level of the ridge-pole of the south stoa was about 155.70 m. above the sea. From measurement we ascertain that the horizontal distance from the vertical axis of the “Promachos” to the ridge-pole at the center point of the south stoa is about 57 m. Furthermore, ships which round Cape Sunium must pass Cape Zoster before they can hold a straight course for Piraeus, the port of Athens (Fig. 48). The shortest distance between this course and the Acropolis lies in a southwesterly direction from the Acropolis and in length amounts to about 10 k. Could the spear head and crest be

seen at this distance, even on a clear day? We shall attempt to answer this question. We have just presented the necessary data for drawing a sight line through the vertical axis of the “Promachos,” the top of the ridge-pole of the south stoa at its middle point, and the eye of a mariner 10 k. away from the ridge-pole.¹ These data are represented graphically in figure 49. Placing level 156.62 m. (Fig. 49) on figure 47, we see that 1.92 m. of the upper part of the statue could be seen by mariners 10 k. off. Mariners might also hug the coast between Cape Zoster and Piraeus, instead of holding a straight course.

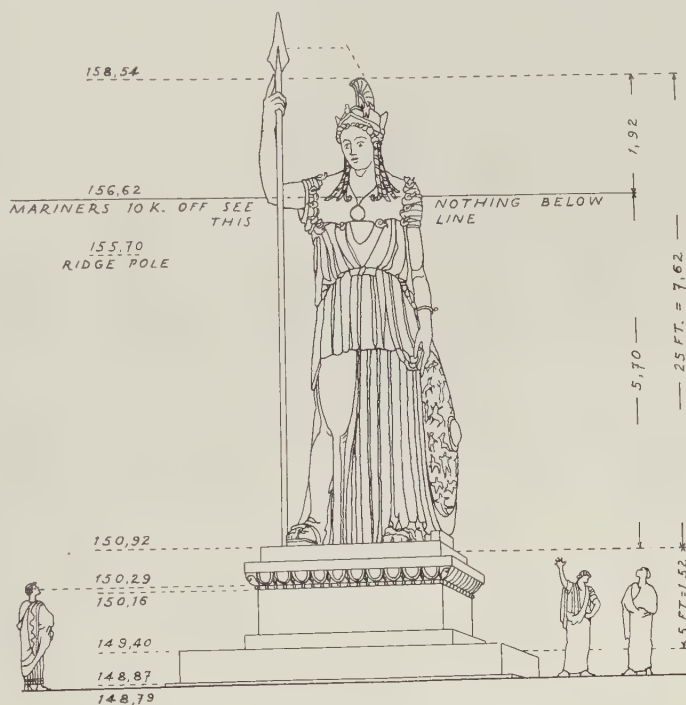


Fig. 47. Levels for the “Promachos”

¹ The reason why the top of the ridge-pole was probably higher than the Acropolis wall south of the stoa was discussed in connection with the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. At a great distance, then, the ridge-pole was visible above the wall. In other words, the ridge-pole governs the sight-line we are considering.

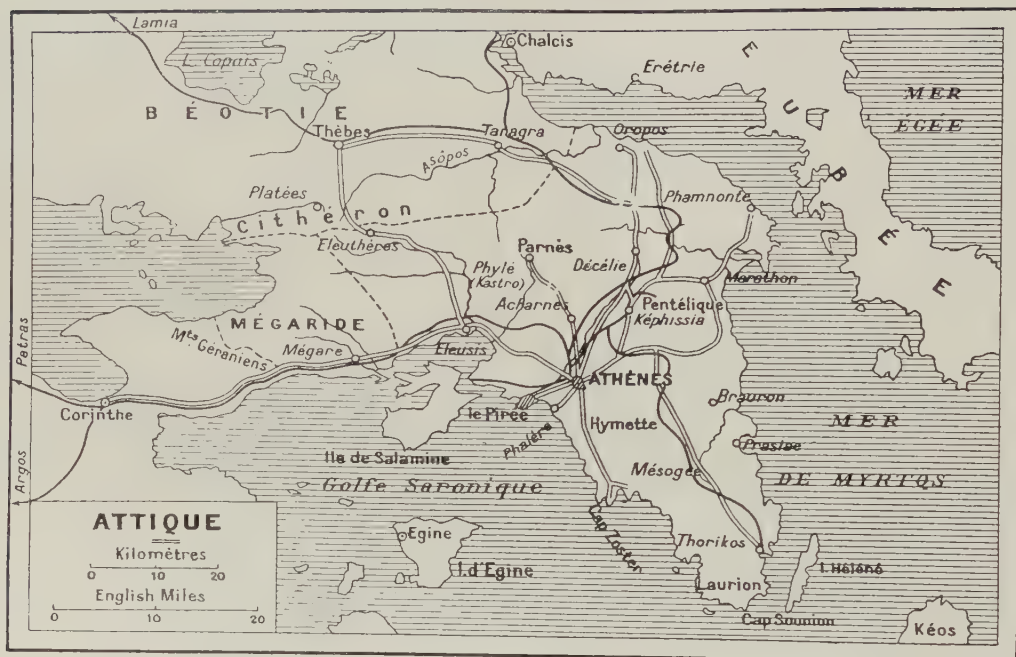
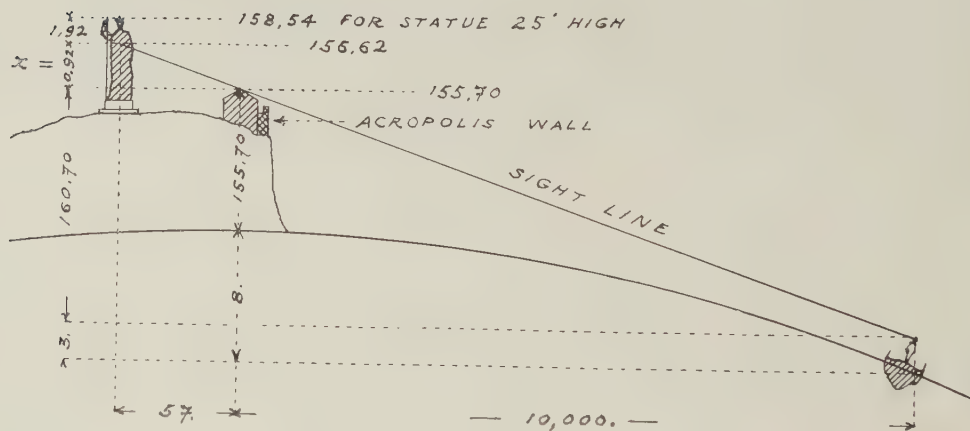
Fig. 18. Map of Attica (*Guide Bleu, Grèce, XCII*)

Fig. 49. Sight line for mariners ten kilometers off, through the center point of the ridge-pole of the south stoa of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the vertical axis of the "Promachos"

In this case the distance of 10 k. is reduced to about 7 k., and the corresponding sight line cuts off 0.39 m. more of the statue: we find that only 1.53 m. of the upper part of the statue remains visible.¹ An experienced Greek sea captain, *Ἀναστάσιος Νικήτας* by name, trained, like all sea captains, to search for objects in the distance, expresses the opinion that an ungilded bronze statue, 1.92 m. high, might possibly be seen by the naked eye at a distance of 10 k., but only upon exceptionally bright days. Only those who have visited Greece can appreciate how remarkably clear the atmosphere can be after a good rain storm. The above sight line establishes the total height of the pedestal and statue quite accurately. Add to this the archaeological evidence at hand and especially the



Fig. 50. Pisistratus's foundation wall for the Old Temple of Athena, viewed from the west

information supplied by Pausanias and Nicetas, and the reader will gather that the chief characteristics of the statue are fairly well determined.

In the restored view of the Group of the "Promachos" (Fig. 44), the high terrace wall represented directly behind the colossal statue is not the western foundation wall of the Old Temple of Athena as restored by Pisistratus (Fig. 50); the latter foundation wall is about 30 m. back of the colossal statue. What indications are there that a high terrace

¹ If absolutely nothing but the crest and spear head were visible, say about 0.60 m. of the top of the statue, a somewhat similar calculation will show that the Acropolis wall might be raised 1.20 m. above the ridge-pole of the south stoa. It is difficult to believe, however, that an object only 0.60 m. high could be seen by the naked eye at a distance of 10 k. or even 7 k., unless that object were some sort of mirror expressly designed to flash in the sunlight.

wall stood so near the "Promachos," as shown in figure 44? If we take up a position about 0.75 m. east of the southeast corner of the pedestal of the "Promachos" and look north and south, we find that we are in a sort of shallow trench. It is about 1.50 m. wide; but in one place the width is 2.00 m. and in another 2.40 m. (Fig. 42)—in these places probably unusually large stones were laid. The shallow trench is especially noticeable when viewed from the small propylon leading into the court in front of the



Fig. 51. Shallow trench for the Mycenaean wall immediately behind (to the east of) the pedestal of the "Promachos," viewed from the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

west façade of the Parthenon (Fig. 51). As a rule only the high points of the Acropolis rock in the trench are knocked off, but here and there the face of the wall, especially the western face, is fairly well defined by rock-cuttings. Such a rough shallow trench would be used in Mycenaean times for a retaining wall about 1.50 m. thick at its base (Fig. 1, *a*). Can the northern and southern limits of the wall be determined? Yes: the southern one with precision, the northern one less accurately. Starting from the southeast corner of the "Promachos" base, we are able to follow the trench southward as far as the

Processional Way, but no farther. Here a portion of the Acropolis rock (marked with an arrow in figure 52), which is worn smooth by the passage of thousands of feet, marks the corner of the wall. There are no such positive traces of wearing by feet to the north of this smooth place, while there are many to the south. Figure 52 also shows the parallel grooves in the Acropolis rock cut to aid the footing of many people as they passed the corner. Looking westward from this corner, we observe that we are exactly in line with the north face of the wall which forms the northern boundary of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The wall back of the "Promachos" turned eastward at the corner



Fig. 52. South corner of the Mycenaean wall behind the "Promachos." In the background are the rock-cut platforms for the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

we are considering, and its exact easterly direction may be established in the following manner: We have seen that wall *d*, figure 1, was parallel to wall *e* (the foundation wall for the southern colonnade of the Old Temple of Athena). Therefore, as wall *b* lies between two parallel walls, it is highly probable that all three walls were parallel. We see now, in fact, why wall *d*, a later wall than either *b* or *e*, was not made parallel to the Parthenon—it was wall *b* which dictated the direction of wall *d*. It will be shown how far east wall *b* probably ran, when, later on, the height of the terrace which walls *a*, *b*, and *c* supported is discussed. We find two indications to assist us in determining the northern end of wall *a*. First: the rock-cut trench can be followed northward from the southeast corner of the "Promachos" base for a distance of about 12 m. If we suppose that wall *a* continued still farther northward, it will encounter small Mycenaean cross

walls (covered in classical times) at a distance of about 18 m. from the southeast corner of the "Promachos" base.¹ As wall *a* is Mycenaean in date (as will be proved later), and as there is no evidence that it met the small Mycenaean cross walls, we may conclude that it stopped somewhere between the last rock-cuttings in the trench and the small Mycenaean cross walls. Second: as already stated, the two foundations of conglomerate blocks at *f*, figure 1 (see also Fig. 41) are still *in situ*. They neither line with each other nor are their top surfaces at the same level, and they were, therefore, probably foundations for groups of statues. But the fact that they are parallel to each other suggests that there was a wall parallel to them and at no great distance from them. In fact, if we draw such a wall on figure 1 to the south of the foundations, wall *c*, we find that it will meet wall *a* not far north of the last rock-cutting in the trench back of the "Promachos." Wall *c* cannot be traced eastward beyond the conglomerate foundations.

The purpose of walls *a*, *b*, and *c* is made clear when we examine the Acropolis rock inclosed by them. In this enclosure there is not a single rock-cutting for a monument or building to be found. Clearly, from the earliest times the Acropolis rock was here covered with earth. In other words, walls *a*, *b*, and *c* were retaining walls of the Mycenaean period; they supported a terrace of earth.

We have two good indications as to the height of the retaining walls (Fig. 1, *a*, *b*, *c*):

1. As they lie well within the circuit of the Mycenaean Acropolis walls, they were not military walls. Therefore the thickness of the wall would not be determined by military needs, but by the magnitude of the pressure caused by the earth fill and by whatever the terrace carried in the way of buildings, trees, etc. Now, a Mycenaean stone wall, 1.50 m. to 2.40 m. at its base, is a substantial retaining wall, and it consequently must have had a respectable height—say 4 m. to 5 m.
2. When Pisistratus built his peristyle about the Old Temple of Athena, the foundations of his west façade were not exposed to view: for the blocks of the west face of the foundations were left rough, not dressed as an exposed face would be (Fig. 50). If further proof be necessary, we may cite the case of this same foundation under the Porch of the Maidens, where the rough projecting blocks of the foundation are dressed to a vertical surface for a distance of 5 m. to 6 m.—how much farther we cannot say, as the foundations of the Erechtheum conceal the finished surface beyond this distance (Fig. 53): the dressed surface has the orientation of the Old Temple of Athena, not that of the Erechtheum, and can be explained only if the wall were exposed in pre-Erechtheum days. We must suppose, therefore, that the west foundation wall of Pisistratus's temple was concealed by an earth terrace, which left visible only the stylobate (0.42 m. high) and the one well dressed course (0.30 m. high) beneath it. Furthermore, as there is no trace of a retaining wall between the Old Temple of Athena and the wall back of the "Promachos," we must believe that the terrace covered the whole area included between the Old Temple of Athena and

¹ Kavvadias and Kawerau, 'Η Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Πλῆξ Γ'.

walls *a*, *b*, and *c*, figure 1. Now, the level of the course upon which the exposed portions of the Old Temple rested is 152.94 m., and the level of the rock-cutting for the "Promachos" base is 148.41 m.: the wall, then, back of the "Promachos" was 4.53 m. high, a height which we have seen was about correct for a retaining wall 1.50 m. to 2.40 m. thick at its base. If we assign a level of 152.94 m. to the top of wall *b*, the latter will cease to be a wall at about the point shown in figure 1, because the Acropolis rock rises at this point to the same level. The inclined route south of *b*, then, runs between two walls, one of which, wall *d*, is slightly more than 2 m. higher than the other. But we have seen that the Panathenaic procession probably did not pass through this unattractive portion of road, and that, moreover, the route here was, possibly, reserved for sacrificial animals and purposes of general service.

It appears that the Mycenaean terrace *a*, *b*, *c* (Fig. 1), and the Mycenaean structure replaced by the Old Temple of Athena are in some way to be associated with each other, for they had the same level, and both dated from Mycenaean times. Perhaps the builders of the Old Temple of Athena utilized a pre-existing Mycenaean general platform; and they probably left an open space to the west of the temple, so that the sculptures of the western pediment could be seen. Space always adds dignity to a building.

Where have all the stones of the retaining walls *a*, *b*, and *c* (Fig. 1) gone, for there is not one of them in place today? As the walls were not for defensive purposes, there was no need for huge stones such as we find in the Acropolis wall west of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The stones were probably of ordinary building size, and on that account the inhabitants of the Acropolis in mediaeval and Turkish times found them convenient for the many houses which we know were built upon the Acropolis in post-

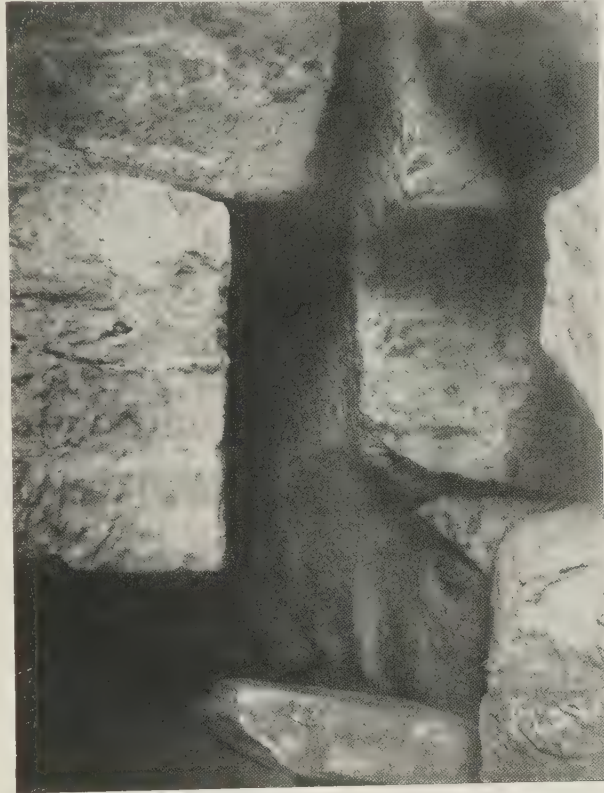


Fig. 53. Foundation wall of the Old Temple of Athena, beneath the Porch of the Maidens

classic times. These particular Mycenaean walls were well above ground, not like the many other Mycenaean walls on the Acropolis, which were deeply buried in classic times. For this reason, then, there is little wonder that the stones of our terrace walls found their way into the walls of more modern constructions. When the mediaeval and Turkish buildings were pulled down almost in our own time, the stones were thrown over the south wall of the Acropolis, where they may be seen in vast heaps to this day.

A glance at figure 42 will show us that the southeast corner of the pedestal of the "Promachos" just touches the Mycenaean wall back of it. Evidently the wall was there when the "Promachos" was set up. But why was the pedestal not made parallel to the wall, instead of being turned through a considerable angle? The reason for this, too, is evident upon reflection. By twisting her around somewhat, she was made to face the Processional Way, so that all participants in the sacred procession might see her well (Figs. 1 and 44).

One important point in regard to the Mycenaean retaining wall back of the "Promachos" remains to be mentioned. If we stand at the southern end of the wall, we note that our position lies on a line joining the middle of the north façade of the Parthenon and the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea (Fig. 1). If the Mycenaean wall were high enough, it would surely hide part of the Parthenon from those coming through the Propylaea (frontispiece). If we now go to the northern end of the Mycenaean wall, we note that, in a similar way, the Mycenaean wall was likely to hide all the Erechtheum except the North Porch and the gable over the Main Building. In other words, only the north portico—the main entrance of the temple—was plainly visible from the Propylaea (frontispiece). It is possible that this hiding of the western portion of the Erechtheum had a good deal to do with the curiously irregular western façade of the temple. If the façade were to be largely concealed, why take any particular care in the design of the hidden portions (see p. 520)?

Pausanias, immediately after his account of the "Promachos," mentions another trophy, namely, a "bronze chariot made from a tenth of the spoils won from the Boeotians and Chalcidians in Euboea." It commemorated a victory of about 507 B.C., when the Athenians defeated the Boeotians and took some seven hundred prisoners. It is said that on the same day, after the victory, the Athenians crossed into Euboea and defeated the Chalcidians and captured some of them. The prisoners were taken to Athens and kept in chains until they were ransomed, when the fetters were hung up on certain walls within the Acropolis. Herodotus records the fact that the chains were suspended on *walls injured by the fires of the Persians, over against the megaron that faces west*.¹ Out of the tithe of the ransom the Athenians made a four-horse chariot in bronze, which Herodotus saw on the left as he entered the Propylaea. He and other writers quote the inscription on the base. It was an elegiac couplet, in which allusion was made to the chains. There are two fragmentary bases, both belonging to the quadriga, as the inscriptions on them prove,

¹ Herodotus, V, 77.

now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. The first is made of dark, almost black, Eleusinian limestone, 0.305 m. high, with letters (0.025 m. high) belonging to the last part of the sixth century B.C. (*I. G.*, I², 394, p. 190). Part of a vertical joint, passing through the inscription, is preserved: the joint has a band of anathyrosis, 0.05 m. wide, along the top and a similar band on the front. The bottom surface has no relieving of the pressure along the front edge. The second base is of Pentelic marble, height not preserved, letters of the middle of the fifth century, of the same height as those of the earlier inscription and the same distance below the top of the base (*I. G.*, I², 394, p. 190). But of special interest to us is the fact that we find, upon comparing the two inscriptions, that on the second base the two hexameter lines, the lines quoted by various writers, have suffered a partial transposition. On the first base the chains *are emphasized*, as though they were not near the pedestal; on the second base the chains are *not emphasized*, as though they were near at hand where everyone looking at the chariot could see them. Bert H. Hill has restored the length of the inscription from the height of the preserved letters and from the wording given by the ancient authors: he finds that the length of the inscription must have been about 2.76 m. From the above data we may infer that:

1. The original chariot was destroyed, or carried off, by the Persians in 480 B.C.;
2. Soon after 450 B.C., perhaps immediately after the conquest of Euboea in 446 B.C., the Athenians restored the trophy, setting up a new pedestal;
3. Both Herodotus and Pausanias saw the new chariot;
4. In Herodotus's time the chariot stood outside the Propylaea, on the left as one enters;
5. Pausanias saw the chariot somewhere near the "Promachos";
6. The chariot may have been brought inside the Acropolis at the time of a second victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 330 B.C.;
7. Herodotus possibly saw it in the position afterward occupied by the monument of Agrippa, in which case it may have been moved inside at the time the monument of Agrippa was built;
8. The length of the inscription indicates a quadriga in which the horses and charioteer were about life size;
9. As the vertical joint in the black base passes through the center of the inscription, it follows that the base was jointed in the middle. The jointing of the entire base can, then, be restored, with almost certainty, as shown in figure 54;
10. The fact that the bottom of the Eleusinian base did not have its pressure relieved shows that the base rested on some stone softer than itself (probably poros stone, in which case there would be no danger of chipping the front face of the base at its bottom);
11. Since the second inscription copied closely the first inscription, it is a reasonable presumption that the two bases were alike in other respects (except for the color of the base, already noted);

12. Because the second inscription does not emphasize the chains, it may possibly be inferred that the chariot was moved somewhere near the chains, that is, somewhere near the *walls over against the megaron that faces west*;
13. The "megaron that faces west" is probably the Old Temple of Athena, temporarily restored (without the columns of Pisistratus).

Let us now examine the site itself, to see if any rock-cutting will indicate the position of the quadriga. Pausanias mentions the quadriga immediately after describing the "Promachos." Therefore the quadriga was probably near the "Promachos," but secondary to it in importance. There is a rock-cutting at 2, figure 42, suitable in width for our quadriga and also in depth (that is, west to east), if the monument ran back to the Mycenaean wall. The foundation of the monument seems to have been stepped down toward the front, due to the unevenness of the Acropolis rock and to the desire to secure a good and suitable foundation of poros stone for the front of the monument. The cutting has the same

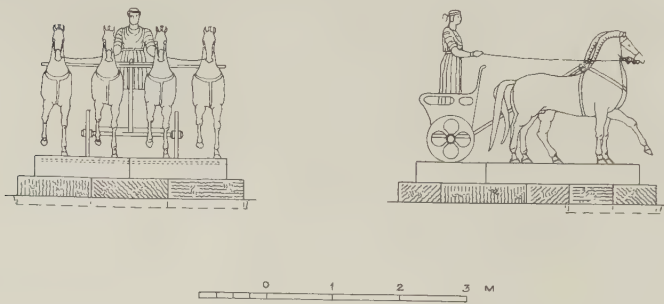


Fig. 54. Bronze quadriga erected to commemorate a victory} over the Boeotians and Chalcidians: restoration.

orientation as that of the "Promachos," but is rougher and therefore probably later in date. The fact that the two orientations are the same probably means that the lines of the later monument were designed to harmonize with those of the earlier—the "Promachos." The west faces of both monuments actually line with each other. But the feature of special interest is the

rectangular cutting immediately south of 2, figure 42. This has a different orientation from the cutting which surrounds it. Clearly we are dealing with two periods of rock-cutting, one later than the other, the later being the large cutting for the quadriga, judging from its inferior workmanship. The rock-cuttings of two periods suggest the transference at a late date of the quadriga from outside the Acropolis to this place within the Acropolis. We have, then, enough data not only to assign a possible position to the quadriga, but also to attempt a restoration with some degree of plausibility (Fig. 54). The charioteer in figure 54 is as high as the famous bronze charioteer at Delphi. There is a space of 0.09 m. between the inscription as restored by Hill and the side edges of the base. The chains are hung on the Mycenaean wall directly behind the quadriga (Fig. 43). They are near the quadriga, as possibly inferred from the transposition which occurred in the inscriptions on the bases. The general relation of the quadriga, thus restored, to the "Promachos" and the Mycenaean wall behind the colossal statue is illustrated in figure 44.

As we have established the fact that the Mycenaean terrace at *a*, *b*, and *c*, figure 1, still existed in the fifth century B.C., we may now discuss the use to which Pericles and

his advisers intended to put it. And in the discussion we shall include the area originally occupied by the Old Temple of Athena. The monuments which must have stood upon the Mycenaean terrace, as well as the Old Temple of Athena, were certainly destroyed by the Persians; the designers in charge of the rearrangements on the Acropolis had, then, to all intents and purposes, a free hand to do whatever they wished in so far as the area under consideration is concerned. Perhaps the chief requirement which they had to keep in mind was the large increase in population in Athens immediately after the Persian wars,—more people need more space to move about in. There seems to be but one possible theory as to the intentions of the designers, which we will attempt to set forth in the following paragraph.

As already stated, the artists under Pericles, who were responsible for beautifying the Acropolis, certainly intended to demolish the temporary structure erected upon the foundations of the Old Temple of Athena immediately after the Persian wars, and it seems highly probable that they actually removed it, if we may judge by the more radical innovations they succeeded in accomplishing on the Acropolis. Was not the complete removal of the Old Temple of Athena the only way to open up a space in front of the Caryatids, so that their beauty might be properly appreciated? It seems probable, then, that the entire area, consisting of the Mycenaean terrace, the Old Temple of



Fig. 55. Deep rock-cutting for a large vertical wooden post at 4, figure 42

Athena, and also some ground to the east of the latter, was to be converted into a large open space destined to be decorated with monuments of all kinds, and with, perhaps, a tree here and there in its western portion where there was plenty of earth. On the north of this area was to be the Erechtheum, and on the south the Parthenon, with a generous distance between the two. Toward both the east and the west the impression was to be that of openness, with mountains, in each case, off on the horizon. The Propylaea was so much lower than either the Erechtheum or Parthenon, that it would count for very little in this composition, except from the extreme western portions of the

Mycenaean terrace, and even in such positions the observer was to look through the Propylaea, thus considerably prolonging the east and west axis of the area between the Erechtheum and Parthenon. The Acropolis wall toward the east need not have been high, for the precipitous Acropolis rock on that side forms a natural defence in itself. Note that the open area occupies almost the center of the Acropolis, and that its long axis emphasizes the long axis of the Acropolis itself. Thus it was the east and west axis of the Acropolis which Pericles and his advisers intended to develop. They had in mind an excellent general scheme.

We will now consider the rectangular cuttings in the Acropolis rock at 3, 4 and 5, figure 42. Number 3 measures 0.50 m. \times 0.37 m.; numbers 4 and 5 are alike and measure 0.46 m. \times 0.46 m. (Fig. 55). Débris of all kinds has accumulated in them since the excavations of 1885–1890. Today the meter stick descends into the holes for a distance of about 0.50 m. without striking the Acropolis rock at the bottom. This depth is sufficient, however,



Fig. 56. Coins, both of the fourth century B.C., representing the erection of small trophies. Left, from Herakleia in Bithynia, Heracles erecting a trophy on a central post. Right, from Syracuse, a Victory, hammer in hand, in the same act

to show that the holes were intended to carry large vertical timbers. The holes are sockets, similar in function to that for the central support of the armature of the chryselephantine colossal statue of Athena in the Parthenon, already discussed. They are placed in line with each other, and the distance between them is laid out with almost military precision. But, more significantly, they have the same orientation as that of the base of the "Promachos," and on that account we may suppose that they date from about the time of the "Promachos."

What did they support? "Spoils from the battle of Marathon" seems the most likely answer to this question, since the "Promachos" was erected to commemorate that battle. Moreover, we know that the Persians disembarked some war material at Marathon, which they were obliged to abandon, and that three of their ships were captured. After a successful battle the ancient Greeks almost invariably erected a trophy out of the captured arms. There are many literary references to the practice: two, selected at random, may be cited:

1. Simonides, epigram 134: "These weapons of the hostile Medes the sailors of Diodorus dedicated to Leto as a monument of the naval battle."
2. Demosthenes, Third Olynthiac, 19–32: "... and many glorious trophies they erected for victories won by their own fighting on land and sea..."

Coins, too, contribute their evidence—witness figure 56. The coin to the left represents Heracles erecting a trophy on a central post; the coin to the right depicts a victory in the same act, hammer in hand. The rock-cuttings for our posts are so big that the posts were capable of supporting a large number of arms, both light and heavy. A restoration of the three trophies is attempted in figure 44 (see p. 520).

If we look southward from the cutting for the central trophy (Fig. 42, 4), we will note a rock-cut platform a few meters away (Fig. 42, 6, and Fig. 57). Its southern and eastern edges, where the rock rises above the platform, are well defined by vertical rock-cuttings. The northern and western edges of the platform, however, are not determined in any way. Clearly, we are dealing with a platform of the half-cut, half-fill type, a type which we have already noted in the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and also in the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. If the supposition be correct, a search for traces of retaining walls on the north and west may be fruitful. On the north we are successful; the Acropolis rock has been dressed in three places, 7, 8, 9, figure 42, for a width of



Fig. 57. Rock-cut platform in front of the "Promachos"

0.65 m. to 0.70 m. to receive a retaining wall parallel to the row of three trophies. The similar orientation of wall and trophies probably indicates that both were of the same date. On the west side of the platform we find no rock-cuttings, but, as the platform here faces the Processional Way, it is possible that steps which have left no traces took the place of a retaining wall. The rock-cuttings at 10, 11, 12 and 13 lead one to suppose that at an early date some monument stood over them, possibly a shrine, judging by the east-west orientation of the cuttings. There could have been no large building on the platform after the erection of the "Promachos," as some writers suppose, because such a building would hide the numerous monuments which stood along the east side of the platform, the existence of which is certain from the many rock-cuttings in which they stood (Fig. 42). Probably the shrine at 10, 11, 12 and 13, if it ever existed, was destroyed by the Persians

and not rebuilt at the time of the erection of the "Promachos"; and very possibly the terrace was further enlarged by means of the retaining wall at 7, 8, 9. This theory would accord well with the general embellishment of the Acropolis at this time. It is also barely possible that the shrine was either built, or rebuilt, after the Persian wars, and was not taken down until the days of Agrippa, when the quadriga may have been taken inside the Acropolis (as previously explained).

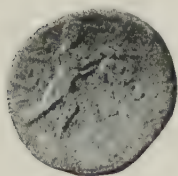


Fig. 58. Theseus lifting the rock: coin of Athens (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 522)

There are only two more rock-cuttings in this entire group to which statues may be assigned even tentatively. The cuttings are numbers 14 and 15 in figure 42, and the statues are the second and third mentioned by Pausanias immediately before he speaks of the "Promachos." The statue which he first mentioned represented Theseus lifting the stone; the second, Theseus driving the bull of Marathon. The former appears on Athenian coins (Fig. 58), and on a few Graeco-Roman reliefs. Theseus is in the act of raising a large stone beneath which are the tokens of his birth (sword and sandals). Pausanias tells us that the stone was real stone, and that the rest of the monument was bronze. Theseus driving the bull of Marathon, which Pausanias describes immediately after

Theseus lifting the rock, was a more popular subject in both ancient art and literature. We find representations of this group on Athenian coins (Fig. 59), on ancient vases, and on one of the metopes of the "Theseum." Some of these, in agreement with what Pausanias says, represent him as driving the bull; others picture Theseus as struggling with it. From



Fig. 59. Theseus driving the bull of Marathon: coin of Athens (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 522)

these data it is not difficult to make fairly accurate restorations of both groups. They are tentatively assigned to positions 14 and 15, figure 42, because 1) the rock-cuttings suggest bases suitable for such groups; 2) the nearness of the cuttings to the "Promachos" agrees with Pausanias's account; 3) Athena was Theseus' protecting deity, and it is appropriate that groups in which he appears should be placed in the actual shadow of her statue.

There are many rock-cuttings in figure 42, about which nothing can be said, except to remark that the cuttings for stelai can be distinguished from those for other types of monuments. A further exception may be made for cuttings 16 and 17. Number 16 shows cuttings of two periods, one over the other. The larger and later cutting effaced some of the grooves for pedestrians. Evidently monuments of late date encroached upon the Processional Way. Number 17 is a cutting for a stele which was placed against the Mycenaean wall: the stele helps to locate the western face of the wall. If we attempt to restore the monuments which once stood in these various cuttings, the best that can be done is to select monuments the bases of which fit the cuttings—for the size of the cutting is a rough indication of the size of the monument—and to select monuments which are appropriate for the position (Figs. 43 and 44).

Pausanias is now near the end of his visit, for he speaks of only two more monuments before he leaves the Acropolis. These are the Pericles and the Lemnian Athena, which, as we have seen, probably stood near the northeast corner of the east portico of the Propylaea. But, on his way from the group of the "Promachos" to the east portico of the Propylaea, he must have observed a building to the north of the portico (Fig. 1, 23).

The *Guide Bleu* for Greece (1932, p. 55) is the only publication known to the writer in which an attempt has been made to give a name to this structure. It is there tentatively called the "Heroon of Pandion." Pandion was a legendary king of Athens and had



Fig. 60. Junction of the two interior foundation walls of the so-called Heroon of Pandion, viewed from the northwest

a heroon somewhere on the Acropolis; but there is no proof that this particular building was connected with him; it was more probably a dwelling for priests or priestesses, or an office of some kind. We shall refer to it, however, as the "so-called Heroon of Pandion," but only because no name can yet be assigned to it with certainty. Although there is nothing left of the building except impressive foundations of poros stone (Fig. 60), yet, after close examination, we may draw a number of conclusions. The foundations were built above and across a cistern (or possibly only a system of water channels) of the time of Pisistratus. The foundation walls of the east and west sides of the building are bonded into the north wall of the Acropolis, a proof that the building and the Acropolis wall back of it were contemporaneous. As the Acropolis wall here was rebuilt soon after the Persian invasion of 480 B.C., we have a good indication that the building was standing

when Mnesicles started the Propylaea in 437 B.C. Furthermore, the level selected upon which to build the structure was much higher than the Pisistratean level of the cistern (Fig. 60). The new level corresponded closely to the level of the Acropolis rock at the east of the center of the Propylaea—a level which Mnesicles seems to have inherited from the Propylaea of Pisistratus.

The original structure was practically a square building with a portico toward the south, consisting probably of six Doric columns *in antis*. Two rooms of unequal size lay between



Fig. 61. Bust of Pericles in the British Museum (Furtwängler, *Meist. d. griech. Plastik*, Tav. X)

the portico and the Acropolis wall (Fig. 66). As the building was practically square in plan, the roof may well have been pyramidal in form.

Most probably the building was considerably altered sometime in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The façade of columns seems to have been removed, leaving the two rooms back of it, however; for wall *a*, figure 66, was built at that time between the Propylaea and the south wall of the two rooms. The arrangement had six advantages: 1) the Entrance Court of the Acropolis became practically square; 2) there was more "elbow room" about the Propylaea; 3) a good rectangular appearance was given to the northwest corner of the Entrance Court; 4) competition between the colonnade of the building and that of the east portico of the Propylaea was avoided; 5) the plane wall surfaces on either side of the Propylaea balanced each other better; 6) the service space



Fig. 62. Antique marble copy of the Lemnian Athena at Dresden
(Furtwängler, *Meist. d. griech. Plastik*, Tav. II)

to the west of wall *a*, figure 66, was screened from public view. Judging from the rock-cut drain at *a*, figure 66, a reservoir to collect rain-water falling in the Entrance Court of the Acropolis was at least one of the possible utilitarian purposes to which this space was put. Although the direction of the Acropolis wall dictated the orientation of the building, yet the Acropolis wall is here so nearly perpendicular to the east façade of the Propylaea (Fig. 1, 3, 23 and 24), that the south front of the so-called Heröon of Pandion, which could only be seen in perspective, would appear to be perpendicular to the east façade of the Propylaea.

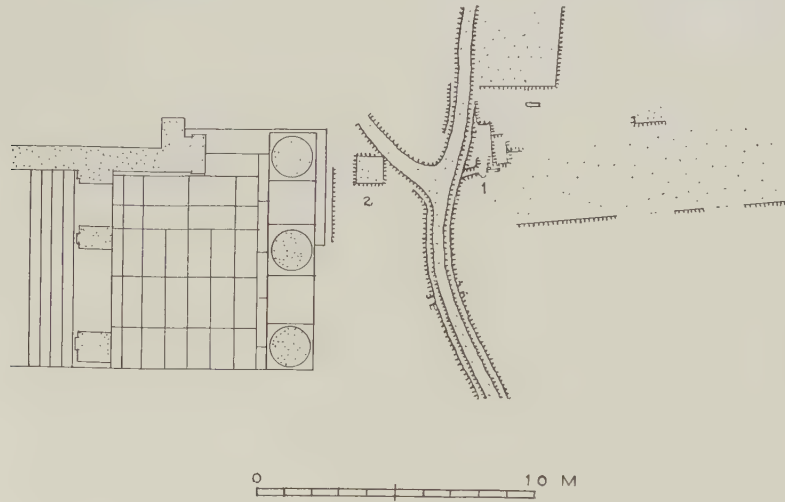


Fig. 63. Tentative locations for the statue of Pericles (at 1) and the Lemnian Athena (at 2)

There could be no more fitting climax to Pausanias's visit than the statues of Pericles and the Lemnian Athena. There are three extant ancient busts of the great statesman, all copies of one original, probably the head of the statue which Pausanias saw. The best bust is in the British Museum (Fig. 61). The face is serene and noble, and is worthy of the character of the man. He who was chiefly responsible for the conception and successful execution of the great projects undertaken by Athens after the Persian wars, who encouraged arts and letters and in general exercised a beneficial influence of vast magnitude over his fellow citizens, whose name is indelibly associated with the most brilliant age the world has ever known, richly deserved to have his statue placed upon the Acropolis. Unfortunately the exact spot where it stood cannot be determined with precision. A tentative position, however, will be assigned to it, when, in the next paragraph, the Lemnian Athena is discussed.

The Lemnian Athena presented a climax of beauty at the end of Pausanias's visit. He considered this statue to be the most marvelous of Phidias's works, for he declared it "...the most worth seeing of the works of Phidias." And his judgment agrees with that

of other ancient writers. Lucian says in one of his dialogues—"and, of the works of Phidias, which do you hold to be the most admirable?" The answer is—"Why, the Lemnian, surely, upon which Phidias deigned to carve his name."¹ In the same dialogue he goes on to say—"The Lemnian Athena is to furnish the outline of the whole face, the tenderness of the cheeks, and the shapely nose." Pliny writes: "Phidias made of bronze a statue of Minerva so beautiful, that it took its name from beauty."² The statue is known—the identification, however, is not accepted by all authorities—from several copies, the best being that in Dresden (Fig. 62). The position of the stump of the left arm in figure 62 may indicate that she held a vertical spear in the left hand; furthermore, she may have carried her helmet in her right hand, instead of wearing it. These two details, however, are surmises and have, therefore, been omitted in the perspective drawing of the Entrance Court (frontispiece, on the left). We are more fortunate in regard to the location of this statue than we are in regard to that of Pericles. As the Lemnian Athena is the last statue Pausanias mentions before passing through the small north door of the Propylaea on his way out of the Acropolis, there is a good chance that the statue actually stood in the rock-cutting represented at number 2 in figure 63 (see also Fig. 7). If this position be accepted, then there is some possibility that the statue of Pericles stood at number 1, figure 63, the chief reasons for advancing this theory being that Pausanias mentions the two statues almost in the same breath, and that there are no other rock-cuttings in the immediate neighborhood, in which the bases of the two statues might have been located.

Were these two statues purposely placed at the end of the usual route for visitors, so that the latter should leave the Acropolis properly impressed with Athenian statesmanship and Athenian art at their best?

VI. THE PART THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT PLAYED IN THE GENERAL SCHEME OF THE ACROPOLIS

Let us stand for a moment in the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea. This is the opening from which the Panathenaic procession emerged, and from which those in the procession first caught a view of the interior of the Acropolis. From this same portico, too, every visitor to the Acropolis received his first impression of the interior of the far-famed Sanctuary of Athena Polias. It was thus an especially important point of view for those in charge of the Periclean improvements to consider. And let us contrast what we see with what those in the procession saw. We observe two ancient buildings in the distance, the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. The former first arrests our attention on account of its dominating mass and the vigorous shadows of its majestic peristyle. There is nothing between us and the temple to obstruct the view (Fig. 64), and the

¹ Lucian, *Imagines*, 4.

² Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 74.

temple is wholly unrelated to everything around it. The Erechtheum is second in importance, because its mass is smaller. But it "plays second fiddle" for other reasons as well. We wonder why its façade, which faces the entrance of the Acropolis and on that account should have been carefully studied by its designer, is so irregular; and we are not at all favourably impressed with the subtle architectural quality called "proportion" which we expected to find conspicuously displayed in such a famous building (Fig. 65). After these first impressions, we become aware that we must walk over that uninteresting rocky incline before us, littered with battered blocks. Where are the statues which Pausanias says, at exactly this point in his route, were so numerous, that he was forced to mention only the most remarkable? Gone, all gone! We must even hunt for the rock-cuttings in which the statues stood to prove that Pausanias was not uttering idle words. The ensemble today is entirely lacking in both order and beauty. It is impossible to believe the ancient Athenians guilty of such an outrage upon good taste.

The ancient Greek of, let us say, 400 B.C., received an entirely different impression as he emerged from the Propylaea. He found himself in what may be called the Entrance Court of the Acropolis. The court was almost square in proportion, measuring, roughly, 45 m. east and west by 40 m. north and south. On the east side rose a Mycenaean wall which averaged about 4 m., or more, in height. On the south the equally high wall of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis met the gaze of our ancient Greek. In the north-west angle of the court was the building of the so-called Heroon of Pandion, with its businesslike façade, 17.50 m. long, which materially helped to give a rectangular impression to the court. But what impressed our ancient Greek most—he was probably only sub-consciously aware of the rectangular form of the court—must have been the number and variety of the votive offerings, with the colossal "Promachos" of Phidias as the dominating feature of the composition. There she stood ahead of him, on the other side of the court, backed against a high wall, with the subsidiary monuments of her group so arranged about her as to set her off to the best advantage.

Our ancient Greek, after the thrill caused by the marvels in the court has subsided, begins to look around him more in detail. What does he see? Probably the upper part of the Parthenon first catches his eye—the decorated portion. It rises above the east stoa of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (frontispiece).¹ Then his eye wanders to the North Porch of the Erechtheum—the principal entrance of that temple. The high Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos" fortunately hides the rest of the Erechtheum—the uninteresting portion.² To the left of the Erechtheum he sees the House of the Arrephoroi,

¹ In drawing the frontispiece the station point, or position of the observer's eye, was taken in the east portico of the Propylaea, 1.50 m. above the pavement at *b*, figure 66. If the observer were to move to the west portico of the Propylaea, the ridge-pole of the east stoa of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis would be seen running across the frieze and cornice of the Parthenon, thus hiding more of that temple than indicated in the frontispiece.

² For the same reason as stated in the preceding footnote, if a person were standing in the east portico of the Propylaea, the top of the Mycenaean wall would appear to line with the bottom of the epieranitis of the Erechtheum.



Fig. 64. The Parthenon today from the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea



Fig. 65. The Erechtheum today from the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea

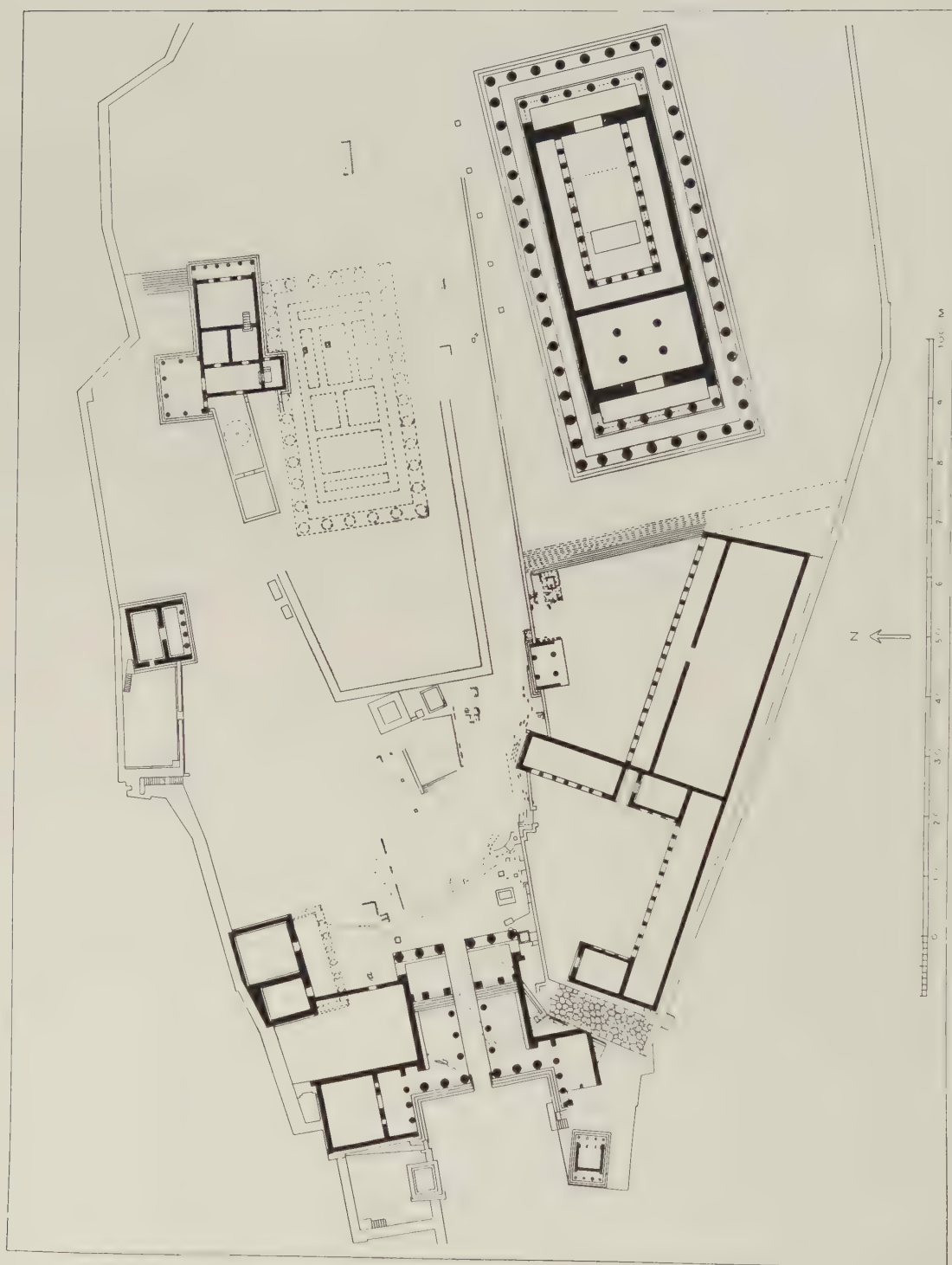


Fig. 66. Plan of the central and western portions of the Acropolis toward the end of the fifth century B.C.: restoration

and on his extreme left, the so-called Heroon of Pandion. He notes several exits from the court. Near the eastern end of the high wall on the right lies the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. Two routes, bordered with monuments of every description, start from the Propylaea. The first, much broader than the second, and provided with grooves for good footing, traverses the court diagonally in a southeasterly direction, and is headed for the Parthenon. It is the Processional Way. From where he stands, the route seems to pass through a triumphal gateway in the southeast corner of the court itself. Surely, that handsome gateway must lead into a court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon (frontispiece). The second route, rock-cut at the start, makes its exit from the Entrance Court in its northeast corner. Our ancient Greek knows that it will take him to the north portico of the Erechtheum, for he can see the route from one end to the other.

The buildings and high walls about the Entrance Court make the latter one of the various units in the general scheme of the Acropolis. The rectangular form gives that unit an orderly appearance which contrasts admirably with the diversity of the many monuments. Our ancient Greek is thus enticed to linger and admire the handsome monuments which adorn it; but, at the same time, he is subconsciously aware that there are other sections of the Acropolis of supreme interest for him to explore later on. He can actually see portions of the other sections from where he stands in the Entrance Court. Thus, the Entrance Court of the Acropolis serves the same purpose as the entrance hall of an important museum of today, but on a much grander scale. The entrance hall of a museum is handsomely decorated with exhibits, but, at the same time, it is a center from which the visitor starts to see the different subdivisions of the museum. And some of the exhibits of the other sections are even partially visible from the entrance hall, to warn him that he must not linger too long in the entrance hall, however interesting he may find the objects there exposed.

The high Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos" was the deciding factor in orienting the Propylaea of Mnesicles. Pericles and his advisers evidently found that the irregularity of the entrance into the Acropolis in the days before the Persian wars left much to be desired. The pre-Mnesiclean Propylaea had quite a different orientation from that of Mnesicles' (the difference is not far from 30°); perhaps the earlier orientation was due to some defensive requirement. Considerable order, however, was infused into the western portion of the Acropolis by making the new Propylaea parallel to the big Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos" and by giving the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis a new northern boundary wall perpendicular to the Propylaea. As for the north side of the Entrance Court, the so-called Heroon of Pandion was already perpendicular to the new Propylaea in so far as the eye was concerned. Furthermore, the new wall required to support the north terrace of the Parthenon also became perpendicular to the Propylaea, because it was made perpendicular to the big Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos." Thus, those who were responsible for the changes on the Acropolis in the Age of Pericles succeeded to a large degree in bringing order and beauty out of confusion and ugliness (Fig. 66).

Honor and glory to the men who conceived and successfully carried into execution the noble undertakings a few of which we have endeavoured to outline. They have left the world a precious heritage, the beauty of which will never cease to uplift man and to inspire him with the desire to accomplish great and useful deeds.

GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS

ADDENDA

Page 468, third line from the bottom:—The manuscript was sent to the printers in October of 1936. Since then the heavy rains of November and December have thoroughly cleaned the Acropolis rock. As a result an additional statement concerning the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis can be made. By marking out the four angles of wing D, figure 20, on the site, and examining carefully the Acropolis rock between the angles, we observe that the rock is dressed for the foundations in at least six places. They are as follows: north and west sides, in two places each; south and east sides, in one place each. In all likelihood other places would be found were the site to be cleared of the blocks and earth which now cover a large portion of the area in question. Obviously the dressed places noted above help to confirm the existence of wing D.

In general, the projecting wings C and D would be suitable for specially revered or valuable objects which needed to be kept under lock and key, stoa E for votive offerings requiring protection from rain or sun, the open area of the precinct for monuments of a robust character.

Page 487, eighteenth line from the bottom:—We know from an inscription (*I. G.*, I², 44, lines 14–17) that about 440 B.C. the number of the guards on the Acropolis was only three.

Page 504, fourteenth line from the bottom:—The fact that in Roman times the western frieze of the main building of the Erechtheum had no sculptured figures attached to it while all the other friezes were decorated with them (see Paton and Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, text, p. 240) is perhaps an indication that even in Greek times this section of the frieze was unadorned. This is another implication that the west façade was not considered from the first as important as the other façades.

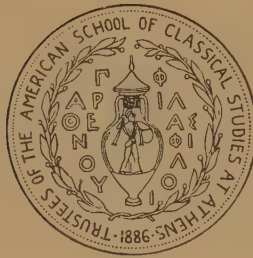
Page 508, last line:—The only other possible use for the holes which occurs to the writer is that wooden masts for large banners or flags may have been inserted in them. But in that case we would expect to find circular holes, as the round form of the tree from which a flagpole is made is usually preserved.

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME V: NUMBER 1

1936



THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS
IN THE
ATHENIAN AGORA
NINTH REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1936

Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00 each) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Secretary of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS

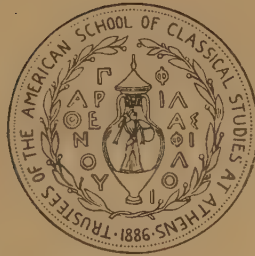
- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with Introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. Second edition, revised and enlarged, by RHYS CARPENTER. 112 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1933. \$0.50.

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME V: NUMBER 2

1936



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1936

Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00 each) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Secretary of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS

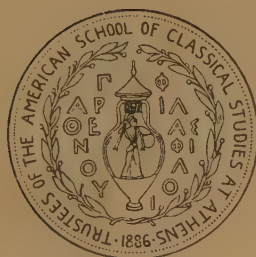
- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix+389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv+139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with Introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi+674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21×14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii+230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii+120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii+568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. Second edition, revised and enlarged, by RHYS CARPENTER. 112 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1933. \$0.50.

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME V: NUMBER 3

1936



THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS
IN THE
ATHENIAN AGORA
TENTH REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1936

Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00 each) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Secretary of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS

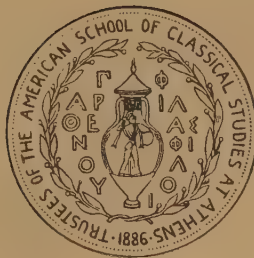
- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with Introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. Second edition, revised and enlarged, by RHYS CARPENTER. 112 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1933. \$0.50.

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME V: NUMBER 4

1936



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1936

Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00, with the exception of Vol. V, No. 4, which may be had unbound for \$2.00) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Secretary of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS

- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. By RHYS CARPENTER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 121 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1936. \$0.70.
- THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. ix + 78 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece, 66 figures. 1936. \$2.50.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS

(Continued from Second Page of Cover)

CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SCHOOL

- Volume I: INTRODUCTION, TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE. By HAROLD NORTH FOWLER and RICHARD STILLWELL, with contributions by CARL W. BLEGEN, BENJAMIN POWELL, Jr., and CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, Jr. xviii + 240 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece; 154 figures in the text, 21 folio plates in a portfolio. 1932. \$7.50.
- Volume III, Part I: ACROCORINTH: EXCAVATIONS IN 1926. By CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, RICHARD STILLWELL, OSCAR BRONEER, and ALFRED RAYMOND BELLINGER. vi + 68 pages. Folio. Cloth. 60 illustrations, 8 plans. 1930. \$3.00.
- Volume III, Part II: THE DEFENSES OF ACROCORINTH AND THE LOWER TOWN. By RHYS CARPENTER and ANTOINE BON, with contributions by A. W. PARSONS. xvi + 315 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 242 illustrations, 10 plates, 1 map. 1936. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part I: DECORATED ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS. By IDA THALLON-HILL and LIDA SHAW KING. xii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 48 illustrations, 5 colored plates. 1929. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part II: TERRACOTTA LAMPS. By OSCAR BRONEER. xx + 339 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 210 illustrations in the text, 33 plates. 1930. \$5.00.
- Volume V: THE ROMAN VILLA. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. 26 pages. Large folio. 7 illustrations, 11 plates. 1932. \$10.00.
- Volume VI: THE COINS. By KATHARINE M. EDWARDS. xii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 10 plates. 1932. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part I: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 180 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 331 illustrations in the text. 1932. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part II: LATIN INSCRIPTIONS. By ALLEN BROWN WEST. xiv + 171 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 177 illustrations in the text. 1932. \$5.00.
- Volume IX: SCULPTURE, 1896-1923. By FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON. xiii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 332 illustrations. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume X: THE ODEUM. By OSCAR BRONEER. xiv + 154 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 138 illustrations, 16 plates. 1932. \$5.00.

APR 14 1937

DATE DUE

APR 1 1993

RETD APR 1 1993

UIC FEB 26 1992

RETD FEB MAR 03 1992

UIC NOV 19 2005

PERIODICALS MUST BE RETURNED
TO PERIODICALS DESK ONLY

DEMCO 38-297